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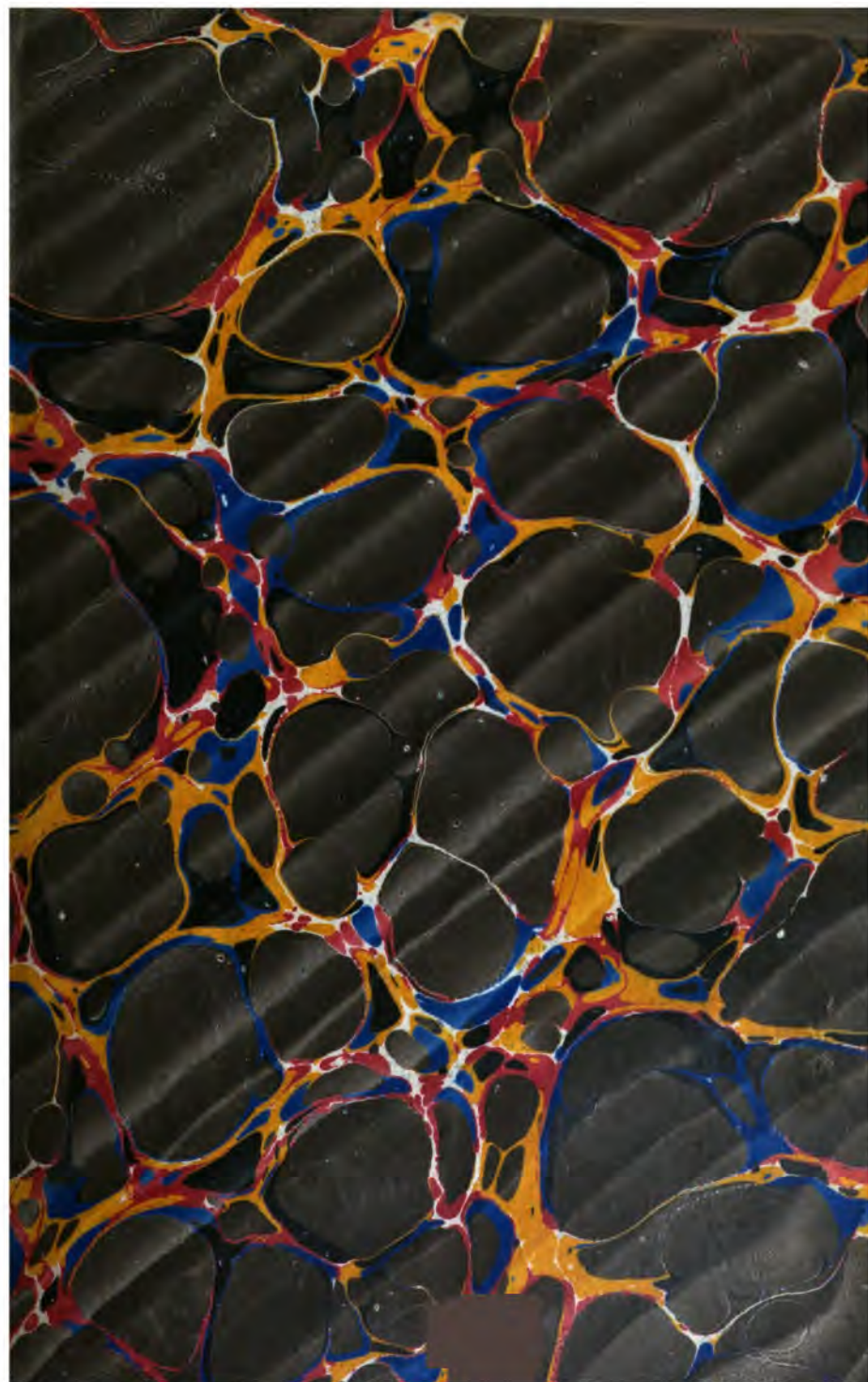
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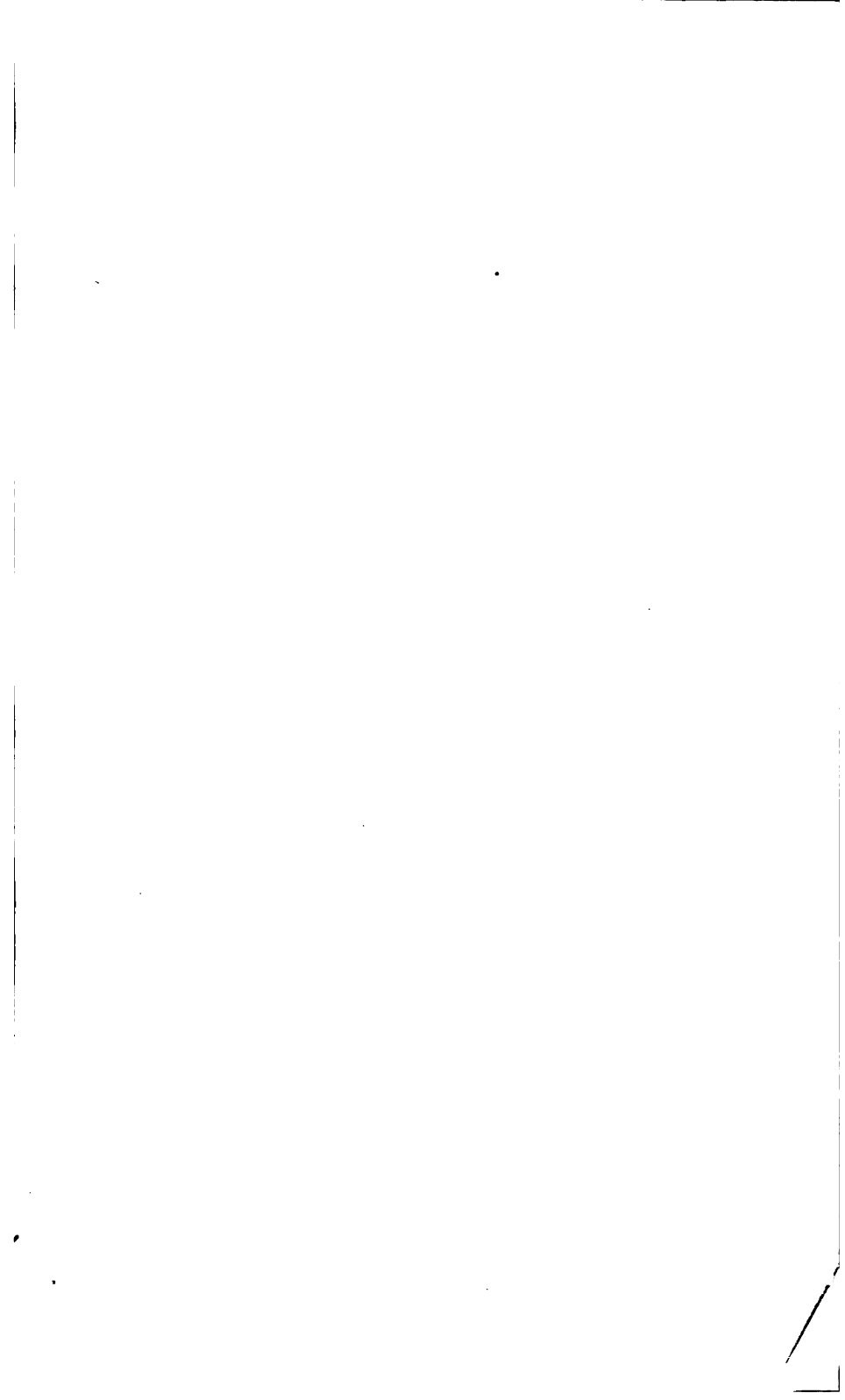
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**THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.
VOL. III.**

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THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE,
ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

Part the First ;
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TILL THE
DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE
IN THE EAST ;
INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

F.R.S. AND S.A. LONDON, F.R.S. EDINBURGH, INSTIT. SOC. PARIS, AND
ACADEM. REGIA SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μὲν τογχε τῆς ἀπαντων πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθεσεως,
ετι δε ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορας, μὲνως τις αὖ ἐφικοιτο, καὶ δυσηθεῖη
κατοπτεύσας, ὅμα καὶ το χρησιμὸν καὶ το τερπνὸν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας
λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE.

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IN the populous and extensive kingdoms of modern Europe, the revolutions of public affairs seldom disturb the humble obscurity of private life; but the national transactions of Greece involved the interest of every family, and deeply affected the fortune and happiness of every

CHAP.
XXI.

Extent of
the Athe-
nian mis-
fortunes
in Sicily.

C H A P. individual. Had the arms of the Athenians
 XXI. proved successful in Sicily, each citizen would
 have derived from that event an immediate
 accession of wealth, as well as of power, and
 have felt a proportional increase of honour and
 security. But their proud hopes perished for
 ever in the harbour of Syracuse. The succeeding
 disasters shook to the foundation the fabric
 of their empire. In one rash enterprise they
 lost their army, their fleet, the prudence of their
 experienced generals, together with the flourishing
 vigour of their manly youth.¹ — Irreparable
 disasters! which totally disqualified them to
 resist the confederacy of Peleponnesus, rein-
 forced by the resentment of a new and powerful
 enemy. While a Lacedæmonian army invested
 their city, they had reason to dread that a Syra-
 cusan fleet should assault the Piræus; that
 Athens must finally yield to these combined
 attacks, and her once prosperous citizens,
 destroyed by the sword, or dragged into captivity,
 atone by their death or disgrace for the cruelties
 which they had recently inflicted on the wretched
 republics of Melos and Scioné.

The news
 brought to
 Athens.
 Olymp.
 xci. 4.
 A. C. 413.

The dreadful alternative of victory and defeat,
 renders it little surprising that the Athenians
 should have rejected intelligence, which they
 must have received with horror. The first mes-
 sengers of such sad news were treated with con-

¹ Thucyd. l. vii. p. 557. Cicero goes farther. *Hic primum, opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depressæque sunt: in hoc portu, Atheniensium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum existimatur. Cicer. in Verrem, v. 37.*

tempt : but it was impossible long² to withhold belief from the miserable fugitives, whose squalid and dejected countenances too faithfully attested the public calamity. Such evidence could not be refused ; the arrogance of incredulity was abashed, and the whole republic thrown into consternation, or seized with despair. The venerable members of the Areopagus expressed the majesty of silent sorrow ; but the piercing cries of woe extended many a mile along the lofty walls which joined the Piræus to the city ; and the licentious populace raged with unbridled fury against the diviners and orators, whose blind predictions, and ambitious harangues, had promoted an expedition eternally fatal to their country.³

The distress of the Athenians was too great to admit the comfort of sympathy ; but had they been capable of receiving, they had little reason to expect that melancholy consolation. The tidings so afflicting to *them* gave unspeakable joy to their neighbours : many feared, most hated, and all envied a people who had long usurped the dominion of Greece. The Athenian allies, or rather subjects, scattered over so many coasts and islands, prepared to assert their independence ;

Combina-
tion in
Greece
against
Athens.

¹ The calamity was so great that the boldest imagination had never dared to conceive its possibility. Their minds being thus unprepared, the Athenians, says Thucydides, disbelieved *καὶ τοῖς παντὶ στρατιωτῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐργῆς διαπεφυγῶσι* : even those soldiers who escaped from this melancholy business. The stories of Plutarch in *Nicia*, of *Athenæus*, &c. may be safely rejected as fictions, since they are inconsistent with Thucydides's narrative.

² Thucyd. l. viii. p. 558. et seq.

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XXI.

the confederates of Sparta, among whom the Syracusans justly assumed the first rank, were unsatisfied with victory, and longed for revenge: even those communities which had hitherto declined the danger of a doubtful contest, meanly solicited to become parties in a war, likely to terminate in the final destruction of Athens.⁴

Abetted
by the re-
sentment
of Persia.

Should all the efforts of such a powerful confederacy still prove insufficient to accomplish the ruin of the devoted city, there was yet another enemy behind, from whose strength and animosity the Athenians had every thing to fear. The long and peaceful reign of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, ended four hundred and twenty-five years before the Christian æra. The two following years were remarkable for a rapid succession of kings, Xerxes, Sogdianus, Ochus; the last of whom assumed the name of Darius, to which historians have added the epithet of Nothus, the bastard, to distinguish this effeminate prince from his illustrious predecessor.⁵ The first years of Darius Nothus were employed in confirming his disputed authority, and in watching the dangerous intrigues of his numerous kinsmen who aspired to the throne. When every rival was removed that could either disturb his quiet or offend his suspicion, the monarch sunk into an indolent security, and his voluptuous court was governed by the feeble administration of

⁴ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 558. et seq. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 548.

⁵ Diodor. i. xii. p. 522. Ctesias, Persic. c. xlv. et seq.

women and eunuchs.⁶ But in the ninth year of his reign, Darius was roused from his lethargy by the revolt of Egypt and Lydia. The defection of the latter threatened to tear from his dominion the valuable provinces of Asia Minor; a consequence which he determined to prevent by employing the bravery of Pharnabazus, and the policy of the crafty Tissaphernes, to govern respectively the northern and southern districts of that rich and fertile peninsula. The abilities of these generals not only quelled the rebellion in Lydia, but extended the arms of their master towards the shores of the *Ægæan*, as well as of the Hellespont and Propontis; in direct opposition to the treaty which forty years before had been ratified between the Athenians, then in the height of their prosperity, and the unwarlike Artaxerxes. But the recent misfortunes of that ambitious people flattered the Persian commanders with the hope of restoring the whole Asiatic coast to the Great King⁷, as well as of inflicting exemplary punishment on the proud city, which had resisted the power, dismembered the empire, and tarnished the glory of Persia.

The terror of such a formidable combination might have reduced the Athenians to despair; and our surprise that this consequence should not immediately follow, will be increased by the following reflection. Not to mention the immortal trophies of Alexander, or the extensive

The Athenian allies prepare to revolt.

⁶ Ctesias, c. xlvii.

⁷ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 560. & Ctesias, Persic. c. li.

C H A P.
XXI.

ravages of Zingis Khan, Tamerlane, and the Tartar princes of their race ; the Spaniards, the Portuguese, and other nations of modern Europe, have, with a handful of men, marched victorious over the effeminate or barbarous coasts of the eastern and western world. The hardy discipline of Europe easily prevailed over the unwarlike softness of India and the savage ignorance of America. But the rapid success of all these conquerors was owing to their military knowledge^a and experience. By the superiority of their arms and of their discipline, the Romans subdued the nations of the earth. But the Athenians afford the only example of a people, who, by the virtues of the mind alone, acquired an extensive dominion over men equally improved with themselves in the arts of war and government. They possessed, or were believed to possess, superior courage and capacity to the nations around them ; and this opinion, which should seem not entirely destitute of foundation, enabled them to maintain, by very feeble garrisons, an absolute authority in the islands of the *Ægean*, as well as in the cities of the Asiatic coast. Their disasters and disgrace in Sicily destroyed at once the real and the ideal supports of their power ; the loss of one-third of their citizens made it impossible to supply, with fresh recruits, the exhausted strength of their garrisons in foreign parts ; the

^a If that of the Tartars should be doubted, the reader may consult *Mons. de Guignes's Hist. des Huns*, or *Mr. Gibbon's* admirable description of the warlike manners of the pastoral nations, v. ii.

terror of their fleet was no more; and their multiplied defeats before the walls of Syracuse, had converted into contempt that admiration in which Athens had been long held by Greeks and Barbarians.

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But in free governments there are rich latent resources which public calamities alone can bring to light; and adversity, which, to individuals endowed with inborn vigour of mind, is the great school of virtue and of heroism, furnishes also to the enthusiasm of popular assemblies the noblest field for the display of national honour and magnanimity. Had the measures of the Athenians depended on one man, or even on a few, it is probable that the selfish timidity of a prince, and the cautious prudence of a council, would have sunk under the weight of misfortunes, too heavy for the unsupported strength of ordinary minds. But the first spark of generous ardour, which the love of virtue, of glory, and the republic, or even the meaner motives of ambition and vanity, excited in the assembled multitude, was diffused and increased by the natural contagion of sympathy: the patriotic flame was communicated to every breast; and the social warmth, reflected from such a variety of objects, became too intense to be resisted by the coldness of caution and the damps of despair.

Peculiar
resources
of free
govern-
ments.

With one mind and resolution the Athenians determined to brave the severity of fortune, and to withstand the assaults of the enemy. Nor did this noble design evaporate in useless speculation; the wisest measures were adopted for re-

Prudent
and vigor-
ous mea-
sures of
the Athe-
nians.

C H A P.

XXI.

ducing it to practice. The great work began, as national reformation ought always to begin, by regulating the finances, and lopping off every branch of superfluous expense. The clamour of turbulent demagogues was silenced; aged wisdom and experience were allowed calmly to direct the public councils; new levies were raised; the remainder of their fleet was equipped for sea; the motions of the colonies and tributary states were watched with an anxious solicitude, and every proper expedient was employed that might appease their animosity, or render it impotent.⁹ Yet these measures, wise and vigorous as they were, could not, probably, have suspended the fall of Athens, had not several concurring causes facilitated their operation. The weak, dilatory, and ineffectual proceedings of the Spartan confederacy; the temporising, equivocal, and capricious conduct of the Persian governors; above all, the intrigues and enterprising genius of Alcibiades, who, after involving his country in inextricable calamities, finally undertook its defence, and retarded, though he could not prevent, its destiny.

The Peloponnesians and Persians prepare to act against the Asiatic dependencies of Athens.

In the year following the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Spartans prepared a fleet of an hundred sail, of which twenty-five galleys were furnished by their own sea-ports; twenty-five by the Thebans; fifteen by the Corinthians; and the remainder by Locris, Phocis, Megara, and the

⁹ Thucydid. l. viii. p. 555. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 549.

maritime cities on the coast of Peloponnesus. This armament was destined to encourage and support the revolt of the Asiatic subjects of the Athenians. The islands of Chios and Lesbos, as well as the city Erythræ on the continent, solicited the Spartans to join them with their naval force. Their request was enforced by Tissaphernes, who promised to pay the sailors, and to victual the ships. At the same time, an ambassador from Cyzicus, a populous town situate on an island of the Propontis, entreated the Lacedæmonian armament to sail to the safe and capacious harbours which had long formed the wealth and the ornament of that city, and to expel the Athenian garrisons, to which the Cyzicenes and their neighbours reluctantly submitted. The Persian Pharnabazus seconded their proposal; offered the same conditions with Tissaphernes; and so little harmony subsisted between the lieutenants of the Great King, that each urged his particular demand, with a total unconcern about the important interests of their common¹⁰ master. The Lacedæmonians held many consultations among themselves, and with their allies; hesitated, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolution; and at length were persuaded by Alcibiades to prefer the overture of Tissaphernes and the Ionians to that of the Hellespontines and Pharnabazus.

CHAP.
XXI.

Olymp.
xcii. 1.
A. C. 412.

Dilatory
measures
of the con-
federates.

The delay occasioned by this deliberation was the principal, but not the only cause, which hin-

The Athe-
nians dis-
cover and

¹⁰ Thucyd. p. 561, 562.

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XXI.

defeat the
designs of
the Corin-
thians and
the Chians.
Olymp.
xcii. 1.
A. C. 416.

dered the allies from acting expeditiously, at a time when expedition was of the utmost importance. A variety of private views diverted them from the general aim of the confederacy; and the season had far advanced before the Corinthians, distinguished as they were by excess of antipathy to Athens, were prepared to sail. They determined, from pride perhaps, as well as superstition, to celebrate¹¹, before leaving their harbours, the Isthmian games, consecrated to Neptune, the third of the Grecian festivals in point of dignity and splendour. From this ceremony the Athenians, though enemies, were not excluded by the Corinthian magistrates; nor did they exclude themselves, though oppressed by the weight of past misfortunes, and totally occupied by the thoughts of providing against future evils. While their representatives shared the amusements of this sacred spectacle, they neglected not the commission recommended by their country. They secretly informed themselves of the plan and particular circumstances of the intended revolt, and learned the precise time fixed for the departure of the Corinthian fleet. In consequence of this important intelligence, the Athenians anticipated the designs of the rebels of Chios, and carried off seven ships as pledges of their fidelity. The squadron which returned from this useful enterprise, intercepted

¹¹ " Πρὶν τὰ Ἰσθμια διαορτάσασθαι." The scholiast justly observes the force of the "δια," "thoroughly, completely," i. e. until they had celebrated the games, the complete number of days, appointed by antiquity. Vid. *Æ. Port.* ad loc. p. 563.

the Corinthians as they sailed through the Saronic gulph ; and having attacked and conquered them, pursued and blocked them up in their harbours. ¹²

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XXI.

Meanwhile the Spartans and their allies sent to the Ionian coast such squadrons as were successively ready for sea, under the conduct of Alcibiades, Chalcideus, and Astyochus. The first of these commanders sailed to the isle of Chios, which was distracted by contending factions. The Athenian partisans were surprised, and compelled to submit ; and the city, which possessed forty gallies, and yielded in wealth and populousness to none of the neighbouring colonies, became an accession to the Peloponnesian confederacy. The strong and rich town of Miletus followed the example : Erythræ and Clazomené surrendered to Chalcideus ; several places of less note were conquered by Astyochus.

Successful
operations
of the con-
federates.

When the Athenians received the unwelcome intelligence of these events, they voted the expenditure of a thousand talents, which, in more prosperous times, they had deposited in the citadel, under the sanction of a decree of the senate and people, to reserve it for an occasion of the utmost danger. This seasonable supply enabled them to increase the fleet, which sailed, under Phrynichus and other leaders, to the isle of Lesbos. Having secured the fidelity of the Lesbians, who were ripe for rebellion, they endeavoured to recover their authority in Miletus,

Battle of
Miletus.
Olymp.
xcii. 2.
A. C. 412.

¹² Thucyd. p. 564.

CHAP.

XXI.

anciently regarded as the capital of the Ionic coast. A bloody battle was fought before the walls of that place, between the Athenians and Argives on one side, and the Peloponnesians, assisted by the troops of Tissaphernes and the revolted Milesians, on the other. The Athenian bravery defeated, on this occasion, the superior numbers of Greeks and Barbarians to whom they were opposed ; but their Argive auxiliaries were repulsed by the gallant citizens of Miletus : so that in both parts of the engagement, the Ionic race, commonly deemed the less warlike, prevailed over their Dorian rivals and enemies. Elated with the joy of victory, the Athenians prepared to assault the town, when they were alarmed by the approach of a fleet of fifty-five sail, which advanced in two divisions, the one commanded by the celebrated Hermocrates, the other by Theramenes the Spartan. Phrynichus prudently considered, that his own strength only amounted to forty-eight gallies, and refused to commit the last hope of the republic to the danger of an unequal combat. His firmness despised the clamours of the Athenian sailors, who insulted¹³, under the name of cowardice, the caution of their admiral ; and he calmly retired with his whole force to the isle of Samos, where the popular faction having lately treated the

The Athenian fleet retires.

¹³ Like Fabius,

“ Non ponebat enim rumores ante salutem ;”

ENNIVS apud Cic.

which Thucydides expresses more pithily, “ ὅτε ποτε τῇ αἰσχροῦ οὐκ εἰς αὐτῶν διακινδυνεύειν,” p. 574.

nobles with shocking injustice and cruelty, too frequent in Grecian democracies, were ready to receive with open arms the patrons of that fierce and licentious form of government.

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XXI.

The retreat of the Athenian fleet acknowledged the naval superiority of the enemy; a superiority which was alone sufficient either to acquire or to maintain the submission of the neighbouring coasts and islands. In other respects too, the Peloponnesians enjoyed the most decisive advantages. Their galleys were victualled, their soldiers were paid by Tissaphernes, and they daily expected a reinforcement of an hundred and fifty Phœnician ships, which, it was said, had already reached Aspendus, a seaport of Pamphylia. But, in this dangerous crisis, fortune seemed to respect the declining age of Athens, and by a train of accidents, singular and almost incredible, enabled Alcibiades, so long the misfortune and the scourge, to become the defence and the saviour, of his country.

The Athenian affairs retrieved by Alcibiades.

During his long residence in Sparta, Alcibiades assumed the outward gravity of deportment, and conformed himself to the spare diet and laborious exercises, which prevailed in that austere republic; but his character and his principles remained as licentious as ever. His intrigue with Timea, the spouse of King Agis, was discovered by an excess of female levity. The Queen, vain of the attachment of so celebrated a character, familiarly gave the name of Alcibiades to her son Leotychides; a name which, first confined to the privacy of her

His intrigues.

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XXI.

female companions, was soon spread abroad in the world. Alcibiades punished her folly by a most mortifying but well-merited declaration, boasting that he had solicited her favours from no other motive but that he might indulge the ambitious desire of giving a king to Sparta. The offence itself, and the shameless avowal, still more provoking than the offence, excited the keenest resentment in the breast of the injured husband.¹⁴ The magistrates and generals of Sparta, jealous of the fame, and envious of the merit of a stranger, readily sympathised with the misfortunes, and encouraged the 'revenge of Agis; and, as the horrid practice of assassination still disgraced the manners of Greece, orders were sent to Astyochus, who commanded in chief the Peloponnesian forces in Asia, secretly to destroy Alcibiades, whose power defied those laws which in every Grecian republic condemned adulterers to death.¹⁵ But the active and subtle Athenian had secured too faithful domestic intelligence in the principal families of Sparta to become the victim of this execrable design. With his usual address he eluded all the snares of Astyochus: his safety, however, required perpetual vigilance and caution, and he determined to escape from a situation, which subjected him to such irksome constraint.

His conference
with Tis-
saphernes.

Publicly banished from Athens, secretly persecuted by Sparta, he had recourse to the

¹⁴ Plutarch, ii. 49. in Alcibiad.

¹⁵ Lyziqs in defence of Euphiletus, &c. p. 419.

friendship of Tissaphernes, who admired his accomplishments, and respected his abilities, which, though far superior in degree, were similar in kind to his own. Tissaphernes was of a temper the more readily to serve a friend, in proportion as he less needed his services. Alcibiades, therefore, carefully concealed from him the dangerous resentment of the Spartans. In the selfish breast of the Persian no attachment could be durable unless founded on interest; and Alcibiades, who had deeply studied his character, began to flatter his avarice, that he might ensure his protection. He informed him, that by allowing the Peloponnesian sailors a drachma, or seven-pence sterling, of daily pay, he treated them with an useless and even dangerous liberality: that the pay given by the Athenians, even in the most flourishing times, amounted only to three oboli; which proceeded, not from a disinclination to reward the skill and valour of their seamen, but from an experience, that if they received more than half a drachma each day, the superfluity would be squandered in such profligate pleasures as enfeebled and corrupted their minds and bodies, and rendered them equally incapable of exertion and of discipline. Should the sailors prove dissatisfied with this equitable reduction, the Grecian character afforded an easy expedient for silencing their licentious clamours. It would be sufficient to bribe the naval commanders and a few mercenary orators, and the careless and improvident seamen would submit, without suspicion, the rate of their pay, as

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XXI.

Persuades
him to di-
minish his
subsidies
to the
Pelopon-
nesians.

well as every other concern, to, the influence and authority of those who were accustomed to govern them.¹⁶

Tissaphernes heard this advice with the attention of an avaricious man to every proposal for saving his money ; and so true a judgment had Alcibiades formed of the Greeks, that Hermocrates the Syracusan was the only officer who disdained meanly and perfidiously, to betray the interest of the men under his command ; yet, through the influence of his colleagues, the plan of oeconomy was universally adopted, and on a future occasion, Tissaphernes boasted that Hermocrates, though more coy, was not less corruptible than others, and that the only reason for which he undertook the patronage of the sailors, was to compel a reluctant compliance with his own exorbitant demands. This reproach illustrates the opinion entertained by foreign nations of Grecian virtue ; but it is probably an aspersion on the fame of the illustrious Syracusan.

Alienates
him from
the inte-
rest of
Sparta.

The intrigues of Alcibiades had sown jealousy and distrust in the Peloponnesian fleet : they had alienated the minds of the troops both from Tissaphernes and their commanders : the Persian was ready to forsake those whom he had learned to despise ; and Alcibiades profited of this disposition to insinuate that the alliance of the Lacedæmonians was equally expensive and inconvenient for the Great King and his lieutenants. “ That these haughty republics were accustomed to take arms

¹⁶ Thucyd. p. 584. et seq.

to defend the liberties of Greece, a design totally inconsistent with the views of the Persian court. If the Asiatic Greeks and islanders aspired at independence, and hoped to deliver themselves from Athenian governors and garrisons, without submitting to pay tribute to Persia, they ought to carry on the war at their own expence, since they would alone reap the benefit of its success. But, if Tissaphernes purposed to recover the ancient possessions of his master, he must beware of giving a decided superiority to either party, especially to the warlike Spartans. By an attention to preserve the balance even, between the hostile republics, he would force them to exhaust each other. Amidst their domestic contests an opportunity would soon arrive, when Darius, without danger or expence, might crush both, and vindicate his just hereditary claim to the dominion of all Asia."

These artful representations produced almost an open breach between Tissaphernes and his confederates. The advantage, which Athens would derive from this rupture, might have paved the way for Alcibiades to return to his country: but he dreaded to encounter that popular fury, whose effects he had fatally experienced, and whose mad resentment no degree of merit could appease; he therefore applied secretly to Pissander, Theramenes, and other persons of distinction in the Athenian camp. To them he deplored the desperate state of public affairs, expatiated on his own credit with Tissaphernes, and insinuated that it might be yet possible to

Alcibiades
in order to
pave the
way for his
return to
Athens,
conspires
against the
democracy

C H A P. XXI. prevent the Phœnician fleet at Aspendus from sailing to assist the enemy. Assuming gradually more boldness, as he perceived the success of his intrigues, he finally declared that the Athenians might obtain not merely the neutrality, but perhaps the assistance of Artaxerxes, should they consent to abolish their turbulent democracy, so odious to the Persians, and entrust the administration of government to men worthy to negotiate with so mighty a monarch.

A similar design both in the city and in the camp.

When the illustrious exile proposed this measure, it is uncertain whether he was acquainted with the secret cabals which had been already formed, both in the city and in the camp, for executing the design which he suggested. The misfortunes, occasioned by the giddy insolence of the multitude, had thrown the principal authority into the hands of the noble and wealthy, who, corrupted by the sweets of temporary power, were desirous of rendering it perpetual. Many prompted by ambition, several moved by inconstancy, a few directed by a just sense of the incurable defects of democracy, were prepared to encounter every danger, that they might overturn the established constitution. In the third and most honourable class was Antiphon, a man of an exalted character, and endowed with extraordinary talents. The irresistible energy of his eloquence was suspected by the people. He appeared not in the courts of justice, or in the assembly; but his artful and elaborate compositions often saved the lives of his friends. *He* was the invisible agent who governed all the

motions of the conspiracy; and when compelled, after the ruin of his party, to stand trial for his life, he discovered powers of mind that astonished the most discerning of his ¹⁷ contemporaries. Pisander, Theramenes, and the other leaders of the aristocratical party, warmly approved the views of Alcibiades. The Athenian soldiers likewise, though they detested the impiety, admired the valour, of the illustrious exile, and longed to see him restored to the service of his country. All ranks lamented the dangerous situation of Athens; many thought that their affairs must become desperate, should Tissaphernes command the Phœnician fleet to co-operate with that of Peloponnesus; and many rejoiced in the prospect of a Persian alliance, in consequence of which they would enter at once into the pay of that wealthy satrap.¹⁸

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¹⁷ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 600. A few lines above, Thucydides describes the character of Antiphon with expressive energy: *ὡς ἄνθρωπος τὸν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρετῇ τε σθενὸς ὄρετος, καὶ κρατίστος ἐνδυστήθριαι γενόμενος καὶ ἀ γράφῃ, εἶπεν.* "An Athenian, in virtue second to no man then living, endowed with the greatest vigour of thought, and the greatest power of expression." Plutarch in the very inaccurate and imperfect work, intitled, *The Lives of the Ten Orators*, tells us that Antiphon was the first who wrote institutions of oratory; and that his pleadings were the most ancient that had come down to posterity. Among the fifteen speeches ascribed to him, I think there are three that do not invalidate the high commendation of Thucydides.

¹⁸ What influence this consideration must have had, may be conjectured from the information of Andocides, Orat. iii., who says, that in the course of this war the Spartans received, from their Persian allies, subsidies to the amount of five thousand talents, about a million sterling. This sum is prodigious, considering the value of money in that age.

C H A P.
XXI.Phryni-
chus
counter-
plots Al-
cibiades.

One man, the personal enemy of Alcibiades, alone opposed the general current. But this man was Phrynichus, whose prudent firmness as a commander we have already had occasion to remark. The courage with which he encountered dangers many have equalled, but none ever surpassed the boldness with which he extricated himself from difficulties. When he perceived that his colleagues were deaf to every objection against recalling the friend of Tissaphernes, he secretly informed the Spartan admiral Astyochus, of the intrigues which were carrying on to the disadvantage of his country. Daring as this treachery was, Phrynichus addressed a traitor not less perfidious than himself. Astyochus was become the pensioner and creature of Tissaphernes, to whom he communicated the intelligence. The Persian again communicated it to his favourite Alcibiades, who complained in strong terms to the Athenians of the baseness and villany of Phrynichus. The latter exculpated himself with consummate address; but, as the return of Alcibiades might prove fatal to his safety, he ventured, a second time, to write to Astyochus, gently reproaching him with his breach of confidence, and explaining by what means he might surprise the whole Athenian fleet at Samos; an exploit that must for ever establish his fame and fortune. Astyochus again betrayed the secret to Tissaphernes and Alcibiades; but before *their* letters could be conveyed to the Athenian camp, Phrynichus, who, by some unknown channel, was informed of this

new treachery, anticipated the dangerous discovery, by apprising the Athenians of the enemy's design to surprise their fleet. They had scarcely employed the proper means to frustrate that purpose, when messengers came from Alcibiades to announce the horrid perfidy of a wretch who had basely sacrificed to private resentment the last hope of his country. But the messengers arrived too late; the prior information of Phrynichus as well as the bold and singular wickedness of his design, which no common degree of evidence was thought sufficient to prove, were sustained as arguments for his exculpation; and it was believed that Alcibiades had made use of a stratagem most infamous in itself, but not unexampled among the Greeks, for destroying a man whom he detested.¹⁹

The opposition of Phrynichus, though it retarded the success of Alcibiades, prevented not the measures of Pisander and his associates for abolishing the democracy. The soldiers at Samos were induced, by the reasons above mentioned, to acquiesce in the resolution of their generals. But a more difficult task remained; to deprive the people of Athens of their liberty, which, since the expulsion of the family of Pisistratus, they had enjoyed an hundred years. Pisander headed the deputation which was sent from the camp to the city to effect this important revolution. He acquainted the extraordinary assembly, summoned on that occasion in the theatre of Bac-

Progress
of the con-
spiracy
against the
democra-
tical go-
vernment.

¹⁹ Thucyd. p. 587—590.

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chus, with the measures which had been adopted by their soldiers and fellow-citizens at Samos. The compact band²⁰ of conspirators warmly approved the example; but loud murmurs of discontent resounded in different quarters of that spacious theatre. Pisander asked the reason of this disapprobation. "Had his opponents any thing better to propose? If they had, let them come forward and explain the grounds of their dissent: but, above all, let them explain how they could save themselves, their families, and their country, unless they complied with the demand of Tissaphernes. The imperious voice of necessity was superior to law; and when the actual danger had ceased, they might re-establish their ancient constitution." The opponents of Pisander were unable or afraid to reply: and the assembly passed a decree, investing ten ambassadors with full powers to treat with the Persian satrap.

Negotia-
tion with
Tissa-
phernes.
Olymp.
xcii. 1.
A.C. 412.

Soon after the arrival of the Peloponnesian fleet on the coast of Asia, the Spartan commanders had concluded, in the name of their republic, a treaty with Tissaphernes; in which it was stipulated, that the subsidies should be regularly paid by the king of Persia, and that the Peloponnesian forces should employ their utmost endeavours to recover, for that monarch, the

²⁰ Or rather bands, according to Thucydides. Pisander was at pains to gain over to his views *τας ξυνουσίας, αἵπερ ἐτυγγασαν προτερον ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄσαι ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς* "The factions or juntas already formed in Athens, with a view to thrust themselves into the seats of judicature and the great offices of state." Thucyd. p. 592.

dominions of his ancestors, which had been long unjustly usurped, and cruelly insulted, by the Athenians. This treaty seemed so honourable to the Great King, that his lieutenant could not venture openly to infringe it. It is possible, that, in the interval between his intrigues with Alcibiades, and the arrival of the Athenian ambassadors at Magnesia, the place of his usual residence, Tissaphernes might receive fresh instructions from his court to make good his agreement with the Spartans. Perhaps the crafty satrap never entertained any serious thoughts of an alliance with the Athenians, although he sufficiently relished the advice given him by Alcibiades to weaken both parties. But whatever motive determined him, it is certain that he shewed a disinclination to enter into any negotiation with the Athenian ambassadors. Alarmed at the decay of his influence with the Persians, on which he had built the flattering hopes of returning to his country, Alcibiades employed all the resources of his genius to conceal his disgrace. By solicitations, entreaties, and the meanest compliances, he obtained an audience for his fellow-citizens. As the agent of Tissaphernes, he then proposed the conditions on which they might obtain the friendship of the Great King. Several demands were made, demands most disgraceful to the name of Athens; to all of which the ambassadors submitted. They even agreed to surrender the whole coast of Ionia to its ancient sovereign. But when the artful Athenian (fearful lest they should, on any terms,

Artifices
of Alci-
biades.

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accept the treaty which Tissaphernes was resolved on no terms to grant) demanded that the Persian fleets should be allowed to sail undisturbed in the Grecian seas, the ambassadors, well knowing that should this condition be complied with, no compact could hinder Greece from becoming a province of Persia, expressed their indignation in very unguarded language, and left the assembly in disgust. This imprudence enabled Alcibiades to affirm, with some appearance of truth, that their own anger and obstinacy, not the reluctance of Tissaphernes, had obstructed the negotiation; which was precisely the result and issue most favourable to his views.²¹

The
Athenian
democracy
overturn-
ed. Olymp.
xcii. 2.
A. C. 411.

His artifices succeeded, but were not attended with the consequences expected from them. The Athenians, both in the camp and city, perceived, by this transaction, that his credit with the Persians was less than he represented it; and the aristocratical faction were glad to get rid of a man, whose restless ambition rendered him a dangerous associate. They persisted, however, with great activity, in executing their purpose; of which Phrynichus, who had opposed them only from hatred of Alcibiades, became an active abettor. When persuasion was ineffectual, they had recourse to violence. Androcles, Hyperbolus,²²

²¹ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 593.

²² Thucydides paints his character in few words: "Ἵπερβόλον τε τινα Ἀθηναίῳ, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον ὠστροκισμένον ὃ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ αξιώματος φόβον, ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ ἀσχυρίην τῆς πόλεως. " One Hyperbolus, a worthless fellow, and banished by the Ostracism, not from fear of his power and dignity, but on account of his ex-

and other licentious demagogues, were assassinated. The people of Athens, ignorant of the strength of the conspirators, and surprised to find in the number many whom they least suspected, were restrained by inactive timidity, or fluctuated in doubtful suspense. The cabal alone acted with union and with vigour; and difficult as it seemed to subvert the Athenian democracy, which had subsisted an hundred years with unexampled glory, yet this design was undertaken and accomplished by the enterprising activity of Pisander, the artful eloquence of Theramenes, the firm intrepidity of Phrynichus, and the superintending wisdom of Antiphon.²³

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He it was who formed the plan, and regulated the mode of attack, which was carried on by his associates. In a deliberation concerning the means of retrieving the affairs of the public, Pisander proposed the election of ten men, who should be charged with the important trust of preparing and digesting resolutions, to be on an appointed day laid before the assembly of the people. When the day arrived, the commissioners had but one resolution to propose: "That every citizen should be free to offer his opinion, however contrary to law, without fear of impeachment or trial;" a matter essential to the interests of the cabal, since by a strange contradiction in

Government of
the four
hundred.

treme profligacy, and his being a disgrace to the city." The Ostracism was thought to be for ever disgraced by being applied to such an unworthy object, and thenceforth laid aside. See Plut. in Nicias, and Aristoph. in Pac. ver. 680.

²³ Thucydid. *ibid.* et Lysias *advers.* Agorat.

C H A P. government, the Athenian orators and statesmen
XXI. were liable to prosecution ²⁴ before the ordinary courts of justice, for such speeches and decrees as had been approved and confirmed by the assembly. In consequence of this act of indemnity, Pisander and his party boldly declared that neither the spirit nor the forms of the established constitution (which had recently subjected them to such a weight of misfortunes) suited the present dangerous and alarming crisis. That it was necessary to new model the whole fabric of government; for which purpose five persons (whose names he read) ought to be appointed by the people, to choose an hundred others; each of whom should select three associates: and the four hundred thus chosen, men of dignity and opulence, who would serve their country without fee or reward, ought immediately to be invested with the majesty of the republic. They alone should conduct the administration uncontrouled, and assemble, as often as seemed proper, five thousand citizens, whom they judged most worthy of being consulted in the management of public affairs. This extraordinary proposal was accepted without opposition: the partisans of democracy dreaded the strength of the cabal; and the undiscerning multitude, dazzled by the imposing name of five thousand, a number far exceeding the ordinary assemblies of Athens, perceived not that they surrendered their liberties to the artifice of an ambitious faction. ²⁵

²⁴ By the γραφή παρανομων. See vol. i. chap. 13.

²⁵ Thucydid. et Lysias, ubi supra.

But the conduct of the four hundred tyrants (for historians have justly adopted the language of Athenian resentment) soon opened the eyes and understanding of the most thoughtless. They abolished every vestige of ancient freedom; employed mercenary troops levied from the small islands of the *Ægean*, to overawe the multitude, to intimidate, and in some instances to destroy, their real or suspected enemies. Instead of seizing the opportunity of annoying the *Peloponnesians*, enraged at the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, and mutinous for want of pay and subsistence, they sent ambassadors to solicit peace from the *Spartans* on the most dishonourable terms. Their tyranny rendered them odious in the city, and their cowardice made them contemptible in the camp at *Samos*. Their cruelty and injustice were described, and exaggerated, by the fugitives who continually arrived in that island. The generous youth, employed in the sea and land service, were impatient of the indignities offered to their fellow-citizens. The same indignities might be inflicted on themselves, if they did not vindicate their freedom. These secret murmurs broke out into loud and licentious clamours, which were encouraged by the approbation of the *Samians*. *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus*, two officers of high merit and distinction, though not actually entrusted with a share in the supreme command*, gave activity and boldness

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Their tyranny renders them odious.

Their partisans at *Samos* destroyed by *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus*.

* Neither generals nor admirals: for *Thrasybulus* only commanded a galley; and *Thrasyllus* served in the heavy-armed in-

C H A P. to the insurgents. The abettors of the new go-
 XXI. vernment were attacked by surprise; thirty of the
 most criminal were put to death, several others
 were banished, democracy was re-established in
 the camp, and the soldiers were bound by oath
 to maintain their hereditary government against
 the conspiracy of domestic foes, and to act with
 vigour and unanimity against the public enemy.

The former con-
 ducts Al-
 cibiades to
 the Athe-
 nian camp.

Thrasybulus, who headed this successful and
 meritorious sedition, had a mind to conceive,
 a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute,
 the most daring designs. He exhorted the
 soldiers, not to despair of effecting in the capital
 the same revolution which they had produced in
 the camp. But should they fail in that design,
 they ought no longer to obey a city which had
 neither wealth nor wisdom, neither supplies nor
 good counsel to send them. They were them-
 selves more numerous than the subjects of the
 four hundred, and better provided with all things
 necessary for war. They possessed an island
 which had formerly contended with Athens for
 the command of the sea, and which, it was
 hoped, they might defend against every foe,
 foreign and domestic. But were they compelled
 to forsake it, they had still reason to expect
 that, with an hundred ships of war, and with
 so many brave men, they might acquire an
 establishment not less valuable elsewhere, in
 which they would enjoy, undisturbed, the invalu-

fantry, whether as an officer, or in the ranks, the expression leaves
 uncertain. The scholiast, however, considers *οπλιτευοντι* as synoni-
 mous with *τε δηλιτικα αρχοντι*. Thucyd. p 604.

able gifts of liberty. Their most immediate concern was to recal Alcibiades, who had been deceived and disgraced by the tyrants, and who not only felt with peculiar sensibility, but could resent with becoming dignity, the wrongs of his country and his own. The advice of Thrasybulus was approved; soon after he sailed to Magnesia, and returned in company with Alcibiades.

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Nearly four years had elapsed since the eloquent son of Clinias had spoken in an Athenian assembly. Being presented by Thrasybulus to his fellow-citizens, he began by accusing his fortune, and lamenting his calamities. " Yet his banishment ought not to affect him with permanent sorrow, since it had furnished him with an opportunity to serve the cause of his country. This event, otherwise unfortunate, had procured him the acquaintance and friendship of Tissaphernes; who, moved by his entreaties, had withheld the stipulated pay from the Peloponnesian forces, and who, he doubted not, would continue his good offices to the Athenians, supply them with every thing requisite for maintaining the war, and even summon the Phœnician fleet to their assistance." These were magnificent but flattering promises. In making them, Alcibiades however did not consult merely the dictates of vanity. They raised his credit with the army, who immediately saluted him general ²⁷;

He addresses his countrymen.

²⁷ Μετα των προτερων — They associated him with the former commanders. But Thucydides immediately adds, και τα πραγματα παντα ανετιδεσαν, and referred every thing to his management, p. 609.

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neighbourhood of Miletus ; they put the garrisons to the sword ; their treacherous commander, Astyochus, saved his life by flying to an altar ; nor was the tumult appeased until the guilty were removed from their sight, and Myndarus, an officer of approved valour and fidelity, arrived from Sparta to assume the principal command.³¹

Amidst the
tumults in
Athens,
the Peloponnesian
fleet ap-
pears on
the coast.

The dreadful consequences which must have resulted to the Athenians, if, during the fury of their sedition, the enemy had attacked them with a fleet of an hundred and fifty sail, may be conceived by the terror inspired by a much smaller Peloponnesian squadron of only forty-two vessels, commanded by the Spartan Hegesandridas. The friends of the constitution had assembled in the spacious theatre of Bacchus. Messengers passed between them and the partisans of Antiphon and Pisander, who had convened in a distant quarter of the city. The most important matters were in agitation, when the alarm was given that some Peloponnesian ships had been seen on the coast. Both assemblies were immediately dissolved. All ranks of men hastened to the Piræus ; manned the vessels in the harbour ; launched others ; and prepared thirty-six for taking the sea. When Hegesandridas perceived the ardent opposition which he must encounter in attempting to land ; he doubled the promontory of Sunium, and sailed towards the fertile island of Eubœa, from which, since the fortification of Decelia, the Athenians

³¹ Thucyd. p. 611.

had derived far more plentiful supplies than from the desolated territory of Attica. To defend a country which formed their principal resource, they sailed in pursuit of the enemy, and observed them next day near the shore of Eretria, the most considerable town in the island.

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The Eubœans, who had long watched an opportunity to revolt, supplied the Peloponnesian squadron with all necessaries in abundance; but instead of furnishing a market to the Athenians, they retired from the coast on their approach. The commanders were obliged to diminish their strength, by detaching several parties into the country to procure provisions; Hegesandridas seized this moment to attack them: most of the ships were taken; the crews swam to land; many were cruelly murdered by the Eretrians, from whom they expected protection; and such only survived as took refuge in the Athenian garrisons scattered over the island.²²

Battle of
Eretria.

The news of this misfortune were most alarming to the Athenians. Neither the invasion of Xerxes, nor even the defeat in Sicily, occasioned such terrible consternation. They dreaded the immediate defection of Eubœa: they had not any more ships to launch; no new means of resisting their multiplied enemies; the city was divided against the camp, and divided against itself. Yet the magnanimous firmness of Themistocles did not allow the friends of liberty to despair. He encouraged them to disburden

Democracy re-
established
in Athens.
Olymp.
xcii. 2.
A. C. 41

²² Thucyd. p. 622.

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The Athenians victorious at sea.
Olymp. xcii. 2.
A. C. 411.

By the imprudent or perfidious conduct of their commanders, and the seditious spirit of their troops, the Peloponnesians lost a seasonable opportunity to terminate the war with equal advantage and honour; and having neglected the prosperous current of their fortune, they were compelled long and laboriously to strive against an unfavourable stream. The doubtful Tissa-

³³ The government was brought back to its original principles, as established by Solon. Among other salutary regulations, it was enacted, that no one should receive a salary for any public magistracy. "And now," says Thucydides, "for the first time, in the present age at least, the Athenians modelled their government aright: and this enabled Athens again to raise her head." Thucyd. p. 623. It is remarkable that neither Diodorus, Plutarch, nor any of the orators, make the least mention of those salutary regulations, which indeed lasted not long after the return of Alcibiades.

phernes hesitated between the part of an open enemy, or a treacherous ally; the Spartans, who had formerly rejected the friendship, now courted the protection, of his rival Pharnabazus; to whose northern province they sailed with the principal strength of their armament, leaving only a small squadron at Miletus, to defend their southern acquisitions. The Athenians animated by the manly counsels of Thrasybulus, and Thrasyllus, the generous defenders of their freedom, proceeded northwards in pursuit of the enemy; and the important straits which join the Euxine and Ægean seas, became, and long continued, the scene of conflict. In the twenty-first winter of the war, a year already distinguished by the dissolution and revival of their democracy, the Athenians prevailed in three successive engagements, the event of which became continually more decisive. In the first, which was fought in the narrow channel between Sestos and Abydos, the advantages were in some measure balanced, since Thrasybulus took twenty Peloponnesian ships, with the loss of fifteen of his own. But the glory remained entire to the Athenians, who repelled the enemy and offered to renew the battle.³⁴ Not long afterwards they intercepted a squadron of fourteen Rhodian vessels, near Cape Rhegium. The islanders defended themselves with their usual bravery. Myndarus beheld the engagement from the distance of eight miles, while he performed his

³⁴ Thucyd. l. viii. p. 626.

C H A P. morning devotions to Minerva in the lofty
 XXI. temple of Illium. Alarmed for the safety of his
 friends, he rushed from that sacred edifice, and
 hastened with great diligence to the shore, that
 he might launch his ships, and prevent, by speedy
 assistance, the capture or destruction of the
 Rhodians.³⁵ The principal Athenian squadron
 attacked him near the shore of Abydus. The
 engagement was fought from morning till night,
 and still continued doubtful, when the arrival of
 eighteen gallies, commanded by Alcibiades,
 turned the scale of victory. The escape of the
 Peloponnesians, was favoured by the bravery of
 Pharnabazus, who, at the head of his Bar-
 barian troops, had been an impatient spectator
 of the combat. He gallantly rode into the sea,
 encouraging his men with his voice, his arm, and
 his example. The Spartan admiral drew up the
 greatest part of his fleet along the shore, and
 prepared to resist the assailants; but the
 Athenians, satisfied with the advantages already
 obtained, sailed to Sestos, carrying with them a
 valuable prize, thirty Peloponnesian gallies, as
 well as fifteen of their own, which they had lost
 in the former engagement. Thrasyllus was sent
 to Athens, that he might communicate the good
 news, and raise such supplies of men and money
 as could be expected from that exhausted city.³⁶

Alcibiades
 surprises,
 and takes
 the whole

The Spartans yielded possession of the sea,
 which they hoped soon to recover, and retired to
 the friendly harbours of Cyzicus, to repair their

³⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. 1. Diodor. xiii. p. 354. ³⁶ Id. ibid.

shattered fleet ; while the Athenians profited of the fame of their victory and the terror of their arms, to demand contributions from the numerous and wealthy towns in that neighbourhood. The several divisions returned to Sestos, having met with very indifferent success in their design ; nor, without obtaining more decisive and important advantages, could they expect to intimidate such strongly fortified places as Byzantium, Selembria, Perinthus, on the European, or Lamp-sacus, Parium, Chalcedon, on the Asiatic, coast. It was determined, therefore, chiefly by the advice of Alcibiades, to attack the enemy at Cyzicus : for which purpose they sailed with eighty gallies, to the small island of Proconnesus, near the western extremity of the Propontis, and ten miles distant from the station of the Peloponnesian fleet. Alcibiades surprised sixty vessels in a dark and rainy morning, as they were manœuvring at a distance from the harbour, and skilfully intercepted their retreat. As the day cleared up, the rest sailed forth to their assistance ; the action became general ; the Athenians obtained a complete victory, and their valour was rewarded by the capture of the whole Peloponnesian fleet, except the Syracusan ships, which were burned, in the face of a victorious enemy, by the enterprising Hermocrates. The circumstances and consequences of this important action were related in few, but expressive words, to the Spartan senate, in a letter written by Hippocrates, the second in command, and intercepted by the Athenians : “ All is lost ; our

CHAP. ships are taken; Myndarus is slain; the men
 XXI. want bread; we know not what to do.”³⁷

The Athenians diligently improve their advantages.
 Olymp. xcii. 3.
 A. C. 410

The fatal disaster at Cyzicus prevented the Peloponnesians from obstructing, during the following year, the designs of the enemy, who took possession of that wealthy sea-port, as well as of the strong city Perinthus; raised a large contribution on Selebria; and fortified Chrysopolis, a small town of Chalcedonia, only three miles distant from Byzantium. In this new fortress they placed a considerable body of troops; and guarded the neighbouring strait with a squadron of thirty sail, commanded by Theramenes and Eubulus, and destined to exact, as tribute, a tenth from all ships which sailed through the Bosphorus into the Euxine sea.³⁸ The Peloponnesians were assisted by Pharnabazus in equipping a new fleet; but were deprived of the wise counsels of Hermocrates, whose abilities were well fitted both to prepare and to employ the resources of war. The success of the Asiatic expedition had not corresponded to the sanguine hopes of his countrymen; the insolent populace accused the incapacity of their commanders; and a mandate was sent from Syracuse, depriving them of their office, and punishing them with banishment,

³⁷ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. 1. & Plut. p. 60. in Alcibiad.

³⁸ It is well known, that Mahomet the Second obtained the same end, by fortifying two castles, one on the Asiatic, and another on the European side. That near to Chrysopolis is called by the modern Greeks Neocastron; but the name of the town itself is changed to Scutari; a place deemed by the Turks one of the suburbs of Constantinople. *TOURNEFORTE, Lettre 15.*

The conduct of Hermocrates is worthy of admiration. Having called an assembly, he deplored his hard fortune, but recommended the most submissive obedience to the authority of the republic. He then exhorted the sailors to name temporary commanders, till the arrival of those who had been appointed by their country. But the assembly, especially the captains and pilots, tumultuously called out, "That the and his colleagues ought to continue in the command." Hermocrates then conjured them "not to rebel against the government. When they should return home, they would then enjoy a fair opportunity to do justice to their admirals, by recounting the battles which they had won, by enumerating the ships which they had taken, and by relating how their own courage, and the conduct of their commanders, had entitled them to the most honourable place in every engagement by sea and land." At the earnest and unanimous entreaty of the assembly, he consented, however, to retain his authority till the arrival of his successors. His colleagues imitated the example; and soon after this memorable scene, Demarchus, Mysco, and Potamis, the admirals named by the state, took the command of the Syracusan forces. Yet the soldiers and sailors would not allow their beloved leaders to depart, before taking in their presence a solemn oath to revoke their unjust banishment, whenever they themselves returned to Syracuse. On Hermocrates in particular, the captains and pilots bestowed many distinguished tokens of their

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Admirable
behaviour
of Hermo-
crates the
Syracusan.

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affection and respect ; which his behaviour, indeed, had justly merited ; for every morning and evening he had called them together, communicated his designs, asked their opinion and advice, reviewed the past, and concerted the future operations of the war ; while his popular manners and condescending affability secured the love of those who respected his great talents, his vigilance, and his courage.³⁰

Thrasyl-
lus, at first
successful,
is defeated
in the
battle of
Ephesus.
Olymp.
xcii. 4.
A. C. 409.

Meanwhile Thrasyllus obtained at Athens the supplies which he had gone to solicit ; supplies far more powerful than he had reason to expect. They consisted in a thousand heavy-armed men, an hundred horse, and fifty gallies, manned by five thousand experienced seamen. That the sailors might be usefully employed on every emergence at sea or land, they were provided with the small and light bucklers, the darts, swords, and javelins, appropriate to the Grecian targeteers, who, uniting strength and velocity, formed an intermediate and useful order between the archers and pikemen. With these forces, Thrasyllus sailed to Samos, hoping to render the twenty-third campaign not less glorious than the preceding ; and ambitious to rival, by his victories in the central and southern parts of the Asiatic coast, the fame acquired by Alcibiades and Thrasylulus in the north. His first operations were successful. He took Colophon, with several places of less note, in Ionia ; penetrated into the heart of Lydia, burning the corn and

³⁰ Xenoph. p. 431.

villages; and returned to the shore, driving before him vast crowds of slaves, and other valuable booty. His courage was increased by the want of resistance on the part of Tissaphernes, whose province he had invaded; on that of the Peloponnesian forces at Miletus; and on that of the revolted colonies of Athens. He resolved, therefore, to attack the beautiful and flourishing city of Ephesus, which was then the principal ornament and defence of the Ionic coast. While his soldiers, in separate divisions, were making their approaches to the walls of that place, the enemy assembled from every quarter to defend the majesty of Ephesian Diana. A vigorous sally of the townsmen animated the exertions of Tissaphernes and the Peloponnesians, the latter of whom had been seasonably reinforced by a considerable squadron from Sicily. The Athenians were defeated with the loss of three hundred men; and retiring from the field of battle, they took refuge in their ships, and prepared to sail towards the Hellespont. ⁴⁰

During the voyage thither, they fell in with twenty Sicilian galleys, of which they took four, and pursued the rest to Ephesus. Having soon afterwards reached the Hellespont, they found the Athenian armament at Lampsacus, where Alcibiades thought proper to muster the whole military and naval forces: but, on this occasion, the northern army gave a remarkable proof of pride, or spirit. They, who had ever been victorious,

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His soldiers regain their honour before the walls of Abydos.

⁴⁰ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 434.

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refused to rank with the soldiers of Thrasyllus, who had been so shamefully foiled before the walls of Ephesus. They submitted, however, though not without reluctance, to live in the same winter-quarters; from whence they made a conjunct expedition against Abydus. Pharnabazus defended the place with a numerous body of Persian cavalry. The disgraced troops of Thrasyllus rejoiced in an opportunity to retrieve their honour. They attacked, repelled, and routed the enemy. Their victory decided the fate of Abydus, and their courage was approved by the army of Alcibiades, who embraced them as fellow-soldiers and friends.

Alcibiades
takes By-
zantium.
His success
by sea and
land.
Olymp.
xciii. 1.
A. C. 408.

For several years the measures of the Athenians had been almost uniformly successful; but the twenty-fourth campaign was distinguished by peculiar favours of fortune. The invasion of Sicily by the Carthaginians prevented that island from sending any effectual assistance to their Peloponnesian allies. The dangerous revolt of the Medes withheld the Persian reinforcements, which were necessary to support the arms of ⁴¹ Pharnabazus. Both enemies were repeatedly defeated by the Athenians, driven from their encampments and fortresses near the shore, and pursued into the inland country, which was plundered and desolated by the victors. The Athenians returned in triumph to attack the fortified cities, which still declined submission; an undertaking in which Alcibiades displayed the wonderful resources of his versatile genius. By gradual approaches, by

⁴¹ Diodorus, l. xiii.

sudden assaults, by surprise, by treason, or by stratagem, he in a few months became master of Chalcedon, Celembria, and at last of Byzantium itself. His naval success was equally conspicuous. The Athenians again commanded the sea. The small squadrons fitted out by the enemy successively fell into their power; and these multiplied captures, which were made with little difficulty, accumulated the trophies of the well-fought battles which we have already described. It was computed by the partisans of Alcibiades, that, since assuming the command, he had taken or destroyed two hundred Syracusan and Peloponnesian galleys; and his superiority of naval force enabled him to raise such contributions, both in the Euxine and Mediterranean, as abundantly supplied his fleet and army with every necessary article of subsistence and accommodation.⁴²

While the Athenian arms were crowned with such glory abroad, the Attic territory was continually harassed by King Agis and the Lacedæmonian troops posted at Decælia. Their bold and sudden incursions frequently threatened the safety of the city itself; the desolated lands afforded no advantage to the ruined proprietors; nor could the Athenians venture without their walls, to celebrate their accustomed festivals. Alcibiades, animated by his foreign victories, hoped to relieve the domestic sufferings of his country; and after an absence of many years, distinguished by such a variety of fortune,

His triumphant return to Athens. Olymp. xciii. 2. A. C. 407.

⁴² Xenoph. Hellen. Diodor. l. xiii. Plut. in Alcibiad.

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eagerly longed to revisit his native city, and to enjoy the rewards and honours usually bestowed by the Greeks on successful valour. This celebrated voyage, which ancient historians were fond of decorating with every circumstance of naval triumph ⁴³, was performed in the twenty-fifth summer of the war. Notwithstanding all his services, the cautious son of Clinias, instructed by adversity, declined to land in the Piræus, until he was informed that the assembly had repealed the decrees against him, formally revoked his banishment, and prolonged the term of his command. Even after this agreeable intelligence, he was still unable to conquer his well-founded distrust of the variable and capricious humours of the people; nor would he approach the crowded shore, till he observed, in the midst of the multitude, his principal friends and relations inviting him by their voice and action. He then landed amidst the universal acclamations of the spectators, who, unattentive to the naval pomp, and regardless of the other commanders, fixed their eyes only on Alcibiades. Next day an extraordinary assembly was summoned, by order of the magistrates, that he might explain and justify his apparent misconduct, and receive the rewards due to his acknowledged merit. The public anticipated his apology by contrasting the melancholy situation of affairs when Alcibiades assumed the command, with the actual condition of the republic. "At the former

⁴³ Duris apud Plut. in Alcibiad.

period Athens yielded the command of the sea: the enemy were every where victorious: the state was oppressed by foreign war, torn by sedition, without resources, and without hope. The address and dexterity of Alcibiades was alone able to have disunited the councils, to have weakened and afterwards repelled the efforts of a powerful confederacy; his activity and courage could alone have animated the dejection of the citizens to pursue the measures of offensive war: his abilities, his virtue, and his fortune, could alone have rendered those measures successful."

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Before judges so favourably disposed to hear him, Alcibiades found no difficulty to make his defence; but it was difficult both for him and his friends to moderate the excessive transports of the people, who would have loaded their favourite with honours incompatible with the genius of a free republic, and which might, therefore, have proved dangerous to his future safety.

His reception there.

He received, with pleasure, the crowns and garlands, with other accustomed pledges of public gratitude and admiration; but he respectfully declined the royal sceptre, expressing a firm resolution to maintain the hereditary freedom of his country. "Athens required not a king, but a general with undivided power, capable of restoring the ancient splendour of the commonwealth. To this illustrious rank, which had been filled by Themistocles and Cimon, the son of Clinias might justly aspire. He was appointed

⁴⁴ Com. Isocrat. Orat. pro Alcibiad. et Plut. in Alcibiad.

C H A P. commander in chief by sea and land.⁴⁵ An
 XXI. hundred gallies were equipped, and transports
 were prepared for fifteen hundred heavy-armed
 men, with a proportional body of cavalry.

The Eleu-
 sinian
 mysteries

Several months⁴⁶ had passed in these prepar-
 ations, when the Eleusinian festival approached ;
 a time destined to commemorate and to diffuse
 the temporal and spiritual gifts of the goddess
 Ceres, originally bestowed on the Athenians, and
 by them communicated to the rest of ⁴⁷ Greece.
 Corn, wine, and oil, were the principal pro-
 ductions of Attica ; each of which had been
 introduced into that country through the pro-
 pitious intervention of a divinity, whose name
 was distinguished by appropriated honours.
 Minerva, who had given not only the olive, but
 what was regarded as far more valuable, her
 peculiar protection to the city of Athens, was
 rewarded with innumerable solemnities. Various
 also were the professions of gratitude expressed,
 in stated days of the spring and autumn, to the
 generous author of the vine. The festival of

⁴⁵ *Ἀναρθεὶς ἀπαντῶν ἡγεμὼν αυτοκράτωρ.* "He was chosen absolute
 commander of all." Xenoph. p. 440.

⁴⁶ From the festivals Plinteria and Eleusinia, mentioned in the
 text, it appears that he arrived in July, and sailed in November.

⁴⁷ Meursius, apud Gronov. Thesaur. has collected all the pas-
 sages in ancient writers respecting this festival. It is said to have
 been celebrated in the month Boedromion, which, according to
 Father Petau, answers to our November. But as the Attic year was
 lunar, the months of that year could not exactly correspond to
 those of ours. In the computation of their months, the Greeks
 agreed not with other nations, nor even among themselves. Vid.
 Plut. in Vit. Romul. et Aristid.

Ceres returned, indeed, less frequently; but was, partly on that account, the more solemn and awful; and partly, because distinguished by the Eleusinian mysteries, those hidden treasures of wisdom and happiness, which were poured out on the initiated in the temple of Eleusis. Fourteen⁴⁸ centuries before the Christian æra, the goddess, it is said, communicated those invaluable rites to Eumolpus and Keryx, two virtuous men, who had received her in the form of an unknown traveller, with pious⁴⁹ hospitality. Their descendants, the Eumolpidæ and Keryces, continued the ministers and guardians of this memorable institution, which was finally abolished by the great Theodosius, after it had lasted eighteen hundred years.⁵⁰ The candidates for initiation were prepared by watching, abstinence, sacrifice, and prayer; and before revealing to them the divine secrets, the most awful silence was enjoined them. Yet enough transpired among the prophane vulgar to enable us still to collect, from impartial⁵¹ and authentic testi-

⁴⁸ Marb. Arund. Epoch. 14.

⁴⁹ Diodor. l. v. Isocrat. Panegyr. Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

⁵⁰ Zozim. Hist. l. iv.

⁵¹ I say *impartial*, because Isocrates, the scholar of Socrates, cannot be supposed to exaggerate the merit of ceremonies, which his master declined to be made acquainted with. The passage is remarkable: "Though what I am going to relate may be disfigured by tradition and fable, the substance of it is not the less deserving of your regard. When Ceres travelled to Attica in quest of her daughter, she received the most hospitable treatment, and those particular good offices which are known to the initiated. The goddess was not-ungrateful for such favours, but in return conferred on our ancestors the two most valuable presents which either heaven can

C H A P. mony, that the mysteries of Ceres expressed by
 XXI. significant emblems, the immortality of the
 human soul, and the rewards prepared in a
 future life for the virtuous servants of heaven.
 The secrecy enjoined by her ministers, so unworthy the truths which they taught, might justify the indifference of Socrates⁵², whose doctrines, not less divine, were inculcated with unreserved freedom. But the fate of Socrates may justify, in its turn, the circumspection of the hierophants of Ceres.

Alcibiades
 conducts
 the Eleu-
 sinian pro-
 cession.

Besides the mysterious ceremonies of the temple, the worship of that bountiful goddess was celebrated by vocal and instrumental music, by public shows and exhibitions, which continued during several days, and above all, by the pompous procession, which marched for ten miles along the sacred road leading from Athens to Eleusis.⁵³ This important part of the solemnity had formerly been intermitted, because the Athenians, after the loss of Decelia, were no longer masters of the road, and were compelled, contrary to established custom, to proceed by sea to the temple of Ceres. Alcibiades determined to wipe off the stain of impiety

bestow, or mankind can receive; the practice of agriculture, which delivered us from the fierce and precarious manner of life, common to us with wild animals; and the knowledge of those sacred mysteries which fortify the initiated against the terrors of death, and inspire them with the pleasing hopes of an happy immortality." See Panegy. p. 24. & Euseb. Præpar. Evang. l. iii.

⁵² Laert. in Diogene.

⁵³ Herodot. l. viii. c. 65. & Plut. in Alcibiad.

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which had long adhered to his character, by renewing, in all its lustre, this venerable procession. He prepared to defend, by an armed force, the peaceful ministers and votaries of the gods, believing that the Spartans would either allow them to pass undisturbed, which must lessen the military fame of that people, or if they attempted to interrupt the ceremony, must be exposed not only to the dangerous resistance of men animated by enthusiasm, but to the disgraceful charge of irreligion, and the general detestation of Greece. The priests, the heralds, and the whole body of the initiated, were apprised of his intention, and requested to hold themselves in readiness by the appointed day. Early in the morning, bodies of cavalry explored the adjoining country; the eminences were occupied by the light infantry and targeteers; and, after sufficient garrisons had been left to defend the Athenian walls and fortresses, the whole mass of heavy-armed troops was drawn out to protect the Eleusinian procession, which marched along the usual road to the temple, and afterwards returned to Athens, without suffering any molestation from the Lacedæmonians; having united, on this occasion alone, all the splendour of war with the pomp of superstition.⁵⁴

Soon after this meritorious enterprise, Alcibiades prepared to sail for Lesser Asia, accompanied by the affectionate admiration of his fellow-citizens, who flattered themselves that the

His glory
clouded
by the in-
auspicious
return of
the Plyn-
teria.

⁵⁴ Plut. in Alcibiad.

C H A P. abilities and fortune of their commander would
 XXI. speedily reduce Chios, Ephesus, Miletus, and the other revolted cities and islands. The general alacrity, however, was somewhat abated by the reflection, that the arrival of Alcibiades in Athens coincided with the anniversary of the Plynteria⁵⁵, a day condemned to melancholy idleness, from a superstitious belief that nothing undertaken on that day could be brought to a prosperous conclusion. The celebrated Parthenon, whose remains still attest the magnificence of Pericles, was consecrated by the presence of a goddess, who realised the inspirations of Homer, as far as they were capable of being expressed by the genius of Phidias. Minerva, composed of gold and ivory, and twenty-six cubits high, was represented with the casque, the buckler, the lance, and all her usual emblems; and the warm fancy of the Athenians, enlivened and transported by the graceful majesty of her air and aspect, confounded the painful production of the statuary with the instantaneous creation of Jupiter. To confirm this useful illusion, the crafty priests of the temple carefully washed and brightened the image, whose extraordinary lustre increased the veneration of the multitude. The Plynteria, during which this ceremony was performed, required uncommon secrecy and circumspection. The eyes and imagination of the vulgar might have become too familiar with their revered goddess, had they beheld her

⁵⁵ Πλυνειν, to wash; πλυντηρ, πλυντηριος; and in the plural neuter, "the ceremony of ablution."

stripped of her accustomed ornaments, and observed every part of her form brightening into new beauty under the plastic hands of the priests. To prevent this dangerous consequence, the Plynteria was veiled in mystic obscurity: the doors of the temple were shut; that sacred edifice was surrounded on all sides to intercept the approach of indiscretion or profanity; and the return of Alcibiades, the favourite hope of his country, happening on the inauspicious day when Minerva hid her countenance, was believed by many to announce the dreadful calamities which soon afterwards befel the republic. ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Xenoph. p. 488. & Plut. in Alcibiad.

CHAP. XXII.

Character of Lysander. — His Conference with Cyrus. — He defeats the Athenian Fleet. — Disgrace of Alcibiades. — Lysander succeeded by Callicratidas. — His Transactions with the Persians — with the Spartan Allies. — Battle of Arginussæ. — Trial of the Athenian Admirals. — Eteonicus checks a Mutiny of the Peloponnesian Troops. — Lysander resumes the Command. — Battle of Ægos Potamos. — Spartan Empire in Asia. — Siege and Surrender of Athens. — Humiliation of the Athenians.

CHAP.
XXII.

Lysander
takes the
command
of the Pe-
loponne-
sian forces
in the
East.
Olymp.
xciii. 2.
A. C. 407.

WHILE the superstitious multitude trembled at the imaginary anger of Minerva, men of reflection and experience dreaded the activity and valour of Lysander, who, during the residence of Alcibiades at Athens, had taken the command of the Peloponnesian forces in the East. The forms of the Spartan constitution required a rapid succession of generals; a circumstance, which, amidst the numerous inconveniences with which it was attended, enlarged the sphere of military competition, and multiplying the number of actors on the theatre of war, afforded an opportunity for the display of many illustrious characters, which must otherwise have remained in obscurity.

In the rotation of annual elections, offices of importance and dignity will often be entrusted to men unworthy to fill them ; but, in the vast variety of experiments, abilities of the most distinguished order (if any such exist in the community) must some time be called into exertion, honoured with confidence, and armed with authority.

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Such abilities the Spartans finally discovered in Lysander ; a shoot of the Herculean stock, but not descended from either of the royal branches. He had been educated with all the severity of Spartan discipline : and having spent his youth and his manhood in those honourable employments¹ which became the dignity of his birth, he approached the decline of life, when his superior merit recommended him to the chief command in a season of public danger. Years had added experience to his valour, and enlarged the resources, without abating the ardour of his fervid mind. In his transactions with the world, he had learned to soften the harsh asperity of his national manners ; to gain by fraud what could not be effected by force ; and, in his own figurative language, to “ eke out the lion’s with the fox’s skin.”² This mixed character admirably suited the part which he was called to act. His

His character.

¹ He had served in the army and navy ; had been employed as ambassador in foreign states, &c. Plut. in Lysand.

² This was said by him, in allusion to the lion’s skin of Hercules, to one who asked, “ How Lysander, who sprang from Hercules, could condescend to conquer his enemies by fraud ? ” His character is diffusely described by Plutarch, t. iii. p. 4—15.

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XXII.

enterprising courage was successfully exerted in the hostile operations against the Greeks; his subtile and insinuating address gave him an ascendant in every negotiation with the Persians; and the re-union of those various qualities enabled him, in a few years, finally to terminate the war, and to produce an important and permanent revolution in the affairs of Athens, of Sparta, and of Greece.

His conference with
Cyrus.
Olymp.
xciii. 2.
A.C. 407.

Since the decisive action at Cyzicus, the Peloponnesians, unable to resist the enemy, had been employed in preparing ships on the coast of their own peninsula, as well as in the harbours of their Persian and Grecian allies. The most considerable squadrons had been equipped in Còs, Rhodes, Miletus, and Ephesus; in the last of which the whole armament, amounting to ninety sail, was collected by Lysander. 'But the assembling of such a force was a matter of little consequence, unless proper measures should be taken for holding it together, and for enabling it to act with vigour. It was necessary, above all, to secure pay for the seamen; for which purpose, Lysander, accompanied by several Lacedæmonian ambassadors, repaired to Sardis, to congratulate the happy arrival of Cyrus, a generous and valiant youth of seventeen, who had been entrusted by his father Darius with the government of the inland parts of Lesser Asia; or, in the language of the Persian court, with the command of the numerous troops who ren-

devoured in the plains of Kastolus.³ Lysander complained to the young and magnanimous prince, "of the perfidious duplicity of Tissaphernes, by which the Athenians had been enabled to re-assume that ascendant in the East, which had formerly proved so dangerous and disgraceful to the Persian name. That satrap seemed, on one occasion indeed, to have discovered the fatal tendency of his measures; and had attempted to check the victorious career of those ambitious republicans, by seizing the person of Alcibiades.⁴ Pharnabazus had more effectually served the cause of his master, by his active valour in the field; by detaining the Athenian ambassadors, who had been sent to surprise the unsuspecting generosity of Darius⁵; and by supplying the Peloponnesians, after the unfortunate engagement at Cyzicus, with the means of preparing a new fleet, and with the necessaries

³ This was the stile of the letter, confirmed by the royal seal, *Κατακτενω Κυρον καρανον των εις Καστωλον αθροιζομενων*. Xenoph. p. 436.

⁴ This event, which happened in the twenty-first year of the war, is related by Xenophon, p. 419. It was omitted in the text, because Alcibiades soon effected his escape; and the treachery of Tissaphernes only displayed his own worthlessness without hurting his enemies.

⁵ This dishonourable transaction was approved by Cyrus, which shows how little even that high-minded prince respected the laws of nations. He begged Pharnabazus to put the Athenians in his hands; at least, not to set them at liberty, that their countrymen might be ignorant of the measures in agitation against them. But a remorse of conscience seized Pharnabazus, who had sworn either to conduct the ambassadors to the Great King, or to send them to the Ionian coast; in consequence of which the Athenians were released. Xenoph. p. 438.

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The pay
of the
Grecian
sailors,
and com-
plement of
their ships.

and conveniences of life, while they were employed in this useful undertaking, But Tissaphernes was unwilling, and Pharnabazus was perhaps unable, to discharge the stipulated pay, without which the Grecian seamen and soldiers could not be kept together, or engaged to act with vigour, against the common enemy. Cyrus replied, “ That he had been commanded by his father to assist the Lacedæmonians, and to pay their troops with the most exact punctuality. That for this purpose, he had carried with him five hundred talents (near an hundred thousand pounds sterling); and if such a sum should be found insufficient, he would willingly expend his private fortune, and even melt down and coin into money the golden throne on which he sat.” ⁶

This discourse gave extraordinary satisfaction to his Grecian auditors; and Lysander endeavoured to avail himself of what, judging by his own character, he imagined might be nothing more than a sudden transport of generosity, by requesting, that the seamen’s pay might be raised from three oboli to an Attic drachma a day. Cyrus answered, “ That, on this subject too, he had received express orders from his father.” ⁷ That the pay should continue on the

⁶ Καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακοψέιν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκαθίητο, οὐτὰ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ. Literally, “ that he would cut in pieces the throne on which he sat, which was composed of silver and gold.”

⁷ Xenophon makes Cyrus answer with more art than truth, “ ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν εἶπε αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατόν δὲ εἶναι, παρ’ ᾧ βασιλεὺς ἐπετείλει αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖν.” Cyrus answered, “ that *they* (Lysander and the Lacedæmonian ambassadors) spoke very reasonably, but that *he* could not act otherwise than he was commanded by his father.”

ancient footing, and the Peloponnesians regularly receive thirty minæ (about ninety pounds sterling) a month, for every ship which they fitted out." Lysander acquiesced with some reluctance, determining to seize the first favourable opportunity to renew his petition. His instructive conversation with Cyrus may enable us to discover an important matter of fact omitted by historians. As the military and naval officers of the Greeks were not distinguished above the common men by the excessive inequality of their appointments, we may compute, from the monthly sum of thirty minæ, distributed at the rate of three oboli of daily pay, that the complement of each ship amounted to about two hundred and forty sailors; so that a fleet of ninety sail employed twenty-one thousand and six hundred men.

Before Lysander returned to Ephesus, he was invited by the Persian prince to a magnificent entertainment, at which, according to the custom of the age, the most serious matters were discussed amidst the freedom and intemperance of the table. This was a seasonable occasion for displaying the arts of insinuation and flattery, in which the Spartan was a complete master. He represented, without moderation, and without decency, the injustice and incapacity of Tissaphernes, who, as he was naturally the rival, might be suspected soon to become the personal enemy of Cyrus. He magnified the beauty, the strength, and the courage, of the young prince. His ad-

Lysander
is enter-
tained at
Sardes by
the Persian
prince.

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dress in military exercises, and the extraordinary endowments of his mind (the fame of which had reached the most distant countries), were extolled with the most elaborate praise. It is not improbable that he might find a topic of panegyric in a quality of which Cyrus was not a little vain ; the capacity of bearing, without intoxication, a greater quantity of wine than any of his equals⁶ ; and he might possibly suggest, that of all the sons of Darius, Cyrus was the best qualified to succeed his father, to fill with dignity the Persian throne, and to emulate the glory of that illustrious hero whose name he bore, the immortal founder of the monarchy. But whatever were the topics of which he made use, it is certain that he excited the warmest emotions of friendship in the youthful breast of Cyrus, who drinking his health, after the Persian fashion, desired him to ask a boon, with full assurance that nothing should be denied him. Lysander replied, with his usual address, “ That he should ask what it would be no less useful for the prince to give, than for him to receive ; the addition of an obolus a day to the pay of the mariners ; an augmentation which, by inducing the Athenian crews to desert, would not only increase their own strength, but enfeeble the common enemy.” Struck with the apparent disinterestedness of this specious proposal, Cyrus ordered him immediately ten thousand daricks (about five thou-

His address in procuring an addition to the seamen's pay.

⁶ Plut. Sympos.

sand pounds sterling); with which he returned to Ephesus, discharged the arrears due to his troops, gave them a month's pay in advance, raised their daily allowance, and seduced innumerable deserters from the Athenian fleet. ^{C H A P. XXII.}

While Lysander was usefully employed in manning his ships, and preparing them for action, Alcibiades attacked the small island of Andros. The resistance was more stubborn than he had reason to expect: and the immediate necessity of procuring pay and subsistence for the fleet, obliged him to leave his work imperfect. With a small squadron he sailed to raise contributions on the Ionian or Carian coast¹⁰, committing the principal armament to Antiochus, a man totally unworthy of such an important trust.¹¹ Even the affectionate partiality of Alcibiades seems to have discerned the incapacity of his favourite, since he gave him strict orders to continue, during his own absence, in the harbour of Samos, and by no means to risk an engagement. This injunction, as it could not prevent the rashness, might perhaps provoke the vain levity of the vice-admiral, who, after the departure of his friend, sailed towards Ephesus, approached the

Defeats the Athenian fleet in the absence of Alcibiades. Olymp. xciii. 2. A.C. 407.

⁹ Plut. tom. iii. p. 7. Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 441. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 360.

¹⁰ Xenophon says, "Alcibiades sailed to Phocæa," which is in Ionia; Plutarch says, "to the coast of Caria."

¹¹ Diodorus gives his character in few words: "Ο δὲ Ἀντιόχος ὡν τῇ φύσει προχείρος, καὶ σκευδὸν διὰ ἑαυτοῦ τι πράξει λαμπρὸν. Antiochus, naturally precipitate, and desirous, by himself, to perform some splendid exploit."

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sterns of Lysander's ships, and with the most licentious insults challenged him to battle. The prudent Spartan delayed the moment of attack, until the presumption of his enemies had thrown them into scattered disorder.¹² He then commanded the Peloponnesian squadrons to advance. His manœuvres were judicious, and executed with a prompt obedience. The battle was not obstinate, as the Athenians, who scarcely expected any resistance, much less assault, sunk at once from the insolence of temerity into the despondency of fear. They lost fifteen vessels, with a considerable part of their crews. The remainder retired disgracefully to Samos; while the Lacedæmonians profited of their victory by the taking of Eion and Delphinium. Though fortune thus favoured the prudence of Lysander, he declined to venture a second engagement with the superior strength of Alcibiades, who, having resumed the command, employed every artifice and insult that might procure him an opportunity to restore the tarnished lustre of the Athenian fleet.

Alcibiades
accused
and dis-
graced.

But such an opportunity he could never again find. The people of Athens who expected to hear of nothing but victories and triumphs, were mortified to the last degree, when they received intelligence of such a shameful defeat. As they could not suspect the abilities, they distrusted the fidelity of their commander. Their suspicions

¹² "Διεσπάρμεναι τὰς ναυαί," Xenoph. p. 441.

were increased and confirmed by the arrival of Thrasybulus ¹³, who, whether actuated by a laudable zeal for the interest of the public service, or animated by a selfish jealousy of the fame and honours that had been so liberally heaped on a rival, formally impeached Alcibiades in the Athenian assembly. "His misconduct had totally ruined the affairs of his country. A talent for low buffoonery was a sure recommendation to his favour. His friends were partially selected from the meanest and most abandoned of men, who possessed no other merit than that of being subservient to his passions. To such unworthy instruments the fleet of Athens was entrusted; while the commander-in-chief revelled in debauchery with the harlots of Abydus and Ionia, or raised exorbitant contributions on the dependent cities, that he might defray the expence of a fortress on the coast of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of Byzantium, which he had erected to shelter himself against the just vengeance of the republic."

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¹³ Thrasybulus, we have seen, had a principal share in bringing about the recall of Alcibiades. Nor was the latter ungrateful to his benefactor. When the Athenians committed to him their whole military and naval force, "*ἀνατολὰς τὰς θύρας*," and allowed him to name his own colleagues, or rather substitutes, he named Thrasybulus and Adimantus. Diod. l. xiii. p. 368. Considering this interchange of good offices between Alcibiades and Thrasybulus, it is remarkable that no Greek writer assigns any reason for the animosity that soon afterwards broke out between them. Plutarch says, that Thrasybulus was the bitterest of Alcibiades's enemies, and imputes his accusation of him to enmity, not to patriotism.

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Ten commanders
appointed
in his
stead.

Were it necessary to prove by examples the deceitful emptiness of popular favour, this subject might be copiously illustrated from the history of the Athenians. The same man whom, a few months before, they found it impossible sufficiently to reward, was actually exposed to the rage of disappointment and the fury of revenge. They regretted the loss of every moment which intervened between the rapid progress of their resentment, and the execution of their vengeance. In the same assembly, and on the same day, Alcibiades was accused, and almost unanimously condemned; and, that the affairs of the republic might not again suffer by the abuse of undivided power, ten commanders were substituted in his room; among whom were Thrasyllus, Leon, Diomedon, whose approved valour, and love of liberty, justly recommended them to public honours; Conon, a character as yet but little known, but destined, in a future period, to eclipse the fame of his contemporaries; and Pericles, who inherited the name, the merit, and the bad fortune, of his illustrious father. The new generals immediately sailed to Samos; and Alcibiades sought refuge in his Thracian fortress.¹⁴

Callicratidas sent to
command
the Peloponnesian
fleet.
Olymp.
xciii. 3.
A. C. 406.

They had scarcely assumed the command, when an important alteration took place in the Peloponnesian fleet. Lysander's year had expired, and Callicratidas, a Spartan of a very opposite character, was sent to succeed him.

¹⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. sub. fin. Diodor. xiii. 67—74.

The active, ambitious, and intriguing temper of the former had employed as much assiduous and systematic policy during the short term of his precarious power, as if his authority had been absolute and endless. Though endowed with uncommon vigour of mind, and with consummate prudence, (if prudence can belong to a character deficient in justice and humanity,) he possessed not those amiable and useful qualities which alone deserve, and can alone obtain public confidence and respect. Lysander, sensible of this imperfection, had recourse to the ordinary expedient by which crafty ambition supplies the want of virtue. He determined to govern by parties.¹⁵ The boldest of the sailors were attached to his person by liberal rewards and more liberal promises. The soldiers were indulged in the most licentious disorders. In every city and in every island, Lysander had his partisans, whom he flattered with the hopes of obtaining the same authority over their fellow-citizens, which the Spartans enjoyed over the inferior ranks of men in Laconia.¹⁶

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It was the general expectation at Ephesus, that the Spartans would for once depart from established practice, in order to prolong the command of such an able and successful officer. An universal clamour arose, when Callicratidas

His insolent reception.

¹⁵ His maxims breathed the odious party spirit, "That it is impossible to do too much good to friends, or *too much evil to enemies*. That children are to be deceived by trinkets, men by oaths; and others equally flagitious." Plut. in Lysand.

¹⁶ Idem, *ibid.* & Xenoph. Hellen.

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displayed his commission in the council of the confederates. The friends of Lysander affirmed, " That it was equally impolitic and ungenerous to check the victorious career of a deserving and fortunate commander; that the important charge of the fleet ought not to be entrusted to men who were destitute of experience, and perhaps of abilities; nor would it be just to sacrifice the interest of such a numerous and powerful confederacy to a punctilious observance of the Lacedæmonian laws." Lysander maintained a decent silence concerning the character of his successor, only observing that he resigned to him a fleet which commanded the sea. The noisy acclamations of the assembly confirmed his assertion.

His honesty and firmness confounds the partisans of Lysander.

But Callicratidas had a soul untainted with reproach, and incapable of fear. Unabashed by the seditious turbulence of his opponents, he replied, That he must withhold his assent to the magnified superiority of the Peloponnesian fleet, unless Lysander should set sail from Ephesus, coast along the isle of Samos, (where the Athenians then lay,) and surrender his victorious squadrons in the harbour of Miletus. The pride of Lysander might have been confounded by this judicious and solid observation; but his ingenuity suggested a plausible, or rather an illusive reply, " That he was no longer admiral."

Callicratidas then addressed the assembly, with the manly simplicity of an honest heart, which disdains the artifice of words, defies the insolence of power, and scorns the intrigues of policy. " La-

cedæmonians and allies, I should have been contented to stay at home; nor does it greatly affect me that Lysander, or any other, should be held a better seaman than myself. Hither I have been sent by my countrymen to command the fleet, and *my* chief concern is to execute their orders, and to perform my duty. It is my earnest desire to promote the public interest; but you can best inform me whether I ought to continue here, or to return to Sparta." Wonderful is the power of honest intentions and unaffected firmness. The assembly listened with awe; the partisans of Lysander were abashed; no objection was made; and, after a considerable pause, all unanimously acknowledged that it became both Callicratidas and themselves to obey the orders of the Spartan government.¹⁷

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Lysander, not a little mortified by the language of the assembly, reluctantly resigned his employment; but determined to render it painful, and, if possible, too weighty for the abilities of his successor. For this purpose he returned to the court of Cyrus, to whom he restored a considerable sum of money still unexpended in the service of the Grecian fleet, and to whom he misrepresented, under the names of obstinacy, ignorance, and rusticity, the unaffected plainness, the downright sincerity, and the other manly, but uncomplying, virtues of the generous Callicratidas. When that commander repaired to Sardes to demand the stipulated pay, he could

He meets
the arro-
gance of
the Per-
sians with
equal con-
tempt.

¹⁷ Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. 5. et seq. & Plut. in Lysand.

C H A P. not obtain admission to the royal presence. The
XXII. first time that he visited the palace, he was told
 that Cyrus was at table. "It is well," said the
 unceremonious Spartan; "I will wait till he has
 dined." The simplicity of this proceeding con-
 firmed the opinion which Lysander had given
 the Persians of his character; and his honest
 frankness, which was construed into low breed-
 ing, seemed a proper object of ridicule to the
 vain retainers of the court. He returned on an-
 other occasion, but without being admitted to see
 the young prince. The injustice of this treat-
 ment might have deserved his resentment, but it
 chiefly excited his contempt. He left the royal
 city, despising the pride and perfidy of his Per-
 sian allies, whose unmerited importance resulted
 only from their precarious riches, and lamenting
 the domestic dissensions of the Greeks, which
 obliged them to court the favour of insolent
 Barbarians.

Obtains
 contribu-
 tions from
 the Ioni-
 ans.

But Callicratidas could not, with honour or
 safety, return to the fleet at Ephesus, without
 having collected money to supply the immediate
 wants of the sailors. He proceeded, therefore,
 to Miletus and other friendly towns of Ionia;
 and having met the principal citizens, in their
 respective assemblies, he explained openly and
 fully the mean jealousy of Lysander, and the
 disdainful arrogance of Cyrus.¹⁸ "The unjust
 behaviour of both compelled him, much against

¹⁸ It will appear in the sequel, that Callicratidas had formed a
 very false opinion of the Persian prince, whose neglect of a worthy
 man was occasioned by the perfidious suggestions of his retainers,
 the friends or creatures of Lysander.

his inclination, to have recourse to the confederate cities (already too much burthened) for the money requisite to support the war. But he assured them, that, should his arms prove successful, he would gratefully repay their donations. Their own interest required a cheerful compliance with his demands, since the expedition had been principally undertaken to vindicate their freedom. He had, however, sent messengers to require effectual supplies from Sparta; but until these should arrive, it became the Greeks in general, but especially the Ionians, who had suffered peculiar injuries from the usurping tyranny of the Great King, to prove to the world that, without the sordid assistance of his boasted treasures, they could prosecute their just designs, and take vengeance on their enemies." By those judicious and honourable expedients, Callicratidas, without fraud or violence, obtained such considerable, yet voluntary contributions, as enabled him to gratify the importunate demands of the sailors, and to return with honour to Ephesus, in order to prepare for action.¹⁹

His first operations were directed against the isle of Lesbos, or rather against the strong and populous towns of Methymna and Mitylené, which respectively commanded the northern and southern divisions of that island. Besides the numerous citizens of an age to bear arms, Methymna was defended by an Athenian garrison. The place made a brave resistance; but the per-

He takes
Methym-
na.

¹⁹ Xenoph. Hellen. p. 444.

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Takes
thirty
ships, and
blocks up
forty in
the har-
bour of
Mitylené.

severing efforts of Callicratidas exhausted its strength : Methymna was taken by storm, and subjected to the depredations of the Peloponnesian troops. The garrison and the slaves were treated as part of the booty. The confederates advised, that the townsmen of Methymna also, should be sold into servitude ; but Callicratidas assured them, that, while *he* enjoyed the command, there should not any Grecian citizen be reduced to the condition of a slave, unless he was found in arms combating the public freedom.²⁰

Meanwhile Conon, the most active and enterprising of the Athenian commanders, had put to sea with a squadron of seventy sail, in order to protect the coast of Lesbos. But this defence was attempted too late ; nor, had it been more early undertaken, was the force of Conon sufficient to effectuate it. Callicratidas observed his motions, discovered his strength, and, with a far superior fleet, intercepted his retreat to the armament of Samos. The Athenians fled towards the coast of Mitylené, but were prevented from entering the harbour of that place by the resentment of the inhabitants, who rejoiced in an opportunity to punish those who had so often conquered, and so long oppressed, their city. In consequence of this unexpected opposition, the Athenian squadron was overtaken by the enemy. The engagement was more sharp and obstinate than might have been expected in such an inequality of strength. Thirty empty

²⁰ Xenoph, 1 bisupra. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 373.

ships (for most of the men swam to land) were taken by the Peloponnesians. The remaining forty were haled up under the walls of Mitylené; Callicratidas recalled his troops from Methymna, received a reinforcement from Chios, and blocked up the Athenians by sea and land.²¹

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The condition of Conon was most distressful. He was surrounded on all sides by a superior force; the town of Mitylené was hostile; his men were destitute of provisions, incapable of resistance, yet unwilling to surrender. In this melancholy situation, he attempted the only enterprise which could promise a hope of relief. The bravest and most experienced seamen were embarked in two swift-sailing vessels, one of which eluding the vigilance of the enemy, escaped in safety to the Hellespont, and informed the Athenians of the misfortunes and blockade in Lesbos. The intelligence was immediately communicated to Samos and to Athens; and the importance of the object, which was no less than the safety of forty ships, and above eight thousand brave men, excited uncommon exertions of activity. The Athenians reinforced their domestic strength with the assistance of their allies; all able-bodied men were pressed into the service; and in few weeks they had assembled at Samos an hundred and fifty sail, which immediately took the sea, with a resolution to encounter the enemy.

The Athenians fit out a new fleet.

Callicratidas did not decline the engagement.

Battle of Arginusæ.

²¹ Xenoph. ubi supra. Diodor. l. xiii. p. 373.

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in which
Callicra-
tidas is
defeated
and slain.
Olymp.
xciii. 3.
A. C. 406.

Having left fifty ships to guard the harbour of Mitylené, he proceeded with an hundred and twenty to Cape Malea, the most southern point of Lesbos. The Athenians had advanced, the same evening, to the islands, or rather rocks, of Arginussæ, four miles distant from that promontory. The night passed in bold stratagems for mutual surprise, which were rendered ineffectual by a violent tempest of rain and thunder. At the dawn, both armaments were eager to engage; but Hermon and Megareus, two experienced seamen, and the chief counsellors of Callicratidas, exhorted him not to commit the weakness of the Peloponnesians with the superior strength and numbers of the enemy. The generous and intrepid Spartan despised danger and death in comparison of glory; but either his magnanimity had not overcome the last imperfection of virtuous minds, and was averse to sacrifice personal glory to public utility, or he imagined that this utility could not be disjoined from an inflexible adherence to the martial laws of Lycurgus. He answered the prudent admonitions of his friends in these memorable words, which according to the construction that is put on them²², deserve

²² Cicero de Offic. l. i. c. 24. takes the unfavourable side. "Inventi autem multi sunt, qui non modo pecuniam, sed vitam etiam profundero pro patria parati essent: iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante; ut Callicratidas, qui cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello, multa que fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum, qui classem ad Arginussis removendam, nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit, Lacedæmonios, classe illa amissa aliam parare posse; se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse." Notwithstanding the respectable authority

our admiration or our pity : " My death cannot be destructive to Sparta, but my flight would be dishonourable both to Sparta and myself." So saying, he gave the signal for his ships to advance. The fight was long and bloody ; passing, successively, through all the different gradations, from disciplined order and regularity to the most tumultuous confusion. The Spartan commander was slain charging in the centre of the bravest enemies. The hostile squadrons fought with various fortune in different parts of the battle, and promiscuously conquered, pursued, surrendered, or fled. Thirteen Athenian vessels were taken by the Peloponnesians ; but, at length, the latter gave way on all sides ; seventy of their ships were captured, the rest escaped to Chios and Phocæa.²³

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Stratagem
of Eteon-
icus ;

The Athenian admirals, though justly elated with their good fortune, cautiously deliberated concerning the best means of improving their victory. Several advised that the fleet should steer its course towards Mitylené, to surprise the Peloponnesian squadron which blocked up the harbour of that city. Diomedon recommended it as a more immediate and more essential object of their care to recover the bodies of the slain, and to save the wreck of twelve vessels which had been disabled in the engagement. Thra-

of Cæro, whoever attentively considers the laws of Lycurgus, and the character of Callicratidas, will be disposed to believe, that an up-deriving principle of duty, not the fear of losing his glory, formed the sublime motive of that accomplished Spartan.

²³ Xenoph. p. 446. & Diodor. p. 384.

C H A P. XXII. sybulus observed, that, by dividing their strength, both purposes might be effected. His opinion was approved. The charge of preserving the dying, and collecting the bodies of the dead, was committed to Theramenes and Thrasybulus. Fifty vessels were destined to this important service, doubly recommended by humanity and superstition. The remainder sailed to the isle of Lesbos, in quest of the Peloponnesians on that coast, who narrowly escaped destruction, through the well-conducted stratagem of Eteonicus, the Spartan vice-admiral. Soon after the engagement, a brigantine arrived at Mitylené, acquainting him secretly with the death of Callicratidas, as well as with the defeat and flight of the Peloponnesian fleet. The sagacity of Eteonicus immediately foresaw the probable consequences of those events. The Athenians would naturally sail from Arginussæ to pursue their good fortune, and Conon, who was shut up at Mitylené, would be encouraged to break through the harbour, that he might join his victorious countrymen.

which
saves the
Pelopon-
nesian
squadron
at Mity-
lené.

In order to anticipate these measures, and to facilitate his own retreat, the Spartan commander ordered the brigantine just mentioned privately to leave the harbour, and to return, at the distance of a short time, with joyous acclamations and music, the rowers crowned with garlands, and calling out that Callicratidas had destroyed the last hope of Athens, and obtained a glorious and decisive victory. The contrivance succeeded; the Spartans thanked heaven for the good news by hymns and sacrifices; the sailors

were enjoined to refresh themselves by a copious repast, and to profit of a favourite gale to sail to the isle of Chios; while the soldiers burned their camp, and marched northward to Methymna, to reinforce the garrison there, which was threatened by a speedy visit from the enemy.²⁴

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While the prudent foresight of Eteonicus saved the Peloponnesian squadron at Mitylené, the violence of a storm prevented Theramenes and Thrasybulus from saving their unfortunate companions, all of whom, excepting one of the admirals and a few others who escaped by their extraordinary dexterity in swimming, were overwhelmed by the waves of a tempestuous sea; nor could their dead bodies ever be recovered. The Athenians were likewise disappointed of the immediate advantages which ought to have resulted from the engagement. Methymna was too strongly fortified to be taken by a sudden assault; they could not spare time for a regular siege; and when they proceeded to Chios in quest of the Peloponnesian fleet, they found it carefully secured in the principal harbour of that island, which had been put in a vigorous posture of defence. These unforeseen circumstances were the more mortifying to the commanders, because immediately after the battle, they had sent an advice-boat to Athens, acquainting the magistrates with the capture of seventy vessels²⁵; mentioning their intended expeditions to Mity-

Disappointment
of the
Athenian
admirals.

²⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. et Diodor. p. 384.

²⁵ Xenoph. says sixty-nine; Diodorus, seventy-seven.

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lené, Methymna, and Chios, from which they had reason to hope the most distinguished success; and particularly taking notice that the important charge of recovering the bodies of the drowned or slain had been committed to Theramenes and Thrasybulus, two captains of approved zeal and ability.

Discon-
tents in
Athens.

The joy which the Athenians received from this flattering intelligence was converted into disappointment and sorrow, when they understood that their fleet had returned to Samos, without reaping the expected fruits of victory. They were afflicted beyond measure with the total loss of the wreck, by which their brave and victorious countrymen had been deprived of the sacred rites of funeral; a circumstance viewed with peculiar horror, because it was supposed, according to a superstition consecrated by the belief of ages, to subject their melancholy shades to wander an hundred years on the gloomy banks of the Styx, before they could be transported to the regions of light and felicity. The relations of the dead lamented their private misfortunes; the enemies of the admirals exaggerated the public calamity; both demanded an immediate and serious examination into the cause of this distressful event, that the guilty might be discovered and punished.

Amidst the ferment of popular discontents, Theramenes sailed to Athens, with a view to exculpate himself and his colleague Thrasybulus. The letter, sent thither before them, occasioned much uneasiness; since it rendered them re-

sponsible for a duty which they found it impossible to perform. Theramenes accused the admirals of having neglected the favourable moment to save the perishing, and to recover the bodies of the dead; and, after the opportunity of this important service was irrecoverably lost, of having devolved their charge on others, in order to skreen their own misconduct. The Athenians greedily listened to the accusation, and cashiered the absent commanders. Conon, who during the action remained blocked up at Mitylené, was intrusted with the fleet. Protomachus and Aristogenus chose a voluntary banishment. The rest returned home to justify measures which had been represented as highly criminal.²⁶

*Trials of
the ad-
mirals.*

Among the inestimable rules of jurisprudence, invented by the wisdom of Athens, we may remark that beneficial institution which subjects the life, the character, and the fortune of individuals, not to the capricious will of an arbitrary judge, but to the equitable decision of the public. In every case, civil and criminal, the rights of an Athenian citizen were entrusted to the judgment of his peers; who, according as the question was more or less important, consisted of a committee, more or less numerous, of the popular assembly. But, in order to unite the double advantages of law and liberty, the nine archons, or chief magistrates, men of approved wisdom and fidelity, respectively presided in the several courts of justice, received complaints, examined the par-

²⁶ *Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. c. 7. et seq. Diodor. xiii. p. 76—97.*

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ties, directed process, and regularly conducted the suit through its various steps and stages. In matters of general concernment, such as the treason, perfidy, or malversation of men in power, the senate of the five hundred, or rather the Prytanes, who presided in the senate, performed the functions of the magistrate, and the whole body of the people, convened in full assembly, executed the office of judge and jury. It belonged to the Prytanes to prescribe the form of action or trial, and to admit the accuser to implead or impeach his antagonist. The cause was then referred to the people, who, as judges of the fact, gave their verdict, and, as judges of the law, passed their sentence or decree. Such were the regulations which reason had established, but which passion and interest frequently rendered ineffectual.

Artifices
of their
accusers.

Archedemus, an opulent and powerful citizen, and Callixenus, a seditious demagogue, partly moved by the intreaties of Theramenes, and partly excited by personal envy and resentment, denounced the admirals to the senate. The accusation was supported by the relatives of the deceased, who appeared in mourning robes, their heads shaved, their arms folded, their eyes bathed in tears, piteously lamenting the loss and disgrace of their families, deprived of their protectors, who had been themselves deprived of those last and solemn duties to which all mankind are entitled. A false witness swore in court that he had been saved almost by miracle, from the wreck, and that his companions, as

they were ready to be drowned, charged him to acquaint his country how they had fallen victims to the cruel neglect of their commanders. During these proceedings it happened that the people had met to celebrate the Apatouria, a festival in January so named, because the Athenians then presented their sons, who had reached their seventh year, to be inscribed in the register of their respective tribes. Callixenus, presuming on the evidence given in the senate, and on the actual disposition of the assembly, proposed the following resolution: "That the cause of the admirals should be immediately referred to the people; that the suffrages should be given by tribes, in each of which the criers should make proclamation, after preparing two urns to receive the white and black beans; if the latter were more numerous, the admirals should be delivered to the eleven men, the executioners of public justice, their estates confiscated, and the tenth part consecrated to Minerva."

This unjust decree, which deprived the commanders of the benefits of a separate trial, of an impartial hearing, and of the time as well as the means necessary to prepare a legal defence, was approved by a majority of the senate, and received with loud acclamations by the people, whose levity, insolence, pride, and cruelty, all eagerly demanded the destruction of the admirals. In such a numerous assembly, two men alone, Eurypolemus and Axiochus, defended the cause of law and justice. The former im-

Informality of the trial.

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peached Callixenus for proposing a resolution inconsistent with all the forms of legal procedure. But the rabble made a violent uproar, calling out that none should attempt, with impunity, to abridge their sovereign power. The Prytanes, who attended as usual to direct and controul the proceedings of the multitude, endeavoured to moderate the ferment: but they were licentiously told, that if they did not concur with the opinion of the majority, they should be involved in the same accusation with the admirals. This absurd menace (such was the popular phrenzy) might be carried into immediate execution. The senators were intimidated into a reluctant compliance with measures which they disapproved, and by which they were for ever to be disgraced. Yet the philosophic firmness of Socrates disdained to submit. He protested against the tameness of his colleagues, and declared that neither threats, nor danger, nor violence, should compel him to conspire with public injustice for the destruction of innocent individuals.

They are
condem-
ned and
executed.

But what could avail the voice of one virtuous man amidst the licentious madness of thousands? The commanders were accused, tried, condemned, and, with the most irregular precipitancy, delivered to the executioner. Before they were led to death, Diomedon addressed the assembly in a short but ever-memorable speech. "I am afraid, Athenians! lest the sentence which you have passed on us prove hurtful to the republic. Yet I would exhort you to employ the most proper means to avert the vengeance of Heaven.

You must carefully perform the sacrifices which, before giving battle at Arginussæ, we promised to the gods in behalf of ourselves and of you. Our misfortunes deprive us of an opportunity to acquit this just debt, and to pay the sincere tribute of our gratitude. But we are deeply sensible that the assistance of the gods enabled us to obtain that glorious and signal victory." The disinterestedness, the patriotism, and the magnanimity of this discourse must have appeased (if any thing had been able to appease) the tumultuous passions of the vulgar. But their headstrong fury defied every restraint of reason or of sentiment. They persisted in their bloody purpose, which was executed without pity: yet their cruelty was followed by a speedy repentance, and punished by the sharp pangs of remorse, the intolerable pain of which they vainly attempted to mitigate by inflicting a well-merited vengeance on the worthless and detestable Callicenus.²⁷

The removal of the Athenian admirals, and the defeat and death of the Spartan Callicratidas, suspended for several months the military and naval operations on both sides. The behaviour of Philocles and Adimantus, who had been joined in authority with Conon, were better fitted to obstruct than promote the measures of that brave and prudent commander. The former was a man of a violent and impetuous temper, unqualified for reflection, destitute of experience, and incapable of governing others or himself. The

Character
of their
successors.

²⁷ Xenoph. & Diodor. *ibid.*

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Eteonicus
checks a
mutiny
among the
Pelopon-
nesian
troops.

latter was not deficient in the milder virtues, but wanted spirit and activity, qualities so ordinary in his age and country. Though ready with his tongue, he was slow with his hand, careless of discipline, negligent of duty, and suspected of a treasonable correspondence with the public enemy.

Eteonicus, who commanded the Spartans and their confederates, was a man of a very different character. But the distressful situation of affairs prevented him from displaying his abilities in any important enterprise. His armament was inferior in strength ; his sailors were disheartened by defeat ; he had not money to pay them ; even their subsistence at Chios was very sparing and precarious. These vexatious circumstances increased the mutinous spirit by which the confederates were too naturally animated. They reproached the ungenerous parsimony of the Chians, whom they had taken arms to defend ; they spurned the authority of their commander ; and, in order to obtain those advantages which their services deserved, and which had been unjustly denied them, they determined to become rich at once, by seizing and plundering the large and wealthy capital of that flourishing island. The design, though secretly formed, was avowed with open boldness. The conspirators, whose numbers seemed to promise success, or at least to secure impunity, assumed a badge of distinction, that they might encourage each other, and intimidate their opponents. Eteonicus was justly alarmed with the progress of sedition. It was dangerous to attack the insurgents by force : if he destroyed

them by fraud, he might be exposed to reproach and loaded with calumny. The conduct which he pursued was conceived with an enterprising courage, and executed with a resolute firmness. With only fifteen faithful and intrepid followers, armed with concealed daggers, he patrolled the streets of Chios. The first man whom they met distinguished by a reed (for that was the badge of conspiracy) suffered instant death; and crowds collecting to know why the man had been slain, they were told it was for wearing a reed on his casque. The report immediately spread through every quarter of the city. The *reed-men* (as they were called) took alarm at discovering a conspiracy more secret and more formidable than their own. They dreaded that every man whom they met, might know and kill them; and, as they had not time to assemble for their mutual defence, they hastily threw away the reeds which exposed them to the dangerous assault of their unknown enemies.

The character of Eteonicus, as far as we can judge from his actions, justly entitled him to the command; but the partiality both of Cyrus and of the confederates eagerly solicited the return of Lysander. The Spartans, though inclined to gratify them, were perplexed by an ancient law enacted in the jealousy of freedom, to prohibit the same person from being twice entrusted with the fleet. That they might not violate the respect due to the laws, while at the same time they complied with the request of their powerful allies, they invested Aracus, a

Lysander resumes the command, and takes Lamp-sacus. Olymp. xciii. 3. A. C. 406.

C H A P. weak and obscure man, with the name of admiral, and sent out Lysander as second in command. **XXII.** The latter was received at Sardes by the Persian prince, with the warmest demonstrations of joy. He was supplied with money to satisfy the immediate wants of the troops; and, as Cyrus at that time happened to make a journey into Upper Asia, the revenues of his wealthy province were consigned, in his absence, to the management of his Spartan friend. Such powerful resources could not long remain unemployed in the active hands of Lysander. His emissaries assiduously engaged or pressed the Ionian and Carian seamen. The harbours of Asia Minor, particularly the port of Ephesus, glowed with the ardour of naval preparation; and in a few months Lysander sailed to the Hellespont with an hundred and fifty gallies, to attack the important strong-hold of Lampsacus. The place, though vigorously defended by the natives as well as by the Athenian garrison, was at length taken by storm; and according to the barbarous practice of the age, abandoned to complicated licence; the avarice, the lust, and the blind fury, of the conquerors.²⁸

The Athenian commanders prepare to give him battle.

The languid and imprudent measures of the Athenians at Samos accuse the abilities of Tydeus, Menander, and Cephisodotus, who have been lately joined in office with Conon and his unworthy colleagues. They sailed too late to save Lampsacus, but as they commanded an hundred and eighty gallies, a force superior to

²⁸ Plut. in Lysand.

Lysander's, they anchored on the opposite, or CHAP.
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European side of the Hellespont, at the distance of fifteen furlongs, in order to provoke the enemy to an engagement. Their unfortunate station was the mouth of the *Ægos Potamos*, or river of the goat, distinguished by that name on account of some small islands, which rising high above the surface of the waters, exhibit to a lively imagination the butting appearance of that animal. This place was injudiciously chosen, since it afforded but very insecure riding; and was distant two miles from *Sestos*, the nearest town from which the fleet could be provided with necessaries. Alcibiades, who in his Thracian retirement was unable to withdraw his attention from the war in which he had long acted such a conspicuous part, modestly admonished his countrymen of their imprudence; but he was arrogantly reproached for presuming, while an exile and an outlaw, to give advice to the admirals of Athens. Their subsequent conduct too faithfully corresponded with this insolence and folly. Despising the inferiority of the Peloponnesian fleet, they advanced in order of battle to the harbour of *Lampsacus*; and when the enemy moved not from their station, they returned in triumph as acknowledged masters of the sea. The prudence of Lysander perceived and indulged their presumption. During four days he bore, with extraordinary patience, their repeated insults, affecting the utmost disinclination to an engagement, carefully retaining his fleet in a place of security, and regularly dis-

Their imprudence
and insolence.

CHAP. patching a few swift-sailing vessels to observe
 XXII. the motions and behaviour of the Athenians, when they returned, from their daily cruise, into the road of Ægos Potamos.

Decisive
 battle of
 Ægos Po-
 tamos, in
 which the
 Athenians
 lost their
 fleet.

Olymp.

xciii. 4.

A. C. 405.

December

The fifth day they again bore up with the Peloponnesians, and provoked them to battle by more daring menaces than on any former occasion. As they flattered themselves with an undoubted prospect of success, they yielded without reserve to all the petulance of prosperity, and debated in what manner they should treat the Lacedæmonian prisoners who had the misfortune to fall into their power. The cruel Philocles proposed to cut off their right hands, that those enemies of Athens might be equally incapable to manage the oar and to brandish the spear; and this bloody resolution, though opposed by Adimantus, was approved by the majority of his colleagues. After insulting the enemy in a manner the most mortifying and disgraceful, they retired with an air of exultation mingled with contempt. The Peloponnesian fly-boats followed them as usual at a convenient distance, and observed that they had no sooner reached their stations than the seamen landed, straggled about the shore, advanced into the inland country in quest of provisions or amusements, indulged in indolence, or revelled in disorder. The advice-boats returned with uncommon celerity to convey the welcome intelligence to Lysander, who had embarked his troops, cleared his ships, and made every necessary preparation to avail himself of the favourable opportunity to effect by stratagem what it

might have been dangerous to attempt by force. When his scouts approached the middle of the channel, they hoisted their shields, (for that was the appointed signal,) and at the same moment the Peloponnesian squadrons were commanded to set sail that they might surprise the hostile fleet, and indulge that resentment and animosity which had been rendered more violent and furious by the long and prudent restraint of their commander. The victory was complete, if that can be called a victory where there was scarcely any resistance. The vigilant activity of Conon endeavoured seasonably to assemble the strength of the Athenians; but his advice was disdained by officers incapable and unworthy of command, and his orders were despised by seamen unaccustomed and unwilling to obey. At length they became sensible of the danger when it was too late to avoid it. Their ships were taken, either altogether empty, or manned with such feeble crews as were unable to work, much less to defend them. The troops and sailors who flocked to the shore from different quarters, and with disordered precipitation, were attacked by the regular onset and disciplined valour of the Peloponnesians. Those who fought were slain; the remainder fled into the inmost recesses of the Chersonesus, or took refuge in the Athenian fortresses which were scattered over that peninsula. When Lysander reviewed the extent of his well-merited success, he found that of a fleet of an hundred and eighty sail, only nine vessels had escaped, eight of which were conducted by Conon to the friendly island

C H A P. of Cyprus, while the ninth carried to Athens the
 XXII. melancholy news of a disaster equally unexpected and fatal. An hundred and seventy-one gallies, and three thousand prisoners, (among whom were Philocles and Adimantus,) rewarded the patience and fortitude of Lysander, who returned with his invaluable spoil to Lampsacus, amidst the joyous acclamations of naval triumph.²⁹

The Athenian prisoners executed.

Before pursuing the natural consequences of an event the most important that had hitherto happened in all the Grecian wars, it was necessary for Lysander to decide the fate of the Athenian prisoners, against whom the confederates were animated by that relentless hatred which is congenial to the stern character of republicans exasperated by continual provocation and recent insult. The injustice and cruelty of that ambitious people were circumstantially described and maliciously exaggerated in the dreadful tribunal of their enemies. "It would

²⁹ Xenoph. p. 456. et seq. & Plut. in Lysand. By the battle of Ægos Potamos, the Athenians lost the *empire* of the sea, which they had acquired by the consent of their maritime allies in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. They enjoyed, therefore, that sovereignty, or empire as they styled it, from the year 477 till the year 405 before Christ; that is, a period of seventy-two years. This important computation is not to be found in any ancient writer; and no two authors agree in calculating the duration of the Athenian empire. Lysias, in his Funeral Oration, p. 93. says, "During seventy years in which the Athenians commanded the sea." Diodorus Siculus (ad Olymp. 95. 1.) says, the Athenians commanded the sea sixty-five years. Isocrates in one place (i. p. 174.) agrees with Lysias; in another (ii. p. 209.) with Diodorus. Andocides (Orat. iii. p. 286.) states it at eighty-five years, Lycurgus (adv. Leoc. p. 145.) at ninety. Dionysius Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. sub init.) at sixty-eight. Demosthenes, as we shall see below, states it variously at forty-five, fifty-five, and seventy-three years.

be tedious to enumerate, though it was impossible ever to forget, their multiplied and abominable crimes, of which so many individuals, and so many communities, had been the innocent and unhappy victims. Even of late they had destroyed without remorse, and without the shadow of necessity, the helpless crews of a Corinthian and an Andrian vessel. The gods had averted the atrocious resolution proposed by the bloody Philocles, of which the author and the approvers were equally criminal; nor could those deserve pardon, whose breasts had been shut to pity." Such discourse, which resounded from every quarter of the assembly, declared, without the necessity of a formal vote, the unanimous decree of the confederates. As the prisoners had been stripped of their arms, there was nothing to be feared from their numbers and despair. They were conducted into the presence of their armed judges; and, as a prelude to the inhuman massacre, Lysander sternly demanded of Philocles what he deserved to suffer for his intended cruelty. The Athenian replied with firmness, "Accuse not those whom you are entitled to judge, but inflict on us the same punishment which we, in a different fortune, would have inflicted on our enemies." The words were scarcely ended when Lysander hacked him in pieces. The Peloponnesian soldiers followed the bloody example of their commander. Of three thousand Athenians, Adimantus alone was spared, either because he had opposed the detestable resolution of Philo-

C H A P. cles, or because he had engaged in a treacherous
 XXII. correspondence with the Spartans.³⁰

Views of
 Lysander.

It might be expected, that immediately after an event which gave him the command of the sea, Lysander should sail to the Piræus, and assault the unfortunate city, which was already grievously oppressed by the Lacedæmonian army at Decelia. But the sagacious Spartan foresaw the numerous obstacles in his way to the conquest of Athens, and prudently restrained the eagerness of the troops and his own. The strongly fortified harbours of that capital, the long and lofty walls which surrounded the city on every side, the ancient renown and actual despair of the Athenians, must render the siege, if not altogether fruitless, at least difficult and tedious; and the precious moments wasted in this doubtful enterprise might be employed in attaining certain, immediate, and most important advantages.

He establishes the Spartan empire over the coasts and islands of Asia and Europe. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405.

On the coast neither of Greece nor of Asia, nor of any of the intermediate islands, was there a naval force capable of contending with the fleet of Lysander, nor any fortified place in all those countries (except the city of Athens alone) sufficient to resist the impressions of his army. It was a design, therefore, which might well deserve his ambition, and which was not condemned by his prudence, to establish or confirm the Lacedæmonian empire over those valuable and extensive coasts. The populous cities of

³⁰ Xenoph. Hellen. Plutarch. in Lysand.

Byzantium and Chalcedon were attacked and taken during the astonishment and terror occasioned by the dreadful and irreparable misfortune of their Athenian allies. After these important acquisitions, Lysander sailed to the island of Lesbos, reduced Mitylené, and confirmed the allegiance of Methymna. While he extended his arms over the neighbouring islands, as well as the maritime towns of Lydia and Caria, a powerful squadron, commanded by the enterprising valour of Eteonicus, ravaged the shores of Macedon, subdued the sea-ports of Thrace, and rode victorious in the Hellespont and Propontis, the Ægæan and Euxine seas. In six or eight months after the Athenian disaster at Ægos Potamos, the fairest portion of the ancient world, the most favoured by nature, and the most adorned by art, reluctantly submitted to the power, or voluntarily accepted the alliance of Sparta.

During this long series of triumphs, Lysander never lost sight of the reduction of Athens ; an object important in itself, and necessary to the completion of his extensive plan. The vigilance of the Peloponnesian squadrons prevented the usual supplies of foreign grain from reaching the distressed city. In all the towns which surrendered, or which were taken by storm, the Athenian garrisons were saved from immediate death, only on condition that they returned to their native country. Through such contrivances the crafty Spartan expected that the scarcity of provisions would soon compel the growing multitude of inhabitants to submit to the Lacedæmonian

His measures for the reduction of Athens.

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army at Decelia. But the Athenians, who despised the assaults of the enemy, braved the hardships of famine. Even after Lysander had blocked up their harbours with an hundred and fifty sail, they still defended, with vigour, their walls and ramparts; patiently endured fatigue and hunger; and beheld with obstinate unconcern, the affliction of their wives and children. Amidst the ravages of death and disease, which advanced with increasing horror, they punished, with the utmost severity, the ignoble cowardice of Archestratus, who first mentioned capitulation, and declared that the same moment should put an end to their independence and their lives.

Siege of
Athens.
Olymp.
xciv. 2.

But notwithstanding the melancholy firmness of the popular assembly, a numerous and powerful party in the state was governed rather by interest than by honour; and the greatest enemies of Athenian liberty flourished in the bosom of the republic. The aristocratical leaven of the Four Hundred had infected the whole body of the senate; and not only the inconstant Theramenes, but several other men of abilities and influence, who had been most active in subverting that cruel tyranny, regretted the restoration of democracy to a people, who (as they had recently proved in many parts of their conduct) were unable to enjoy, without abusing, the invaluable gift of freedom. In republican governments, the misfortunes which ought to bind all ranks of men in the firmest and most indissoluble union, have often little other tendency than to exasperate the political factions which tear and distract the

community. Amidst every form of public distress, the Athenians caballed, clamoured, accused, and persecuted each other; and the faction of the nobles, who acted with superior concert, vigour, and address, destroyed, by dark insinuations, false witnesses, perjury, and every other species of legal fraud and cruelty, the audacious Cleophon, and other popular demagogues, who might most effectually have opposed their measures.³¹

When these obstacles were removed, Theramenes (whose recent merit prevented the suspicion of the assembly) proposed an embassy to Lacedæmon, which should request a suspension of hostilities, and obtain, if possible, some moderate terms of accommodation. He named himself, with nine colleagues, as the persons best qualified to undertake this important commission; flattering the people in the clearest and least ambiguous terms, with an undoubted prospect of success. A decree was immediately passed, investing the ambassadors with full powers. They assumed the sacred badge of their inviolable character, reached in safety the Spartan camp, held a conference with King Agis, and afterwards repaired to the Lacedæmonian capital. During four months, they carried on their pretended negotiation with the senate, the kings, the ephori, and especially with Lysander, whose authority, being unknown to the ancient constitution of Sparta, was far more extensive than that of all other

Negotiation of
Therame-
nes with
the Spar-
tans;

³¹ Lysias, p. 272.

C H A P. XXII. { magistrates collectively. With him, principally, the plan was concerted for compelling the Athenians to submit to terms of peace, which they must have regarded as worse, not only than war, but death.³² The fortifications of their harbours were to be demolished, as well as the long walls which joined them with the city: they were to surrender all their ships, but twelve; to resign every pretension to their ancient possessions in foreign parts; to recall from banishment the surviving members of the late tyrannical aristocracy; to follow the standard of Sparta in war; and, in peace, to mould their political constitution after the model which that victorious republic might think fit to prescribe.

which is
confirmed
by the
Athenians.

When Theramenes produced these unexpected fruits of his boasted negotiation, the Athenians had no longer either strength or spirit to resist, or even courage to die. During the long absence of their ambassadors, the siege had been carried on with redoubled vigour. The Lacedæmonians, reinforced by the Thebans, as well as by their numerous allies of Peloponnesus, had invested the city on every side, the harbours were closely blocked up by Lysander, who had become master of Melos, Ceos, Ægina, and Salamis; islands so near to Athens that they were frequently regarded as parts of the Attic territory. The greatest misery prevailed within the walls; the famine was intolerable, and the diseases more intolerable than the famine. The full period of

³² Lysias against Eratosthenes, p. 273.

thrice nine years had elapsed, which, if we may credit a most accurate and faithful historian³³, had been assigned by repeated oracles and predictions, as the destined term of the Peloponnesian war and of the Athenian greatness. The principal leaders of the democracy had been cut off by the perfidious snares of their opponents, who were prepared to bear a foreign yoke, provided they might usurp domestic tyranny. That odious faction was ready to approve the measures of Theramenes, who might intimidate the dejected assembly by declaring (a most melancholy truth) that the severity of the Lacedæmonians, excessive as it seemed, was yet moderation and lenity when compared with the furious and unextinguishable rage of the Thebans and Corinthians, who maintained that the Athenians deserved not any terms of accommodation; that their crimes ought to be persecuted with unrelenting vengeance; their proud city demolished with such perfect destruction, that not even its vestige should remain; and the insolent inhabitants utterly extirpated from Greece, which they had so long disturbed by their ambition, and provoked by their tyranny and cruelty. Such an argument Theramenes might have employed, if

³³ The words of Thucydides, l. v. p. 362. are very remarkable! "He remembers, that from the first commencement of hostilities, it had been constantly prophesied that the war would last thrice nine years; which, of all predictions, was *alone* firm and stable;" or as the idiom of the Greek language will bear, "the most firm and stable."

C H A P. it had been necessary to employ any argument, **XXII.** to justify his negotiation with the Spartans, which was confirmed and ratified by the voice of the aristocratical cabal, and submitted to, rather than accepted, by the majority of the assembly, with the gloomy silence of despair.

Athens
surren-
ders;
—its hu-
miliation
excites the
com-
pas-
sion of its
enemies.
Olymp
xciv. 1.
A. C. 404.

On the sixteenth of May, the day on which the Athenians had been accustomed to celebrate the anniversary of the immortal victory of Salamis, the hostile armament took possession of their harbours; the combined army entered their gates. The walls and fortresses of the city of Minerva, which the generous magnanimity of its inhabitants, preferring the public safety to their own, had abandoned in defence of Greece to the fury of a barbarian invader, were ungratefully levelled to the ground by the implacable resentment of the Greeks; who executed their destructive purpose with all the eagerness of emulation, boasting, amidst the triumphs of martial music, that the demolition of Athens would be regarded, in all succeeding ages, as the true era of Grecian freedom. Yet, after they had satisfied their vengeance, they seemed to regret its effects. The day was concluded with a magnificent festival, in which the recitation of the poets formed, as usual, the principal ornament of the entertainment. Among other pieces was rehearsed the *Electra* of Euripides, and particularly that affecting chorus, "We come, O daughter of Agamemnon! to thy rustic and humble roof." The words were scarcely uttered, when the whole assembly

melted into tears, the forlorn condition of that young and virtuous princess, expelled the royal palace of her father, and inhabiting a miserable cottage, in want and wretchedness, recalling the dreadful vicissitude of fortune which had befallen Athens, once mistress of the sea, and sovereign of Greece, but deprived, in one fatal hour, of her ships, her walls, and her strength, and reduced from the pride of power and prosperity, to misery, dependence, and servitude, without exerting one memorable effort to dignify her fall, and brighten the last moment of her destiny.³⁴

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³⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. c. i. et seq. Diodor. l. xiii. 104—107. Plut. in Lysand. p. 438. Lysias in Eratosth. & Agorat.

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Rapacity and Cruelty of the Spartan Government.—The Thirty Tyrants in Athens.—Persecution of Lysias and his Family.—Theramenes opposes the Tyrants.—Sanguinary Speech of Critias.—Death of Theramenes.—Persecution and Death of Alcibiades.—Thrasybulus seizes Phylé.—Defeats the Tyrants.—Memorable Speech of Thrasybulus.—Oath of Amnesty—not faithfully observed.

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The rapacity and cruelty of the Spartan government.

THE conquest of Athens, and the acknowledged dominion of Sparta, terminated the memorable war of twenty-seven years. It still remained for Lysander to reduce the island of Samos¹, which enjoys the honourable distinction of being the last settlement in the East that defied the ambition of Pericles, and the last which submitted to the cruel policy of Lysander. The conquered islands and cities suffered still greater vexations under the Spartan, than they had done under the Athenian, empire. Among the hostile² factions which ambition or danger had formed in those

¹ Comp. Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 461. & Plut. iii. p. 31. in Lysand. Lysias adv. Eratosth. p. 274. & Diodor. p. 396. It is remarkable, that Xenophon and Lysias, both contemporaries, should differ in a matter of chronology; the one placing the conquest of Samos before, and the other after, Lysander's voyage to Athens.

² These were the *συνωμοσται ἐπὶ δίκαις καὶ ἀρχαῖς*, mentioned by Thucydides and Xenophon; "associations, or rather conspiracies, for mutual defence in courts of justice, and for mutual assistance in obtaining offices of power."

turbulent republics, Lysander always preferred that party which possessed most craft and least patriotism. At the head of this cabal he placed a Spartan *Harmostes*, or governor, on whose obsequious cruelty he could depend. The citadels were garrisoned by mercenaries: a proud faction insulted as subjects, those whom they had envied as rivals, or dreaded as enemies; and every species of licence and disorder was exercised, with a presumption that could be equalled only by the tameness with which it was endured.³ The Asiatic Greeks regretted the dishonourable yoke of Persia; they regretted the stern dominion of Athens; both which seemed tolerable evils, compared to the oppressive tyranny of Sparta and Lysander. The contributions, of which they had formerly so much complained, no longer appeared exorbitant. Lysander was the first and the last conqueror who imposed on those feeble communities the enormous tribute of a thousand talents.⁴

³ Instead of the sweet draught of Liberty, Sparta, according to Theopompus, gave Greece the bitter cup of Slavery. In the city of Miletus, he sacrificed at once eight hundred men, of the democratical faction, to the implacable rage of their adversaries. Plut. in Lysand.

⁴ Diodorus, p. 400., says, πλεον των χιλων ταλαντων καθ' ενιαυτον, "more than a thousand talents yearly;" that is, above two hundred thousand pounds. It may be computed from Plut. in Lysand. et Xenoph. p. 462. that Lysander sent home a still larger sum after the surrender of Samos. The law of Lycurgus respecting gold and silver, which had been long virtually, was now formally, abolished. The use of the precious metals was allowed to the state, but forbidden to individuals, under pain of death. The prohibition, however, was universally disregarded; many Spartans possessed abundance of gold and silver; none incurred the penalty of the law. Compar. Plut. et Xenoph. loc. citat. et Isocrat. in Archidam.

CHAP.
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Causes
to which
ascribed.

The unrelenting severity of Sparta has usually been ascribed to the personal character of her general, whose natural arrogance and cruelty were heightened and confirmed by the sudden exaltation of his fortune. From the simple citizen of a small, and then unfortunate republic, he became, in a few years, the arbiter of Greece Athens acknowledged his authority; the smaller cities courted his protection; venal poets and orators extolled him with odes and panegyrics; he was honoured with crowns and statues, and worshipped by hymns and sacrifices.⁵ Yet it is obvious to remark, that whatever might be the temper and manners of Lysander, his country is justly accountable for the wrongs which he was allowed to commit with impunity: and it is uncertain whether another general, placed in the same situation, would have acted on different principles; since the nature of the Spartan institutions, and the ambitious views of the republic, seemed to demand and justify uncommon exertions of severity. In the administration of their domestic government, five or six thousand Spartans tyrannised over thirty thousand Lacedæmonians; these tyrannised, with still greater rigour, over thrice that number of slaves; and it was natural to expect that when the slaves were associated with the troops⁶, all these descriptions of men, Spartans, Lacedæmonians, and Helots,

⁵ Plut. in Lysand.

⁶ The Helots then took the title *νεοδαμῶνεις*, Libertini, *δυναταὶ δε τῶ νεοδαμῶνεις ἐλευθέρων ἦδη εἶναι*. Thucyd. l. v. p. 533. From some passages in Isocrates (Panegy. et de Pace), it should seem that Lysander often appointed these freed men to offices of great trust and authority.

would tyrannise, with an emulation of cruelty, over their conquered subjects.

C H A P.
XXIII.

The scanty materials of ancient history cannot enable us minutely to explain the humiliation and distress of the Asiatic Greeks, oppressed by the double tyranny of the Spartans and of their fellow-citizens. Contemporary writers, who beheld this scene of misery and desolation, seem at a loss for words to impress its horror. Isocrates endeavours to grasp the amplitude of the subject in the vague language of general description; by strokes of exaggeration and hyperbole, he supplies the place of clear and positive information; but all the copiousness and energy of the Greek tongue sink beneath the heavy afflictions of that unfortunate people; and the mind of the orator seems to labour with a thought which he is unable to express.⁷ It is not, however, from such rhetorical descriptions that we can attain an adequate and satisfactory knowledge of the Spartan administration: history delights in plain and authentic facts; and the rigorous treatment of the Athenians themselves will best represent the hardships inflicted on their Asiatic colonies and dependencies.

The deep
impression
which they
made on
contempo-
raries.

⁷ See the oration of Isocrates on the peace, p. 171, &c. In the panegyric of Athens, speaking of the aristocratical factions supported by Lysander and the Lacedæmonians, Isocrates says, they consisted of wretches, "whose cruelty and injustice are unexampled in the history of mankind. From what indignity did they abstain? Into what excesses were they not transported? They, who regarded the most factious as the most faithful; the most treacherous as the most deserving. Their crimes proved infectious, and changed the mildness of human nature into savage ferocity," &c. See p. 52, &c.

C H A P.

XXIII.

The thirty
tyrants in
Athens.

Olymp.

xciv. 1.

A.C. 404.

The Athenians had surrendered their fleet; their walls and harbours were demolished; the citadel was occupied by a Lacedæmonian garrison, commanded by Callibius, the friend of Lysander; and their government was usurped by thirty men, the dependants and creatures of Sparta. The furious and profligate Critias formed a proper head for this aristocratical council, whose members have been justly branded in history under the name of the Thirty Tyrants.⁸ On pretence of delivering the state from the malice of informers, and the turbulence of seditious demagogues, they destroyed the most valuable portion of the community.⁹ Niceratus, the son of Nicias, and a son who inherited with part of the opulence the whole of the virtues of his illustrious father, was condemned to death; Leon, the most public-spirited, and Antiphon¹⁰,

⁸ Their names are preserved in Xenophon, *Hellen.* ii. 3.

⁹ Xenoph. p. 462. which Cæsar, ap. Sallust. de Bello Catil. c. 51. evidently had in view, "Lacedæmonii, devictis Atheniensibus, triginta viros imposurere Hi primo cœpere pessimum quemque, et omnibus invisum, indamnatum necare. Eo populus lætari, et merito dicere fieri. Post ubi paullatim licentia crevit, juxta bonos et malos libidine interficere Itā civitas servitute oppressa, stultæ lætitiæ graves pœnas dedit."

¹⁰ Xenoph. *Hellen.* i. ii. p. 467. State criminals in Athens frequently escaped punishment after sentence had been passed on them. Plato. in Phæd. Demosthenes, Lysias, Andocides, &c. This must have happened to Antiphon if the decree against him be genuine, preserved in the "Lives of the Ten Orators," a treatise bearing Plutarch's name, but rejected by critics as spurious. From this record, Antiphon appears to have been condemned by the magistrates under the democracy that immediately succeeded the government of the Four Hundred. Thucydides, i. viii. mentions his prosecution at that period, and the wonderful abilities which he discovered in his defence. But neither Thucydides nor the pseudo-Plutarch warrant the assertion that the sentence passed on Antiphon

the most eloquent of his contemporaries, shared the same fate; Thrasybulus and Anytus were banished. Whoever was known to be powerful, was regarded as dangerous; whoever was supposed to be rich, was accused as criminal. Strangers and citizens were involved in one promiscuous ruin.¹⁰

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Amidst this general wreck of whatever was most worthy and respectable, I shall select the persecution of Lysias and his family, the only transaction of that kind, recorded with such circumstances as answer the ends of history. Cephalus, the father of this ingenious orator, was by birth a Syracusan. the friendship of Pericles persuaded him to settle in Athens, where, under the protection of that powerful statesman, he obtained wealth and honours. His inoffensive and generous character escaped the enmity and per-

Illustrated
by the per-
secution of
Lysias and
his family.

under the democracy was carried into execution. This consideration did not occur to the learned Abbé Ricard, who, in his elegant French translations of Plutarch's *Morals*, tom. xi. p. 44., expresses his surprise that I should number Antiphon among the victims of the Thirty Tyrants, especially as I had translated into English Lysias' Oration against Eratosthenes, where the death of Antiphon is charged on Theramenes. This, indeed, is true; yet Theramenes himself, when pleading before the Thirty, for his own life, affirms that Antiphon was put to death by their orders; Xenoph. *ubi supra*: and in the treatise ascribed to Plutarch, above mentioned, Antiphon is said to have perished, under the Thirty, on the authority of an Oration of Lysias now lost, and of Theopompus of Chios, the scholar of Socrates, and the continuator of Thucydides. I knew there were various Antiphons (vid. Van Spaan Dessert. *apud Reiske. Oration. Græc.* tom. vii.), but though the passages cited from Thucydides and Xenophon applied to Antiphon the Rhamnusian, of whom only I had occasion to speak; and who, by an uncommon, indeed, but not unexampled fate, may possibly have been condemned under one government and executed under another.

¹⁰ Xenoph. l. ii. p. 463. et seq.

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secution to which the opulent Athenians were commonly exposed ; and he enjoyed the rare felicity of living thirty years in the midst of continual trials and impeachments, without being obliged to appear as plaintiff or defendant in any litigation. His sons, Lysias and Polemarchus, inherited his innocence, his generosity and his good fortune. Though possessed of the most valuable accomplishments, natural and acquired, the brothers prudently kept aloof from the dangerous paths of public life ; contented with their domestic felicity, they aspired not to the rank of Athenian citizens ; but liberally contributed to supply the exigencies of the state, from the profits of a flourishing manufacture of shields, which they carried on by the labour of an hundred and twenty slaves. The cruelty of the Thirty Tyrants, from whose rapacious eye neither obscurity could conceal, nor merit defend, occasioned the death of Polemarchus, and the immediate misfortunes, as well as the future glory of Lysias, who acted a distinguished part in overturning that detestable tyranny, and in bringing its authors and abettors to condign punishment. "

The orator's account of that matter.

The history is related by himself with perspicuous precision and graceful simplicity : " The tyrants Theognis and Piso apprised their associates, that many strangers established at Athens were disaffected to the government. This afforded a plausible pretence for rifling the effects of these unhappy men ; a measure to which the Thirty were not only excited by avarice, but

" See the Life of Lysias, and the Orations there referred to, p. 110. et seq.

prompted by fear. Money was become necessary for the preservation of their power, which, being founded on usurpation, and tyrannically administered, could only be maintained by the influence of corruption and the mercenary aid of foreign troops. The life of man, therefore, they regarded as a matter of little moment; the amassing of wealth was the principal object of their concern; to gratify which, ten strangers were at once devoted to destruction. In this number, indeed, were two poor men; a base and cruel artifice to persuade you, Athenians! that the remaining eight had been condemned, not for the sake of their riches, but in order to preserve the public tranquillity; as if the interest of the public had ever been an object of regard with that tyrannical cabal! Their infamous design was executed with inhuman cruelty. Their victims were taken in their beds, or at supper, in the privacy of domestic retirement. Me they seized exercising the rites of hospitality; my guests were rudely dismissed; I was delivered into the custody of the worthless Piso. While his accomplices continued in the workshop, taking a list of our slaves and effects, I asked him, "Whether money could save my life?"—"Yes, a considerable sum."—"I will give you a talent of silver." This he consented to accept, as the price of my safety; and to such a melancholy situation was I reduced, that it afforded me a momentary consolation to depend on the precarious faith of a man, who (as I well knew) despised every law human and divine. But my comfort

C. H. A. P. **XXIII.** was of short duration ; for I had no sooner opened my coffer to pay him the talent, than he ordered his attendant to seize the contents, consisting of three talents of silver, an hundred Darics, three hundred Cyzicenes, and three silver cups. I entreated Piso to allow me a small sum to defray the expence of my journey. But he desired me to be thankful to escape with life. Going out together, we met the tyrants Melobius and Mnesitheides, returning from the workshop. They inquired, where we were going ? Piso answered, to examine the house of my brother Polemarchus. They desired him to proceed ; but commanded me to follow them to the house of Damasippus. Piso whispered me to be silent, and to fear nothing, because he would immediately come there. Upon our arrival, we found Theognis guarding several of my companions in calamity. I increased the number of his prisoners ; but obtained an opportunity to represent my innocence and misfortunes to Damasippus, entreating him, by our past friendship, to employ his influence in my behalf. He assured me of his intention to intercede with Theognis, whose avarice would easily prevail with him to betray his trust. While they conversed together earnestly, I took advantage of my knowledge of the house to escape through three secret passages, which all happened to be open and unguarded ; and fortunately reaching the country house of my friend Archimaus, a ship-master, sent him to the city, that he might bring me intelligence of my brother. He discovered, that the tyrant Eratosthenes had dragged him from the road, and conducted him

toprison, where he was ordered to drink hemlock. At this melancholy news, I sailed to Megara, under cover of the night. Our effects became the property of the tyrants, whose mean avarice spared not the smallest trifle belonging to us. Even the gold ear-rings of Polemarchus's wife were forcibly torn away by the brutal Melobius."¹²

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XXIII.

Ther-
menes op-
poses the
tyrants.

The Thirty justified these abominable acts of cruelty by the authority of a servile senate, which they still allowed to subsist as the instrument and accomplice of their tyranny. It could not be expected, however, that in a city accustomed to the utmost liberty of opinion and freedom of debate, a body of five hundred, or even of thirty men, should continue to agree in the same odious and oppressive measures. The first seeds of discord, or rather the first symptoms of repentance, appeared in the speeches and behaviour of the bold and active Theramenes; who, though the principal author of the revolution, was already disposed by the humanity of his nature, or by the singular inconstancy of his temper¹³, to destroy the work of his own hands. His strenuous endeavours were used to save the innocent and unhappy victims whom his furious colleagues daily devoted to destruction: under his protection the citizens assembled, and expressed their resentment or despair; and it was justly apprehended that the government of the Thirty might

¹² See the discourses of Lysias against Agoratus and Eratosthenes, p. 258. et seq.

¹³ Thucyd. viii. 68. et seq. Lysias advers. Eratosth. Xenophon paints him more favourably; and Aristot. apud Plut. iii. 337. et Diodor. p. 350. et seq. still more favourably than Xenophon.

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be dissolved by the same means, and by the same man, who had set on foot and subverted the short-lived tyranny of the four hundred. The present usurpation, indeed, was defended by a Lacedæmonian garrison; but the Thirty dreaded the influence of Theramenes over the foreign troops; they dreaded still more his influence over the Athenian citizens. When they considered the precarious tenure of their authority, and the unjust violence of their administration, they reflected on the past with pain, and viewed the future with terror. But they had gone too far to retreat, and nothing remained but to prop the tottering fabric of their power by enlarging its base. Three thousand citizens were invited to participate in the advantages and dangers of their government. The rest were disarmed and treated with an increase of severity.

He is accused by Critias.

Theramenes vainly opposed the criminal designs of his colleagues, who implicitly submitted their wills to the implacable fury of Critias. He it was, who chiefly encouraged them boldly to persevere, and to remove every obstacle to the unlimited gratification of their passions. The safety of Theramenes, he assured them, was no longer compatible with their own. His delicacy, real or affected, was totally inconsistent with the spirit of the present administration; nor could the government of Thirty, any more than that of one tyrant, admit of being curiously canvassed, or fastidiously opposed. These sentiments being received with approbation, we might expect that Theramenes should have been destroyed by that sudden and open violence which had proved fatal

to so many others. But, as the most daring violators of the laws of society are obliged to establish and observe some rules of justice, in their conduct towards each other, it had been covenanted among the Thirty, that, amidst the violent and capricious outrages which they committed against their subjects, none of their own number should be put to death without the benefit of a trial before the senate; a privilege extending to the three thousand entrusted with the use of arms, and sufficiently denoting the miserable condition of the other citizens. The senate was assembled to try Theramenes; but this tribunal was surrounded by armed men. When the pretended criminal appeared, Critias addressed the court in a speech too remarkable ever to be forgotten.

“Should you imagine, O senators! considering the great numbers who have suffered death, that we have been guilty of unnecessary cruelty, you will alter that opinion on reflecting that revolutions of government must always be attended with bloodshed; but particularly when a populous city like Athens, which has been long pampered with liberty, is reduced under the dominion of a few. The present mode of administration was imposed by the Lacedæmonians as the condition of the public safety. In order to maintain its authority we have removed those seditious demagogues, whose democratical madness had occasioned all our past calamities. It is our duty to proceed in this useful work, and to destroy, without fear or compassion, all who would disturb the public tranquillity. Should a man of this dangerous disposition be found in our

Sanguinary speech
of Critias.

C H A P.

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Therame-
nes's de-
fence.

own order, he ought to be punished with double rigour, and treated not only as an enemy but as a traitor. That Theramenes is liable to this accusation appears from the whole tenour of his conduct. He concluded the treaty with the Lacedæmonians; he dissolved the popular government; he directed and approved the first and boldest measures of our administration: but no sooner did difficulties arise, than he deserted his associates, declared his opposition to their designs, and undertook the protection of the populace. When the weather was fair and favourable, he pursued the same course with his companions; but on the first change of wind, he thought proper to alter his navigation. With such an irresolute steersman it is impossible to govern the helm of the republic, and to conduct the vessel to her destined harbour. This dangerous inconsistency ought, indeed, to have been expected from a man to whose character perfidy is congenial. He began his political career under the direction of his father Hagnon, a violent partisan of democracy. He afterwards changed his system, in order to obtain the favour of the nobles. He both established and dissolved the government of the four hundred; and the whole strain of his behaviour proves him unfit to govern, and unworthy to live.”¹⁴

Theramenes made a copious and persuasive defence, acknowledging, “ That he had often changed his conduct, but denying that he had ever varied his principles. When the democracy flourished, he had maintained the just rights, but

¹⁴ Xenoph. p. 464—466.

repressed the insolence, of the people. When it became necessary to alter the form of the republic, in compliance with the command of the Spartans, he had supported the legal power, but opposed the tyranny, of the magistrates. Under every administration of government, he had approved himself the friend of moderation and justice, which he still continued, and ever would continue, to recommend and enforce, convinced that those virtues alone could give stability and permanence to any system of government, whether aristocratical or popular."

The senators murmured applause, unawed by the presence of Critias and his associates. But this furious tyrant made a signal to the armed men, who surrounded the senate house, to shew the points of their daggers; and then stepping forward, said, "It is the duty, O senators! of a prudent magistrate, to prevent the deception and danger of his friends. The countenance of those brave youths (pointing to his armed partisans) sufficiently discovers that they will not permit you to save a man who is manifestly subverting the government: I, therefore, with the general consent, strike the name of Theramenes from the list of those who have a right to be tried before the senate; and, with the approbation of my colleagues, I condemn him to immediate death." Roused by this unexpected and bloody sentence, Theramenes started from his seat, and sprang to the altar of the senate-house, at once imploring the compassion, and urging the interest, of the spectators, whose names, he

Ther-
menes
dragged to
execution.

CHAP. **XXIII.** observed, might be struck out, and whose lives might be sacrificed, as unjustly and cruelly as his own. But the terror of armed violence prevented any assistance or intercession; and the Eleven men (for thus Athenian delicacy styled the executioners of public justice) dragged him from the altar, and hurried him to execution.

His death. In proceeding through the market-place, the unhappy victim of tyranny invoked the favour and gratitude of his fellow-citizens, who had often been protected by his eloquence, and defended by his valour. But the impudent Satyrus, the chief minister of vengeance both in authority and cruelty, sternly told him, that if he continued his exclamations and uproar he should soon lament in good earnest¹⁵: "And shall I not," said Theramenes, "though I remain silent?" When he drank the fatal hemlock, he poured a libation on the ground with a health to the honest Critias; circumstances deemed worthy of relation, as attesting that even in his last moments, he was forsaken neither by his facetiousness nor by his fortitude.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Ὅτι σιωπήσειτο, ἢ μὴ σιωπήσειεν.* Literally, that he would cry out unless he were silent. The inaccurate language of the executioner furnished occasion to the smart reply of Theramenes.

¹⁶ Xenoph. p. 470. The glorious death of Theramenes cancelled the imperfections of his life. That his character was inconstant, most writers allow. Lysias adversus Eratosthen. accuses him of many deliberate crimes; but he died in a virtuous cause, and, however he had acted, left the scene gracefully. "Quam molestat Theramenes! quam elato animo est! Etsi enim stemus, cum legimus, tamen non miserabiliter vir clarus moritur." Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.*

The death of Theramenes delivered the tyrants from the only restraint which tended to controul their insolence, and to moderate their cruelty. They might now indulge in all the licentiousness of outrage, without the fear of reproach or the danger of resistance. Their miserable subjects were driven from the city, from the Piræus, from their houses, their farms, and their villages, which were divided among the detestable instruments of an odious usurpation. Nor did the tyrants stop here. A mandate was published, enforced by the authority of the Spartan senate, prohibiting any Grecian city to receive the unfortunate fugitives. But this inhuman order was almost universally disobeyed: the sacred laws of hospitality prevailed over the terror of an unjust decree; Thebes, Argos, and Megara, were crowded with Athenian exiles.¹⁷

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XXIII.

Excessive
cruelty of
the ty-
rants.

In exercising those abominable acts of cruelty, the Thirty probably consulted the immediate safety of their persons, but they precipitated the downfall of their power. The oppressed Athenians, whose sufferings seemed no longer tolerable, required only a leader to rouse them to arms, and to conduct them to victory and to vengeance. This danger the tyrants had greater reason to apprehend since they could not expect a reinforcement to the garrison, while the efforts of Lysander and the Spartans were principally directed towards the extension of their Asiatic conquests. The abilities and

They
dread the
machina-
tions of
Alcibiades.

¹⁷ Diodor. l. xiv. p. 236.

C H A P. resentment of Alcibiades pointed him out as
XXIII. the person best qualified to undertake the adventurous design of re-assembling the fugitives, and of animating them with courage to recover their lost country. That illustrious exile had been driven from his Thracian fortress by the terror of the Lacedæmonians, then masters of the Hellespont, and had acquired a settlement under the protection of Pharnabazus, in the little village of Grynium in Phrygia, where, undisturbed by the dangerous contentions of war and politics, he enjoyed an obscure happiness in the bosom of love and friendship. But the cruel fears of the tyrants pursued him to this last retreat.

His death. Lysander told Pharnabazus that the sacrifice of Alcibiades was necessary for the safety of that form of government which had been recently established in Athens, and which it was the interest both of Sparta and of Persia to maintain. A private reason (which will afterwards appear) prevailed with the satrap to pay immediate attention to this bloody advice. A band of armed Phrygians was sent to surprise and destroy Alcibiades. Such was the fame of his prowess, that these timid assassins durst not attack him in broad day, or by open force. They chose the obscurity of night to surround and set fire to his house, which, according to the fashion of the country, was chiefly composed of light and combustible materials. The crackling noise of the flames alarmed Alcibiades, whose own treacherous character rendered him always suspicious

of treachery. He snatched his sword, and twisting his mantle round his left arm, rushed through the flaming edifice, followed by his faithful Arcadian friend, and by his affectionate mistress Timandra.¹⁸ The cowardice of the Phrygians, declining to meet the fury of his assault, covered him with a shower of javelins. But even these Barbarians spared the weakness and the sex of Timandra, whose tears and entreaties obtained the melancholy consolation of burying her unfortunate lover ; a man whose various character can only be represented in the wonderful vicissitudes of his life and fortune ; and who, though eminently adorned with the advantages of birth, wealth, valour, and eloquence, and endowed with uncommon gifts of nature and acquirements of art, yet deficient in discretion and probity, involved his country and himself in inextricable calamities.

and character.

Although the life of Alcibiades had been highly pernicious to his country, his death, at this particular juncture, might be regarded as a misfortune, had not the Athenian exiles at Thebes been headed by a man who, without being deformed by his vices, was possessed of all his merits. The enterprising courage of Thrasybulus was animated by the love of liberty ; and while he generally followed¹⁹ the rules of justice and humanity, he had magnanimity to conceive, abilities to conduct, and perseverance to accomplish, the boldest and most arduous designs. Having communicated

Thrasybulus, with a handful of fugitives, seizes Phyla.

¹⁸ Corn. Nepos, et Plut. in Alcibiad.

¹⁹ His conduct, as will appear hereafter, was not uniform.

C H A P. his intentions to the unhappy fugitives in Thebes
XXIII. and Megara, he encouraged a body of seventy
 intrepid followers to seize the important fortress
 of Phyla, situated on the Bœotian and Athenian
 frontier. This daring enterprise alarmed the
 tyrants, who marched forth with the flower of
 their troops to dislodge the new garrison. But
 the natural strength of the place baffled their
 assault ; and when they determined to invest it,
 the unexpected violence of a tempest, accom-
 panied with an extraordinary fall of snow²⁰,
 obliged them to desist from their undertaking.
 They returned with precipitation to Athens,
 leaving behind part of their attendants and
 baggage, which fell a prey to the garrison of
 Phyla ; the strength of which continually
 augmented by the confluence of Athenian ex-
 iles, and soon increased from seventy, to seven
 hundred men.

The ty-
 rants haf-
 fled in
 their at-
 tempts to
 dislodge
 them.

Thrasybu-
 lus sur-
 prises and
 defeats the
 enemy.

The tyrants had just reason to apprehend that
 these daring invaders might ravage the surround-
 ing country, and even attack the capital. Alarm-
 ed by this danger, they dispatched several troops
 of horse, with the greater part of their Lacedæ-
 monian mercenaries, who encamped in a woody
 country, at the distance of fifteen furlongs from
 Phyla, in order to watch the motions and repress
 the incursions of the enemy. But these forces,
 which had been sent to guard the territory and
 city from surprise, were themselves surprised by
 Thrasybulus, who silently marched forth in the

²⁰ Επείγνεται της νυκτος χιον παμπληθης. Xenoph. p. 471.

night, posted his men amidst the concealed intricacies of the forest, and suddenly attacked the Lacedæmonians before they had time to recover courage, or even to stand to their arms. The dread of an ambush probably prevented the wary General from following them to any great distance from the garrison. An hundred and twenty men were slain in the pursuit; a trophy was erected; the baggage and arms were conveyed in triumph to Phyla.²¹

The news of this disaster inspired the Thirty with such terror that they no longer regarded a dismantled capital like Athens as proper for their residence. They determined to remove to the neighbouring city of Eleusis, which, in case of extremity, seemed more capable of defence. The three thousand, who were entrusted with the use of arms, accompanied them thither, and assisted them in treacherously putting to death all such of the Eleusinians as were thought disaffected to the usurpation. Under pretence of mustering the inhabitants, these unhappy men were singly conducted through the narrow gate leading to the shore, where they were successively disarmed, bound, and executed by the cruel instruments of tyranny.²²

The tyrants remove to Eleusis.

Meanwhile the garrison of Phyla continually received new reinforcements. The orator Lysias, whose domestic sufferings have been recently de-

Thrasylbulus marches to the Piræus.

²¹ Xenoph. p. 471.

²² Id. ib.

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scribed, collected three hundred men to take vengeance on the murderers of his brother, and the authors of his own banishment.²³ These useful supplies encouraged Thrasybulus to attempt surprising the Piræus, the inhabitants of which, consisting chiefly of tradesmen, merchants, and mariners, bore with great impatience and indignation the injuries of a subordinate council of Ten, the obsequious imitators of the Thirty. This enterprise was crowned with success, although the tyrants brought forth their whole force to oppose it. Having intercepted their march to the place, Thrasybulus occupied a rising ground, which gave him a decisive advantage in the engagement.

Addresses
his follow-
ers in sight
of the
enemy.

Before leading his men to action, he animated their valour and resentment, by reminding them, that the enemy, on the right, consisted of those Lacedæmonians whom only five days before they had shamefully routed and put to flight; that the troops on the left were commanded by the Thirty Tyrants, who had unjustly driven them into banishment, confiscated their property, and murdered their dearest friends. "But the gods have finally given us the opportunity (long ardently desired) to face our oppressors with arms in our hands, and to take vengeance on their complicated wickedness. When they invested us at Phyla, the gods, consulting our safety, ruffled the serenity

²³ Justin. l. v. c. 9. The compiler, with his usual inaccuracy, says, *Lysias Syracusanus* orator.

of the sky with an unexpected tempest. The assistance of heaven enabled us, with a handful of men, to raise a trophy over our numerous foes; and the same Divine Providence still favours us with the most manifest marks of partiality. The enemy are drawn up in a deep and close array; they must be obliged to ascend the eminence; the javelins of their rear cannot reach beyond their van; while, from the reverse of these circumstances, no weapon of ours needs be discharged in vain. Let us avail ourselves, therefore, of an arrangement evidently produced by the favour of Heaven; each soldier remembering, that he never can achieve a more honourable victory, or obtain a more glorious tomb." ²⁴

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The revered authority of the priest enforced the exhortation of the General. He promised them complete success, provided they forebore to charge till one of their men were killed or wounded: "Then," added he, "I will conduct you to certain victory, though I myself shall fall." He had scarcely ended, when the enemy threw their javelins; upon which, as if guided by a divine impulse, he rushed forward to the attack. Both parts of his prediction were accomplished. The battle was neither long nor bloody; but Critias and Hippomachus, the two most violent of the tyrants, were left among the slain. Thrasybulus judiciously avoided to pursue the scattered fugitives, who being superior in

The tyrants defeated.

²⁴ Xenoph. p. 473. et Diodor. l. xiv. p. 414.

C H A P.
XXIII.

His pro-
clamation
to the van-
quished.

number, might still rally and renew the battle, if he quitted the advantage of the ground. But having proceeded to the foot of the hill, he stopped the ardour of his troops, and commanded the herald Cleocritus to proclaim with a loud voice, "Wherefore, Athenians! would you fly from your countrymen? Wherefore have you driven them from the city? Why do you thirst for their blood? We are united with you, by religious, civil, and domestic ties. Often, with combined arms, have we fought, by sea and land, to defend our common country and common freedom. Even in this unnatural civil war, excited and fomented by the ambition of impious and abominable tyrants, who have shed more blood in eight months than the Peloponnesians, our public enemies, in ten years, we have lamented your misfortunes as much as our own; nor is there a man whom you have left on the field of battle, whose death does not excite our sympathy, and increase our affliction." The tyrants, dreading the effect of a proclamation well calculated to sow the seeds of disaffection, led off their troops with great precipitation; and Thrasybulus, without stripping the dead, marched to the Piræus.²⁵

Govern-
ment of
the De-
cemvirs,

Next day the Thirty, shamefully discomfited in the engagement, and deprived of Critias, their furious but intrepid leader, took their melancholy seats in council with strong indications of expected ruin. Their unfortunate subjects ac-

²⁵ Xenoph. p. 474.

cused their commanders, and each other; a new sedition threatened; nor was the ferment allayed, until the tyrants had been deprived of their dignity, and ten magistrates (one elected from each tribe) appointed in their room.* The surviving tyrants, with those who were too closely united with them in guilt, not to be united in interest, fled to Eleusis.

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It might be expected that the Decemvirs, who now assumed the government, should have been deterred from injustice by the fatal example of their predecessors. But in the turbulent republics of Greece, however free in theory, men were little acquainted with the benefits of practical liberty. Whether the nobles, or people, or a prevailing faction of either; whatever party in the state obtained the chief administration, their authority was almost alike oppressive and tyrannical. Alternately masters and slaves, those fierce republicans were either unable or unwilling to draw that decisive and impervious line between the power of government, and the liberty of the subject; a line which forms the only solid barrier of an uniform, consistent, and rational freedom.

as violent
as that of
the Thirty.

The Ten had no sooner been invested with the ensigns of command, than they shewed an equal inclination with the Thirty to obey the Lacedæmonians, and to tyrannise over their fellow-citizens.† After various skirmishes, which

Lysander
marches to
the Piræus.

* Xenoph. p. 474. et Isocrat. ii. p. 426.

† Lysias advers. Eratosth. p. 212. et seq.

C H A P. XXIII. happened in the course of two weeks, and generally proved honourable to the bravery and conduct of Thrasybulus, the tyrants both in Eleusis and in Athens dispatched messengers to solicit farther assistance from Sparta and Lysander. That active and enterprising leader employed his usual diligence to protect the government which he had established. At the head of a powerful body of mercenaries, he marched to the Piræus, which he invested by land; while his brother Libys, who commanded a considerable squadron, blocked up the harbour.²⁸

His measures thwarted by Pausanias.

These vigorous exertions restored the hopes and courage of the tyrants; nor can it be doubted that Thrasybulus and his followers must have speedily been compelled to surrender, had the Spartan commanders been allowed to act without controul. But the proud arrogance of Lysander, and the rapacious avarice of his dependants, provoked the indignation and resentment of whatever was most respectable in his country. The kings, magistrates, and senate, conspired to humble his ambition; and, lest he should enjoy the glory of conquering Athens a second time, Pausanias, the most popular and beloved of the Spartan princes, hastily levied the domestic troops, and a considerable body of Peloponnesian allies, and marching through the isthmus of Corinth, encamped in the neighbourhood of Athens; little solicitous to in-

²⁸ Xenoph. p. 476. et Diodor. ubi supra.

crease the dissensions in that city, provided he could anticipate and thwart the measures of Ly-sander.

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While the two Lacedæmonian armies discovered, in the distance of their encampments, a disunion of their views and interests, an incident happened which determined Pausanias to undertake the protection of Thrasybulus and his adherents ; a resolution to which he was naturally inclined from opposition to an envied and odious rival. Diognotus, an Athenian of an amiable and respectable character, brought him the children of Niceratus and Eucrates ; the former the son, the latter the brother, of the great Nicias, with whom the Spartan King was connected by the hereditary ties of hospitality and friendship. Having placed the helpless little ones on his knees, he conjured him, by his religious regard for the memory of their much-respected ancestor, to pity their innocence and weakness, and to defend them against the cruel tyranny of a worthless faction, ambitious to cut off and destroy whatever was distinguished by birth, wealth, or virtue.²⁹ This affecting scene, had it failed to touch the heart of Pausanias, must at least have afforded him a plausible pretence for embracing the party of Thrasybulus, which numbered among its adherents the friends and family of Nicias, who had long been suspected of an undue attachment to the Spartan interest.

Pausanias espouses the interest of Thrasybulus and his adherents. Olymp. xciv. 2. A. C. 403.

²⁹ Lysias adv. Poliuchum, p. 323. and my translation of Lysias, p. 231.

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Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Athens.

Before he could fully persuade the enemy of his favourable intentions, several bloody skirmishes were fought, in which the partisans of democracy defended the Piræus with unequal force, but with uncommon resolution.³⁰ At length Pausanias made them understand, that instead of destroying their persons, he wished to protect their liberties. In Athens his emissaries made known this unexpected revolution, which excited a numerous party to throw off the yoke of the tyrants, and to desire a reconciliation with their fellow-citizens in the Piræus. The deputies were favourably received by the Spartan King, and sent, under his protection, to propose overtures of accommodation to the ephori and senate. The messengers of Lysander and the tyrants endeavoured to traverse this negociation; but notwithstanding *their* opposition, the Spartans appointed fifteen commissioners, who, in conjunction with Pausanias, were empowered to settle the affairs of Athens.³¹

This happily effected.

With the approbation, or rather by the command of those ministers, the Athenian factions ceased from hostility; the tyrants were divested of their power; the foreign garrison was withdrawn; and the popular government re-established. This important revolution was remarkable for its singular mildness. The authors and instruments of the most oppressive usurpation recorded in the annals of any people were allowed to retire in

³⁰ Xenoph. Diodor. Lysias. ubi supra.

³¹ Xenoph. p. 478

safety to Eleusis. Thrasybulus conducted a military procession to the temple of Minerva in the citadel, where the acknowledgments of thanks and sacrifice were offered to that protecting divinity, who had restored the virtuous exiles to their country, and healed the divisions of the state. The citizens who had been banished, and those who had driven them into banishment, joined in the solemn exercise of religious duty; after which, convening in full assembly, they were addressed by Thrasybulus in these memorable words:

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Memorable speech
of Thrasybulus.

“ The experience of your past transactions may enable you, men of Athens! to know each other, and to know yourselves. On what pretence could you, who drove us from the city, abet a tyrannical faction? Why would you have enslaved your fellow-citizens? On what superiority of merit could you found your claim of dominion? Is it that you are more honest? Yet the people whom you insulted never relieved their poverty by unjust gain; whereas the tyrants, whom you served, increased their wealth by the most oppressive rapacity. Is it that you are more brave and warlike? Yet this injured people, alone and unassisted, and almost unarmed, have overcome your superior numbers, reinforced by the Lacedæmonian garrison, the powerful succours of Pausanias, and the experienced mercenaries of Lysander. As you must yield the prize both of probity and of prowess, so neither can you claim the pre-eminence in prudence and sagacity. You have been not only conquered in war, but out-

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done in negotiation, by the people whom you despised ; to whom your Lacedæmonian masters have delivered you, like biting curs³², bound and muzzled, to be justly punished for your unprovoked insolence and offensive audacity. But as to you, my fellow-sufferers and fellow-exiles ! you, who shared the hardships of my banishment, and who now share the triumph of my victorious return, I exhort you to forgive and forget all our common wrongs. Let the dignity of your sentiments adorn the splendour of your actions. Prove yourselves superior to your enemies, not only in valour but in clemency, to the end that moderation may produce concord ; and concord, strength."

The amnesty,

The effect of this generous enthusiasm excited and diffused by Thrasybulus, appeared in a very extraordinary resolution of the assembly. During the usurpation of the Thirty, an hundred talents had been borrowed from the Lacedæmonians, to support the rigorous cruelty of a government which had banished five thousand³³, and put to death, untried, fifteen hundred citizens. The repayment of this sum was not to be expected from the people at large, against whose interest and safety it had been so notoriously employed. Yet the Athenians unanimously resolved, on this occasion, that

³² ὡς περ τῆς δακνοντίας κλοιῆς δῆσαντες παραδιδόσκειν. Xenoph. Hellen. ii. sub fin. In their comparisons, the ancients, it is well known, regarded justness more than dignity.

³³ Isocrat. in Areopag. p. 345. says upwards of five hundred. Diodorus says the one-half of the citizens.

the money should be charged indiscriminately on them all.³⁴ This unexampled generosity might have encouraged even the enfeebled party of the tyrants to return from Eleusis. But they were too sensible of their guilt to expect forgiveness or impunity. Having fortified their insecure residence, in the best manner that their circumstances could permit, they began to prepare arms; to collect mercenaries; and to try, anew, the fortune of war. But their unequal hostility, the effect of rage and despair, was easily defeated by the vigour of the new republic. The most obnoxious leaders sealed, with their blood, the safety of their adherents, who submitted to the clemency of Thrasybulus. That fortunate and magnanimous commander generously undertook their cause, and obtained a decree of the people for restoring them to the city, for reinstating them in their fortunes and privileges, and for burying in oblivion the memory of their past offences.³⁵ The assembly even ratified, by oath,

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³⁴ Isocrates, *ibid.* et p. 495. of the translation.

³⁵ Among these offences were reckoned the arbitrary laws passed during their usurpation. All these laws were annulled, and those of Solon, Clisthenes, Pericles, &c. re-established. It appears, also, that the Athenians embraced this opportunity of examining their ancient laws, abolishing such as no longer suited the condition of the times, and enacting several new ones. Andocid. *Orat. i. de Myster.* p. 212. et Demosth. *adv. Timocrat.* p. 469. The year in which the democracy was restored, or, in other words, the archonship of Euclides, was regarded, therefore, as an important era in Athenian jurisprudence. The only material alterations on record consist, 1. In the law limiting the right of voting in the assembly to persons born of Athenian mothers. Formerly it sufficed that the

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not observed.

this act of *amnesty*, of which both the idea and the name have been adopted by most civilised nations, and extolled by all historians, ancient and modern, who, dazzled by the splendour of a transaction so honourable to Thrasybulus and to Athens, have universally forgot to mention, that the conditions of the amnesty were not faithfully observed. Yet there is the fullest evidence to prove³⁶, that, when the tyrants were no more, the abettors of their usurpation were accused, convicted, and punished, for crimes of which they had been promised indemnity by a solemn oath. So true it is, that the Athenians had wisdom to discern, but wanted constancy to practise, the lessons of sound policy, or even the rules of justice.

father was a citizen, the condition of the mother not being regarded. Athenæus, xiii. p. 285. et Mark. in Vit. Lysiae, p. 55 2. In the law of Demophantus, requiring the citizens to take the oath that no personal danger should prevent them from doing their utmost to deliver their country from tyrants. Vid. Lycurg. adv. Leocr. p. 180. et Andoc. de Myst. p. 220.

³⁶ See Lysias's Orations against Agoratus and Eratosthenes, from p. 233. to p. 280.

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Accusation of Socrates. — Artifices of his Accusers. — His Defence. — Condemnation. — Address to the Judges. — His Conversation in Prison — and Death. — Transient Persecution of his Disciples. — Writings of Cebes — Æschines. — State of Philosophy — of the Fine Arts — of Literature. — Herodotus — Thucydides — Xenophon. — Transition to the public Transactions of Greece. — The Spartans invade Elis. — The Messenians driven from Greece. — History of Cyrené — of Sicily. — War with Carthage. — Siege of Agrigentum. — Reign of Dionysius. — Sicily the first Province of Rome.

It were well for the honour of Athens, if none but the cruel abettors of an aristocratical faction had experienced the unjust rigour of its tribunals. But among the first memorable transactions, after the re-establishment of Democracy, happened the trial and condemnation of Socrates; a man guiltless of every offence but that of disgracing, by his illustrious merit, the vices and follies of his contemporaries. His death sealed the inimitable virtues of his useful and honourable life; it seemed to be bestowed as a favour, not inflicted as a punishment; since, had Socrates, who had already passed his seventieth year,

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Accusa-
tion of
Socrates.
Olymp.
xcv. 1.
A. C. 400.

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Principal
causes of
that mea-
sure.

yielded to the decays of nature, his fame would have descended, less splendid, certainly more doubtful, to posterity.

The remote cause of his persecution was the ludicrous farce of Aristophanes, entitled "The Clouds ;" to which we had occasion formerly to allude. In this infamous performance, Socrates is introduced denying the religion of his country, corrupting the morals of his disciples, and professing the odious arts of sophistry and chicane. The envy of a licentious people, which ever attends virtue, too independent to court, and too sincere to flatter, them, gradually envenomed the shafts of the poet, and malignantly insinuated that the pretended sage was really such a person as the petulance of Aristophanes had described him. The calumny was greedily received, and its virulence embittered by the craft of designing priests and ambitious demagogues, as well as by the resentment of bad poets and vain sophists, whose specious excellencies the discernment of Socrates had unmasked, and whose irritable temper his sincerity had grievously offended.¹ From such a powerful combination, it seems extraordinary that Socrates should have lived so long, especially since, during

¹ The causes of his persecution, which are hinted at in Xenophon's *Apology for Socrates*, are more fully explained in that written by Plato. Vid. *Plat. Apolog. Socrat.* sect. vi. From these two admirable treatises of practical morality, together with the first chapter of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, and Plato's *Phædo*, the narrative in the text is principally extracted.

the democracy, he never disguised his contempt for the capricious levity, injustice, and cruelty of the multitude, and during the usurpation of the Thirty openly arraigned the vices, and defied the authority of those odious tyrants. His long escape he himself ascribed to his total want of ambition. Had he intermeddled in public affairs, and endeavoured, by arming himself with authority, to withstand the corruptions of the times, his more formidable opposition would have exposed him to an earlier fate.² Notwithstanding his private station, it seems still to have appeared remarkable to his disciples, that amidst the litigious turbulence of democracy, his invidious fame and merit should have escaped persecution during a long life of seventy years.

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When his enemies finally determined to raise an accusation against him, it required uncommon Artifices of his accusers

* The memorable words of Socrates will for ever brand the stern unfeeling spirit of democracy. *Εὐ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐγὼ πάλαι ἐπιχειρήσει τα πολιτικά πράγματα, πάλαι ἂν ἀπολλοίμην καὶ σὺτε ἂν ὄμεις ἀφελήκεν ἔδειν σὺτε ἂν ἐμῶντων καὶ τοὶ μὴ ἀχθεσθε λεγόντι τ' ἀληθῆ, σὺ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅστις σωθήσεται σὺτε ὡμῶν σὺτε ἀλλῶν ἔδειν πληθεὶ γνησιῶς ἐπαυτιέμενος, καὶ διακυλῶν πολλὰ ἀδικα καὶ παρονομα ἐν τῇ πολέῃ γήγνησθαι ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι μαχεσθαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, καὶ εἰ μὲλλει ὀλίγον χρόνον σωθήσεται, δίκαιον, ἀλλ' μὴ δημοσύνειν* *Plut. Apolog. Socrat. c. xiii.* "You well know, Athenians! that had I formerly intermeddled in public affairs I should formerly have perished, without benefiting either you or myself. Be not offended; but it is impossible that he should live long who arraigns and manfully opposes the injustice and licentiousness of you, Athenians! or of any other multitude. A champion for virtue, if he would survive but a few years, must lead a private life, and not interfere in politics."

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address to give their malignant calumnies the appearance of probability. Socrates conversed in public with every description of men, in all places, and on all occasions. His opinions were as well known as his person, and ever uniform and consistent; he taught no secret doctrines; admitted no private auditors; his lessons were open to all; and that they were gratuitous, his poverty, compared with the exorbitant wealth of the sophists who accused him, furnished abundant proof. To balance these stubborn circumstances, his enemies confided in the hatred of the jury and judges, composed of the meanest populace, and the perjury of false witnesses, which might be purchased at Athens for the small sum of a few drachmas. They trusted, however, not less in the artifices and eloquence of Miletus, Anytus³, and Lycon; the first of whom appeared on the part of the priests and poets; the second, on that of the politicians and artists; the third, on that of the rhetoricians and sophists.⁴

Informa-
lity of the
trial.

From the nature of an accusation which principally respected religion, the cause ought to have been regularly tried in the more select and more enlightened tribunal of the Areopagus; yet it was immediately carried before the tumult-

³ Some personal reasons are glanced at, why Miletus and Anytus stepped forth as accusers. Vid. Andocid. Orat. i. & Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. Libanius has swelled to a long story, and strangely disfigured the hint of Xenophon. Apol. Soc. p. 642. et seq.

⁴ Plato, Apol. Soc. c. x.

tuary assembly, or rather mob of the *Heliaea*¹, a court, for so it was called, consisting of five hundred persons, most of whom were liable, by their education and way of life, to be seduced by eloquence, intimidated by authority, and corrupted by every species of undue influence.

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In a degenerate age and nation, few virtuous or able men ever acquired popularity merely by their virtues or abilities. In such a nation, should a person, otherwise estimable, be unfortunately cursed with ambition, he must endeavour to gratify it at the expence of his feelings and his principles, and can attain general favour only in proportion as he ceases to deserve it. Uncomplying integrity will meet with derision; and wisdom, disdaining artifice, will grovel in obscurity, while those alone will reach fame, or fortune, or honour, who, though endowed with talents little above mediocrity, condescend to flatter the prejudices, imitate the manners, gratify the pride, or adopt the resentments, of an ignorant and insolent populace.

Uncom-
plying
integrity
of Socrates.

The superior mind of Socrates was incapable of such mean compliances. When called to

His de-
fence.

¹ This appears from innumerable circumstances, some of which are mentioned below, though Meursius, in his Treatise on the *Areopagus* (vid. Gronov. Thesaur. vol. v.), maintains, that Socrates was tried in that court; an opinion which has been generally followed, but which the slightest attention to the works of the Athenian orators is sufficient to disprove. Vid. Isoc. Orat. *Areopag.* Lysias adv. *Andocid.* p. 106. & *Andocid.* Orat. i. p. 215. The oath to which Socrates alludes in Xenophon's *Apology*, c. iv., can only apply to the *Heliaea*. It is recited at length by Demosthenes, Orat. contr. *Timocrat.*

C H A P. make his defence, he honestly acknowledged that
 XXIV. he himself was much affected by the persuasive eloquence of his adversaries; though, in truth, if he might use the expression, they had said nothing to the purpose.⁶ He then observed, that the fond partiality of his friend Chærephon, having asked the Delphic oracle, whether any man was wiser than Socrates? — the oracle replied, that Socrates was the wisest of men. In order to justify the answer of that god, whose veracity they all acknowledged, he had conversed with every distinction of persons most eminent in the republic; and finding that they universally pretended to know many things of which they were ignorant, he began to suspect, that in this circumstance he excelled them, since he pretended to no sort of knowledge of which he was not really master. What he did know, he freely communicated, striving, to the utmost, to render his fellow-citizens more virtuous and more happy; an employment to which he believed himself called by the god, “ whose authority I respect, Athenians! still more than yours.”

Provokes
 the anger
 of his
 judges.

The judges were seized with indignation at this firmness in a man capitally accused, from whom they expected that, according to the usual practice, he would have brought his wife and children to intercede for him by their tears⁷, or

⁶ The simplicity of the original is inimitable — *καὶ τοὶ ἀληθεῖ γὰρ, ὅρ' ἐπεί εἶπεν, οὐδ' εἰρηκασί.* Plut. Apol.

⁷ These circumstances, which are mentioned both by Xenophon and Plato, prove that Socrates was tried before a popular tribunal.

even have employed the elaborate discourse which his friend Lysias the orator had composed for his defence ; a discourse alike fitted to detect calumny, and to excite compassion. But Socrates, who considered it as a far greater misfortune to commit, than to suffer an injustice, declared, that he thought it unbecoming his fame, and unworthy of his character, to employ any other defence than that of an innocent and useful life. Whether to incur the penalties of the delinquency with which he was falsely charged, ought to be regarded as an evil, the gods alone knew. For his part, he imagined that he should have no reason for sorrow at being delivered from the inconveniencies of old age, which were ready to overtake him, and at being commanded to quit life^s while his mind, still active and vigorous, was likely to leave behind him the most agreeable impression in the remembrance of his friends.

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The firm magnanimity of Socrates could not alter the resolution of his judges ; yet, such is the ascendancy of virtue over the worst of minds, that he was found guilty by a majority of only

Socrates
is con-
demned.

It is well known that the Areopagus rigorously proscribed all such undue methods of biasing the judgment and seducing the passions. Vid. Demosth. in Næer. Aristocrat. Æschin. in Timarch. Lucian. Hermotim. et Isocrat. Areopag.

^s Xenophon says, that he writes Socrates's Defence, after so many others, who had already executed that task with sufficient skill and fidelity, in order to illustrate one point much insisted on by Socrates, " That it was better for him to die than to live." Xenoph. Apol. sub init.

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three voices.⁹ The court then commanded him, agreeably to a principle which betrays the true spirit of democratical tyranny, to pass sentence of condemnation on himself, and to name the punishment which ought to be inflicted on him. The punishment, said Socrates, which I deserve for having spent my whole life in endeavouring to render my fellow-citizens wiser and better, and particularly in striving to inspire the Athenian youth with the love of justice and temperance, is "To be maintained, during the remainder of my life, in the Prytanæum; an honour due to *me* rather than to the victors in the Olympic games, since, as far as depended on me, I have made my countrymen more happy in *reality*; they only in *appearance*." Provoked by his observation, by which they ought to have been confounded, the judges proceeded to pass sentence, and condemned Socrates to drink hemlock.¹⁰

His address to the judges who voted in his favour.

This enormous injustice excited the indignation of his numerous friends and disciples, most of whom had accompanied him to the court; but it awakened no other passion in the illustrious sage than that of pity for the blind prejudices of the Athenians. He then addressed that part of the court who had been favourable to him, or rather to themselves, since they had avoided the misfortune of passing an unjust sentence, which would have disgraced and embittered the latest moment of their lives. "He considered them as

⁹ Plato, Apol.

¹⁰ Idem, *ibid*.

friends with whom he would willingly converse for a moment, upon the event which had happened to him, before he was summoned to death. From the commencement of the prosecution, an unusual circumstance, he observed, had attended all his words and actions, and every step which he had taken in the whole course of his trial. The *dæmon*, who on ordinary occasions had ever been so watchful to restrain him, when he prepared to say or do any thing improper or hurtful, had never once withheld him, during the whole progress of this business, from following the bent of his own inclination. For this reason, he was apt to suspect that the fate which the court had decreed him, although they meant it for an evil, was to him a real good. If to die was only to change the scene, must it not be an advantage to remove from these pretended judges to Minos, Rhadamanthus, and other real judges, who, through their love of justice, had been exalted by the divinity to this important function of government? What delight to live and converse with the immortal heroes and poets of antiquity! It becomes you also, my friends, to be of good comfort with regard to death, since no evil, in life or death, can befall virtuous men, whose true interest is ever the concern of Heaven. For my part, I am persuaded that it is better for me to die than to live, and therefore am not offended with my judges. I entreat you all to behave towards my sons, when they attain the years of reason, as I have done to you, not ceasing to blame

CHAP. and accuse them, when they prefer wealth or
 XXIV. pleasure, or any other frivolous object, to the
 inestimable worth of virtue. If they think highly
 of their own merit, while in fact it is of a low
 standard, reproach them severely, Athenians! as
 I have done you. By so doing you will behave
 well to me and to my sons. It is now time for
 us to part. I go to die, you have longer to
 live; but which is best, none but the Divinity
 knows.”¹¹

The execution of the sentence deferred on account of the Delian festival.

It is not wonderful that the disciples of Socrates should have believed the events of his extraordinary life, and especially its concluding scene, to be regulated by the interposition of a particular providence.¹² Every circumstance conspired to evince his unalterable firmness, and display his inimitable virtue. It happened, before the day of his trial, that the high-priest had crowned the stern of the vessel, which was annually sent to Delos, to commemorate, by grateful acknowledgments to Apollo, the triumphant return of Theseus from Crete, and the happy deliverance of Athens from a disgraceful¹³ tribute. This ceremony announced the commencement of the festival, which ended with the return

¹¹ Plato Apol. sub fin.

¹² According to Plato, nothing happened in this transaction *απὸ θείας μοίρας*. Plat. Apol. Yet in the Phædo, sub init. he says, *τυχῇ τις αὐτῷ, ὡς Ἐλεγκράτης ! συνέβη*. But *τυχῇ* here refers not to the cause, but to the effect; not to blind chance, but to an unaccountable Disposition of events produced by a particular interposition of the Divinity. In this sense the word is used not only by philosophers but orators, particularly Demosthenes, as we shall see below.

¹³ See vol. i. p. 52.

of the vessel; and during the intervening time, which was consecrated to the honour of Apollo, it was not lawful to inflict any capital punishment. Contrary winds protracted the ceremony thirty days, during which Socrates lay in prison, and in fetters. His friends daily visited him, repairing, at the dawn, to the prison-gate, and impatiently waiting till it opened. The conversation turned on the same subjects which had formerly occupied them; but afforded not that pure unmixed pleasure which they usually derived from the company of Socrates. It occasioned, however, nothing of that gloom which is naturally excited by the presence of a friend under sentence of death. They felt a certain pleasing melancholy, a mixed sensation of sorrow and delight, to which no language has assigned a name.¹⁴

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When the fatal vessel arrived in the harbour of Sunium, and was hourly expected in the Piræus, Crito, the most confidential of the disciples of Socrates¹⁵, first brought the melancholy

He refuses
to escape
from
prison.

¹⁴ This is admirably described by Plato: Ἄλλα ἀτεχνῶς ἀποκον-
τι μοι πάθος παρῆν, καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς συγκρατημένη
ἦτο καὶ τῆς λύπης. The following circumstances are inimitable:
Καὶ πῶτες δὲ παρόντες σχεδὸν τι ὅτε διακειμένα, τότε μὲν γελῶντες,
εἰς τοὺς δὲ δακρυόεντας· εἰς δὲ ἡμῶν διαφορῶντος Ἀπολλωνίου οἰσθα
γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ. Phædo, viii. c. 2. Socrates
alone felt none of these sensations; but as Montaigne, who had
seized his true character, says, Et qui ne reconnoisse en luy, non
seulement de la fermeté et de la constance (c'étoit son assiette
ordinaire que celle là) mais je ne sçay quel contentment nouveau
et une allegresse enjouée en ses propos et façons dernières.

¹⁵ Finding Socrates in a profound sleep, he reposed himself by
his side till he awoke. Plat. *ibid*.

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intelligence ; and, moved by the near danger of his venerated friend, ventured to propose a clandestine escape, shewing him at the same time that he had collected a sufficient sum of money to corrupt the fidelity of his keepers. This unmanly proposal, which nothing but the undistinguishing ardour of friendship could excuse, Socrates answered in a vein of pleasantry, which shewed the perfect freedom of his mind : “ In what country, O Crito ! can I escape death ? where shall I fly to elude this irrevocable doom, passed on all human kind ? ” To Apollodorus, a man of no great depth of understanding, but his affectionate and zealous admirer, who said, “ What grieves me beyond measure is, that such a man should perish unjustly ; ” he replied, stroking the head of his friend, “ And would you be less grieved, O Apollodorus ! were I deserving of death ? ”¹⁶ When his friends, and Crito especially, insisted, “ That it would be no less ungenerous than imprudent, in compliance with the hasty resolution of a malignant or misguided multitude, to render his wife a widow, his children orphans, his disciples for ever miserable and forlorn, and conjured him, by every thing sacred, to save a life so inestimably precious ; ” Socrates assumed a tone more serious, recalled the maxims which he professed, and the doctrines which he had ever inculcated, “ That how unjustly soever we were treated, it could never be our interest to practise injustice, much

¹⁶ Xenoph. et Plat. *ibid*

less to retort the injuries of our parents or our country : and thus teach, by our example, disobedience to the laws." The strength of his arguments, and still more, the unaltered composure and cheerful serenity that appeared in his looks, words, and actions¹⁷, silenced the struggling emotions of his disciples. The dignity of virtue elevated their souls; they parted with tears of inexpressible admiration, and with a firm purpose to see their master earlier than usual on the fatal morning.

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Having arrived at the prison-gate, they were desired to wait without, because the Eleven (so the delicacy of Athens styled the executioners of public justice) unloosed the fetters of Socrates, and announced to him his death before the setting of the sun. They had not waited long, when they were desired to enter. They found Socrates just relieved from the weight of his bonds, attended by his wife Xantippé, who bore in her arms his infant son. At their appearance, she exclaimed, "Alas! Socrates, here come your friends, whom you for the last time behold, and who for the last time behold you!" Socrates, looking at Crito, desired some one to conduct her home. She departed, beating her breast, and lamenting with that clamorous sorrow natural to her sex¹⁸ and her character.

His behaviour during the last day of his confinement.

¹⁷ Καὶ ὁμιαί καὶ σχήμασι καὶ βαδισμαὶ φαῖρος. Xenoph. Apol.

¹⁸ Βόωντες τε καὶ κροτομαίνοντες; and a little above, "ὅσα δὴ εὐδαίμων ἡ γυναῖκες. Phædo, sec. iii.

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His conversation
with his
disciples.

Socrates, meanwhile, reclining on his couch composedly, drew his leg towards him, and gently rubbing the part which had been galled by the fetters, remarked the wonderful connection between what men call pleasure, and its opposite, pain. The one sensation, he observed, (as just happened to his leg after being delivered from the smart of the irons,) was generally followed by the other. Neither of them could long exist apart; they are seldom pure and unmixed; and whoever feels the one, may be sure that he will soon feel the other. "I think, that, had Æsop the fabulist made this reflection, he would have said, that the Divinity, desirous to reconcile these opposite natures, but finding the design impracticable, had at least joined their extremities; for which reason pleasure has ever since dragged pain after it, and pain pleasure."

Why he
composed
verses in
prison,
having
never
done it
before.

The mention of Æsop recalled to Cebes, the Theban, a conversation which he had recently had with Euenus of Paros, a celebrated elegiac poet, then resident in Athens.¹⁹ The poet asked Cebes, "Why his master, who had never before addicted himself to poetry, should, since his confinement, have written a hymn to Apollo, and turned into verse several of Æsop's fables?" The Theban seized the present opportunity to satisfy himself in this particular, and to acquire such information as

¹⁹ The following narrative, to the death of Socrates, is entirely borrowed from the Phædo, to which it is therefore unnecessary at every moment to refer.

might satisfy Euenus, who, he assured Socrates, would certainly repeat his question. The illustrious sage, whose inimitable virtues were all tinged, or rather brightened, by enthusiasm, desired Cebes to tell Euenus, "That it was not with a view to rival him, or with a hope to excel his poetry, (for *that*, he knew, would not be easy,) that he had begun, late in life, this new pursuit. He had attempted it in compliance with a divine mandate, which frequently commanded him in dreams to cultivate music. He had, therefore, first applied to philosophy, thinking *that* the greatest music, but since he was under sentence of death, he judged it safest to try likewise the popular music, lest any thing should on his part be omitted, which the gods had enjoined him. For this reason, he had composed a hymn to Apollo, whose festival was now celebrating; and not being himself a mythologist, had versified such fables of Æsop as happened most readily to occur to his memory. Tell this to Euenus; bid him farewell; and farther, that if he is wise, he will follow me; for I depart, as it is likely, to-day; so the Athenians have ordered it."

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The last words introduced an important conversation concerning suicide, and the immortality of the soul. Socrates maintained, that though it was better for a wise man to die than to live, because there was reason to believe that he would be happier in a future than in the present state of existence, yet it could never be allowable for him to perish by his own hand, or even to lay down life without a sufficient motive, such as

His opinion concerning suicide, and the immortality of the soul.

C H A P. that which influenced himself, a respectful submission to the laws of his country. This interesting discussion consumed the greatest part of the day. Socrates encouraged his disciples not to spare his opinions from delicacy to his present situation. Those who were of his mind he exhorted to persevere. Entwining his hand in the long hair of Phædo, "These beautiful locks, my dear Phædo, you will this day cut off"; but were I in your place, I would not again allow them to grow, but make a vow (as the Argives did in a matter of infinitely less moment) never to resume the wonted ornaments of my beauty, until I had confirmed the doctrine of the soul's immortality."

Concern-
ing death,
burial, and
the duties
of friends
to the de-
ceased.

The arguments of Socrates convinced and consoled his disciples, as they have often done the learned and virtuous in succeeding times. "Those who had adorned their minds with temperance, justice, and fortitude, and had despised the vain ornaments and vain pleasures of the body, could never regret their separation from this terrestrial companion. And now," continued he, in the language of tragedy, "the destined hour summons me to death; it is almost time to bathe, and surely it will be better that I myself, before I drink the poison, should perform this ceremony, than occasion unnecessary trouble to the women after I am dead." "So let it be," said Crito; "but first inform

* The ceremony of cutting off the hair at funerals was mentioned above, vol. i. c. vii. p. 324, where the transaction of the Argives, alluded to in the text, is related.

us, Socrates, in what we can do your pleasure, respecting your children or any other concern?"

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—“ Nothing new, O Crito! but what I have always told you: by consulting your own happiness, you will act the best part with regard to my children, to me, and to all mankind; although you bind not yourselves by any new promise. But if you forsake the rules of virtue, which we have just endeavoured to explain, you will benefit neither my children nor any with whom you live, although you should now swear to the contrary.” Crito then asked him, “ How he chose to be buried?”—“ As you please, provided I don’t escape you.” Saying this, he smiled, adding, that as to his *body*, they might bury it as seemed most decent, and most suitable to the laws of his country.

He then retired into the adjoining chamber, accompanied only by Crito; the rest remained behind, like children mourning a father. When he had bathed and dressed, his sons, (one grown up, and two children,) together with his female relations²¹, were admitted to him. He conversed with them in the presence of Crito, and then returned to his disciples near sun-set, for he tarried long within. Before he had time to begin any new subject, the keeper of the prison

He bathes;

²¹ The *original* *γυναῖκες* of Plato. This expression seems to have given rise to the absurd fable, that Socrates had two wives, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, and others; and the absurd explication of that irregularity, “ that the Athenians, after the pestilence, had allowed polygamy, at least bigamy, to repair the ravages of that dreadful malady.”

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is address-
ed by the
messenger
of death.

entered, and standing near Socrates, "I cannot," said he, "accuse you, O Socrates! of the rage and execrations too often vented against me by those here confined, to whom, by command of the magistrates, I announce that it is time to drink the poison. Your fortitude, mildness, and generosity, exceed all that I have ever witnessed; even now I know you pardon me, since I act by compulsion; and as you are acquainted with the purport of my message, farewell, and bear your fate with as much patience as possible." At these words the executioner, hardened as he was in scenes of death, dissolved in tears, and, turning from Socrates, went out. The latter following him with his eye, replied, "And you also farewell; as to me, I shall obey your instructions." Then looking at his disciples, "How truly polite," said he, "is *the man!*"²² During my confinement, he often visited and conversed with me; and now, how generously does he lament my death! But let the poison be brought, that we may obey his orders."

His conversation
before
drinking
the poison.

Crito then said, "Still, O Socrates! there is time; the sun still brightens the tops of the mountains. Many have I known, who have drank the poison late in the night, after a luxurious supper and generous wines, and lastly, after enjoying the embraces of those of whom they were²³ enamoured.

²² 'Ο ἀσθένους, the term for the executioner.

²³ Συγγενομενός γ' εἷς ἐν αὐτοῖς τυχεῖσι ἐπιθυμῶντες. Phæd. c. xlviii
What an extraordinary picture of Athenian manners!

But hasten not; it is yet time." "With good reason," said Socrates, "these persons did what you say, because they believe thereby to be gainers; and with good reason I shall act otherwise, because I am convinced that I should gain nothing but ridicule by an over-anxious solicitude for life, when it is just ready to leave me." Crito then made a sign to the boy who waited; the latter went out to grind the hemlock, and returned with him who was to administer it. Socrates perceiving his arrival, "Tell me," said he, "for you are experienced in such matters, what have I to do?" "Nothing farther than to walk in the apartment till your limbs feel heavy; then repose yourself on the couch." Socrates then taking the cup in his hand, and looking at him with ineffable serenity, "Say, as to this beverage, is it lawful to employ any part of it in libation?" The other replied, "There is no more than what is proper to drink." "But it is *proper*," rejoined Socrates, "and necessary, if we would perform our duty, to pray the gods, that our passage hence may be fortunate." So saying, he was silent for a moment, and then drank the poison with an unaltered countenance. Mingling gentleness with authority, he stilled the noisy lamentations of his friends, saying, that in order to avoid such unmanly complaints, he had before dismissed the women. As the poison began to gain his vitals, he uncovered his face, and said to Crito, "We owe a cock to Æsculapius; let this sacrifice be carefully performed." Crito asked, if he had any thing further to com-

His prayer
and death.

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mand? But he made no reply. A little after, he was in agony — Crito shut his eyes. Thus died Socrates; whom, his disciples declared, they could never cease to remember, nor remembering, cease to admire. “If any man,” says Xenophon inimitably, “if any man, a lover of virtue, ever found a more profitable companion than Socrates, I deem that man the happiest of human kind.”²⁴

Transient
persecu-
tion of his
disciples.

The current of popular passions appears nowhere more uniform than in the history of Athens. The factitious resentment excited against Socrates by such improbable calumnies, as even those who were the readiest to receive and to disseminate, could never seriously believe, extended itself with rapidity to his numerous friends and adherents. But fortunately for the interest of letters and humanity, the endemic contagion was confined within the Athenian frontiers. Plato, Antisthenes, Æschines, Critobulus, and other Athenians, wisely eluded a storm which they had not strength to resist. Some took refuge in Thebes with their fellow-disciples, Simmias, Cebes, and Phædonas; others found protection in Megara through Euclid and Terpsion. This persecution of philosophy, however, was accidental and transient. Mingled sentiments, of pity, shame, and resentment, soon gave a new direction to the popular fury; which raged with more destructive, yet

The Athe-
nians re-
pent, and
honour
the me-
mory of
Socrates.

²⁴ Plato speaks with equal feeling, or rather enthusiasm. *Και γὰρ το μεμνησθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν λεγόντι καὶ ἄλλου ἀκούοντα, ἐμοίγε αἰεὶ πάντων ἡδίστον.* Phæd. c. ii.

far juster cruelty, against the accusers and judges of Socrates.²⁵ Many were driven into exile; many were put to death; several perished in despair, by their own hands. The illustrious sage was honoured by signal monuments of public admiration²⁶; his fame, like the hardy oak, derived increasing strength from years²⁷; till the superstition of the Athenians at length worshipped, as a god²⁸, him whom their injustice had condemned as a criminal.

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The persecution, the death, and the honours of Socrates, all conspired to animate the affection, and to increase the zeal, of his disciples. Their number had been great in his lifetime: it became greater after his death; since those who followed, and those who rejected his doctrines, alike styled themselves Socratic philosophers. His name was thus adopted and prophaned by many sects, who, while they differed widely from each other, universally changed, exaggerated, or perverted the tenets of their common master. Among the genuine followers of Socrates, Xenophon, as will appear hereafter, unquestionably merits the first place. Plato comes next, yet separated by a long interval. In the same class may be ranked Cebes the Theban; Æschines, Crito, and Simon, Athe-

The writings of his disciples.

²⁵ Plutarch. de Invid. p. 538.

²⁶ Statues, altars, even a chapel, called Socrateion. Vide Diogen. in Socrat.

²⁷ *Creſcit occulto, velut arbor, ævo*

Fama Marcelli——

HORACE.

²⁸ Or rather as a demi-god; but the boundaries were not very accurately ascertained, though *that* is attempted by Arrian, in *Expedit. Alexand.* l. iv. p. 86.

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Cebes.

Æschines.

The philosophers
who misrepresented
his opinions.

Euclid and
Phædo,
Aristippus
and Antisthenes.

nians. The table of Cebes, which has been transmitted to modern times, contains a beautiful and affecting picture of human life, delineated with accuracy of judgment, and illuminated by the splendour of sentiment. Three remaining dialogues of Æschines breathe the same sublime spirit, and abound in resistless persuasions to virtue: "That happiness is attained, not by gratifying, but by moderating the passions; that he alone is rich and powerful, whose faculties exceed his desires; that virtue is true wisdom, and being attended with the only secure happiness which can be enjoyed in the present life, must, according to the unalterable laws of Providence, be crowned with immortal felicity hereafter."

The remains of Cebes and Æschines, and far more, as will appear in the sequel, the copious writings of Plato and Xenophon, may enable us to discriminate the modest philosophy of Socrates from that of the arrogant dogmatists who misrepresented or adulterated his opinions. The establishment of the various sects belongs not to the period of history now under our review. But the foundation of their respective tenets, which had been laid in a former age, was confirmed by the philosophers who flourished in the time of Socrates. Of these, the most distinguished were Euclid of Megara, Phædo of Elis, Aristippus of Cyrené, Antisthenes of Athens. The two first restored the captious logic of the sophists²⁸; Aristippus embraced their licentious morality.

²⁸ See above, vol. i. c. xiii. p. 133.

While the schools of Elis and Megara studied to confound the understanding, that of Cyrené laboured to corrupt the heart. Antisthenes set himself to oppose these pernicious sects, deriding the refined subtleties of the sceptics, and disdaining the mean pleasures of the ²⁹ Epicureans. To prefer the mind to the body, duty to interest, and virtue to pleasure, were the great lessons of Antisthenes. Yet this sublime philosophy he carried to extravagance³⁰, affecting not only to moderate and govern, but to silence and extirpate the passions, and declared bodily pleasure, not only unworthy of pursuit, but a thing carefully to be avoided, as the greatest and most dangerous of evils. His rigid severity of life deceived not the penetration of Socrates. The sage could discern, that no small share of spiritual pride lurked under the tattered cloak of Antisthenes.

While philosophy, true or false, thus flourished in Greece, a propitious destiny watched over the imitative arts, which continued, during half a century of perpetual wars and revolutions,

State of the fine arts during the period under review.

²⁹ I anticipate these names. The *scepticism* of Pyrrho, as will be explained hereafter, arose from the quibbling sophisms of the schools of Elis and Megara. *Epicurus*, having adopted and refined the selfish philosophy of Aristippus, had the honour of distinguishing by his name, the *Epicurean* sect.

³⁰ His follower, Diogenes, as will appear in the sequel, pushed this extravagance still farther. They both taught in the suburb of Athens called the *Cynosarges*, from which they and their disciples were called *Cynics*. In a subsequent part of this work, it will be explained, how the *Cynical philosophy* gave rise to *Stoicism*, so called, because Zeno and his followers taught at Athens in the "*Stoa peristyle*," the painted portico.

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A. C. 431
—404

to be cultivated with equal assiduity and success. The most distinguished scholars of Phidias were Alcimenes of Athens, and Agoracritus of the isle of Paros. They contended for the prize of sculpture in their respective figures of Venus; and the Athenians, it is said, too partially decided in favour of their countryman. Agoracritus, unwilling that his statue should remain in a city where it had met with so little justice, sold it to the borough of Rhamnus. There it was beheld with admiration, and soon passed for a production of Phidias³¹ himself. The sculptor Cteselaus excelled in heroes. He chose noble subjects, and still farther ennobled them by his art.³² His contemporary Patrocles distinguished himself by his statues of Olympic victors, and particularly of celebrated wrestlers. Assisted by Canachus, he made the greatest work mentioned during the period now under our review, thirty-one figures of bronze, representing the respective commanders of the several cities or republics, who, under the conduct of Lysander, obtained the memorable victory of Ægos Potamos. They were erected in the temple of Delphian Apollo, together with the statue of Lysander himself, crowned by Neptune. Inferior artists³³ were employed to copy the statues of various divinities, dedicated at the same time, and in the same place, by the Lacedæmonian conqueror.

³¹ Vid. Suid. & Hesych. voc. *Παφούριος*.

³² Plin. l. xxxv.

³³ See their names in Pausan. l. x. p. 625. et seq.

It appears not however that, during the Peloponnesian war, any new style was attempted either in sculpture or painting. The artists of that period contented themselves with walking in the footsteps of their great predecessors. The same observation applies to music and poetry; but eloquence, on the contrary, received a new form, and flourishing amidst the tumults of war and the contentions of active life, produced that concise, rapid, and manly character of composition which thenceforth distinguished the Attic writers. The works of Homer, Sophocles, and Pindar, left few laurels to be gained by their successors. It was impossible to excel, it was dangerous to rival them. Great genius was required to start, without disgrace, in a career where such candidates had run. But great genius is rare, and can rarely stoop to imitation; and the first poetical prizes being already carried off, men who felt the animation and vigour of their own powers, naturally directed them to objects which possessed the charms of novelty, and promised the hope of pre-eminence.

CHAP.
XXIV.
Of literature.

Even in prosaic composition the merit and fame of Herodotus and Democritus³⁴ (not to mention authors more ancient) opposed very formidable obstacles to the ambition of their

Principal authors in prose preceding this period.

³⁴ Ita que video visum esse nonnullis Platonis & Democriti locutionem, etsi absit a versu, tamen quod incitatus feratur, et clarissimis verborum luminibus utatur, potius poema putandum, quam comicorum poetarum. Cicero ad M. Brutum Orator. c. xx. See also de Orator. l. i. c. xi. It is impossible to read Lucretius, without fancying, if we recollect Cicero's criticisms on Democritus, that we are perusing the long lost works of that great philosopher.

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XXIV.Character
of Hero-
dotus as an
historian.

successors. In a work no less splendid than important, the father of prophane history had deduced the transactions between the Greeks and Barbarians, from the earliest accounts till the conclusion of the Persian war; a work including the history of many centuries, and comprehending the greatest kingdoms and empires of the ancient world. This extensive subject was treated with order and dignity. The episodes were ingeniously interwoven with the principal action. The various parts of the narrative were so skilfully combined, that they mutually reflected light on each other. Geography, manners, religion, laws, and arts, entered into the plan of his work; and it is remarkable that the earliest of historians agrees more nearly, as to the design and form of his undertaking, with the enlightened writers of the present century, than any historical author in the long series of intervening ages.

His language was the picture of his mind; natural, flowing, persuasive; lofty on great occasions ³⁵, affecting in scenes of distress ³⁶, perspicuous in narration, animated in description. Yet this admired writer has sometimes inserted reports romantic and incredible. Of many, indeed, of the fables of Herodotus, as ignorance conceited of its knowledge long affected to call them, subsequent experience has proved the

³⁵ Longinus cites as an example of the sublime, Herodot. l. vii. c. lx. The whole expedition of Xerxes is written with an elevation becoming the subject.

³⁶ See the affecting story of Adrastus, l. i. c. xxxv.

reality ; modern discoveries and voyages seeming purposely directed to vindicate the fame of a writer, whom Cicero³⁷ dignifies with the appellation of Prince of Historians. Of other wondrous tales which he relates, his own discernment shewed him the futility. Whatever is contrary to the analogy of nature, he rejects with scorn. He speaks with contempt of the *Ægepodes*, and of the one-eyed *Arimaspi*, and of other ridiculous and absurd fictions which have been adopted, however, by some credulous writers even in the eighteenth century. But Herodotus thought it his business to relate what he had heard, not his bounden duty to believe what he related.³⁸ Having travelled into Egypt and the East, he recounts, with fidelity, the reports current in those remote countries. And his mind being opened and enlarged by an extensive view of men and manners, he had learned to set limits to his disbelief, as well as to his credulity. Yet it must not be dissembled that the fabulous traditions, in which he too much abounds, give the air of romance to his history. Though forming, comparatively, but a small part of the work, they assumed magnitude and importance, when invidiously detached from it.³⁹ It thus seems as

³⁷ L. ii. de Orator.

³⁸ Εγὼ δὲ οφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γὰρ μὴ οὐ πανταπασί οφείλω. Herodot. l. vii. c. clii. p. 433.

³⁹ The reproaches which Juvenal (Satyr. 10.) and Plutarch (in his treatise entitled the Malignity of Herodotus) make to this great historian, are fully answered by Aldus Manutius, Camerarius, and Stephanus. Plutarch, forsooth, was offended that his countrymen made so bad a figure in the history of Herodotus. The criticism of Dio-

C H A P. if this most instructive author had written with
 XXIV. a view rather to amuse the fancy, than to inform
 the understanding. The lively graces of his diction tend to confirm this supposition. His mode of composition may be regarded as the intermediate shade between epic poetry and history. Neither bold, nor vehement, nor magnificent, the general character of his style is natural, copious, and flowing⁴⁰; and his manner throughout breathes the softness of Ionia, rather than the active contentions of Athens.

Thucydides.

In this light Herodotus appeared to the Athenians in the age immediately succeeding his own. At the Olympic games he had read his work with universal applause. Thucydides, then a youth, wept mixed tears of wonder and emulation.⁴¹ His father was complimented on the generous ardour of a son, whose early inquietude

nysius of Halicarnassus, a writer of more taste and discernment than Plutarch, does ample justice to the father of history.

⁴⁰ Aristotle, in his *Rhetoric*, l. iii. c. ix. distinguishes two kinds of style; the continuous and the periodic. "The former flows on without interruption, until the sense is complete. The latter is divided, by stops, into due proportions of duration, which are easily felt by the ear, and measured by the mind. The former style is tiresome, because in every thing men delight to see the end; even racers, when they pass the goal, are quickly out of breath. Herodotus is the most remarkable instance of the continuous style. In his time scarcely any other was in use; but it is now entirely laid aside."—So far Aristotle, who seems rather unjust to Herodotus, since many parts of his work are sufficiently adorned by periods, although the loose style in general prevails. But the partiality of his countryman Dionysius completely avenges the wrongs of Herodotus.

⁴¹ Suidas, Photius, Marcellinus.

at another's fame announced a character formed for great designs and illustrious exertions. But Herodotus had preoccupied the subjects best adapted to historical composition; and it was not till the commencement of the memorable war of twenty-seven years, that Thucydides, amidst the dangers which threatened his country, rejoiced in a theme worthy to exercise the genius, and call forth the whole vigour of an historian. From the breaking out of this war, in which he proved an unfortunate actor, he judged that it would be the greatest, the most obstinate, and most important that had ever been carried on. He began therefore to collect, and treasure up, such materials as were necessary for describing it; in the selection, as well as in the distribution of which, he afterwards discovered an evident purpose to rival and surpass Herodotus. Too much indulgence for fiction had disgraced the narrative of the latter: Thucydides professed to be animated purely by the love of truth. "His relation was not intended to delight the ears of an Olympic audience; by a faithful account of the past, he hoped to assist his readers in forming right conjectures of the future. While human nature remained the same, his work would have its use, being built on such principles as rendered it an everlasting possession, not a contentious instrument of temporary ⁴²applause." The execution corresponded with this noble design. In his introductory discourse he runs

⁴² Thucydides, in proem.

C H A P. over the fabulous ages of Greece, carefully separating the ore from the dross. In speaking of Thrace, he touches, with proper brevity, on the fable of Tereus and Progné⁴⁸; and, in describing Sicily, glances at the Cyclops and Les-trigons; but he recedes, as it were, with disgust, from such monstrous phantoms, and immediately returns to the main purpose of his narrative. In order to render it a faithful picture of the times, he professes to relate not only what was done, but what was said, by inserting such speeches of statesmen and generals as he had himself heard; or as had been reported to him by others. This valuable, part of his work was imitated by all future historians, till the improvement of military discipline on the one hand, and the corruption of manners on the other, rendered such speeches superfluous. Eloquence once served as an incentive to courage, and an instrument of government. But the time was to arrive, when the dead principles of fear and interest should alone predominate. In most countries of Europe, despotism has rendered public assemblies a dramatic representation; and in the few where men are not enslaved by a master, they are the slaves of senseless passion and sordid interest; of pride, of avarice, and of faction.

Compari-
son be-
tween
them.

Thucydides, doubtless, had his model in the short and oblique speeches of Herodotus; but in this particular he must be acknowledged far to surpass his pattern. In the distribution of

⁴⁸ Ovid. Metam. l. vi.

his subject, however, he fell short of that writer. Thucydides, aspiring at extraordinary accuracy, divides his work by summers and winters, relating apart the events comprehended in each period of six months. But this space of time is commonly too short for events deserving the notice of history, to be begun, carried on, and completed. His narrative, therefore, is continually broken and interrupted: curiosity is raised without being satisfied, and the reader is transported hastily, and without preparation, from Athens to Corcyra, from Lesbos to Peloponnesus, from the coast of Asia to Sicily. Thucydides follows the order of time; Herodotus, the connection of events: in the language of a great critic, the skill and taste of Herodotus have reduced a very complicated argument into one harmonious whole; the preposterous industry of Thucydides has divided a very simple subject into many detached parts and scattered limbs of history, which it is difficult again to reduce into one regular body.⁴⁴ The same critic observes, that Herodotus's history not only possesses more art and variety, but displays more gaiety and splendour. A settled gloom, doubtless, hangs over the events of the Peloponnesian war: yet what is the history of all wars, but a description of crimes and calamities? The austere gravity of Thucydides admirably corresponds with his subject. His majesty is worthy of Athens, when she commanded a thousand tributary republics.

⁴⁴ Dionys. Halicarn. de Herodot. & Thucydid.

C H A P. His concise, nervous, and energetic style, his
 XXIV. abrupt brevity, and elaborate plainness, admirably represent the contentions of active life, and the tumult of democratical assemblies. Demosthenes, whom Dionysius himself extols above all orators, transcribed eight times, not the luminous narration, the elegant flowing smoothness of Herodotus, but the sententious, harsh, and often obscure annals of Thucydides.⁴⁵

Transition to the military transactions of Greece.

Thucydides left his work unfinished in the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war. It was continued by Xenophon, who deduced the revolutions of Greece through a series of forty-eight years to the battle of Mantinæ; a work which enables us to pursue the important series of Grecian history.

To a reader accustomed to contemplate the uniform and consistent operations of modern policy, it must appear extraordinary that, at the distance of less than two years from the subversion of the Athenian democracy by a Spartan general, the same turbulent form of government should have been re-established with new splendour, by the approbation, and even the assistance, of a Spartan king. The reasons explained in the preceding chapter may lessen, but cannot altogether remove, his surprise; and, in order fully to comprehend the causes of this event, it is necessary to consider not only the internal factions which distracted the councils of Sparta, but the external objects of ambition or revenge which solicited and employed her arms.

⁴⁵ Dionys. Halicarn. de Herodot. & Thucydid.

While the fortune of the Peloponnesian war still hung in doubtful suspense, the peaceful inhabitants of Elis often testified an inclination to preserve an inoffensive neutrality, that they might apply, with undivided attention, to their happy rural labours, to the administration of the Olympian festival, and to the indispensable worship of those gods and heroes to whom their territory was peculiarly consecrated. The continual solicitation of Sparta, and the unprovoked violence of Athens, determined the Elians to declare for the former republic; but of all the Spartan allies they were the most lukewarm and indifferent. In time of action their assistance was languid and ineffectual, and when the regular return of the Olympic solemnity suspended the course of hostilities, they shewed little partiality or respect for their powerful confederates, whose warlike and ambitious temper seemed incompatible with the enjoyment of their own contemplative tranquillity. This omission of duty was followed by the actual transgression of the Elians. In conjunction with the Mantinæans and Argives they deserted the alliance of Sparta; defended themselves by arms against the usurpations of that republic; and excluded its members from consulting the oracle, and from partaking of the games and sacrifices celebrated at ⁴⁶ Olympia. These injuries escaped with impunity, until the successful issue of the war of Peloponnesus disposed the Spartans to feel with sensibility, and enabled them severely to chastise every insult

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The
Elians incur the
displeasure of
Sparta.

⁴⁶ Thucyd. l. v.

C H A P. that had been offered them during the less prosperous current of their fortune.

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The Spartans invade Elis, Olymp. xciv. 2. A. C. 403.

While Pausanias and Lysander settled the affairs of Athens and of Asia, Agis, the most warlike of their princes, levied a powerful army, to inflict a late, but terrible vengeance, on the Elians. That he might attack the enemy unprepared, he led his forces through the countries of Argolis and Achaia, entering the Elian territory by the way of Larissa, and intending to march by the shortest road to the devoted capital. But he had scarcely passed the river Larissus, which gives name to the town, and separates the adjoining provinces of Elis and Achaia, when the invaders were admonished, by repeated shocks of an earthquake, to abstain from ravaging a country which enjoyed the immediate protection of Heaven. Into such a menace, at least, this terrible phænomenon was interpreted by the superstition of the Spartan King, who immediately repassed the river, and, returning home, disbanded his army. But the hostility of the Spartans was restrained, not extinguished. Having offered due supplications and sacrifices to sanctify their impious invasion, the ephori, next year, commanded Agis again to levy troops, and to enter the Elian territory. No unfavourable sign checked the progress of his arms. During two summers and autumns, the country was desolated; the villages burned or demolished; their inhabitants dragged into captivity; the sacred edifices were despoiled of their most valued ornaments; the porticoes, gymnasia, and

temples, which adorned the city of Jupiter, were many of them reduced to ruins. CHAP.
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The Spartans neither alone incurred the guilt, nor exclusively enjoyed the profits of this cruel devastation. The Elian invasion furnished a rich harvest of plunder to the Arcadians and other communities of Peloponnesus, whose rapacious lust was inflamed by the virgin bloom of a country which had long been protected by religion against the ravages of war. When the principal property of the Elians was destroyed or plundered, the Spartans at length granted them a peace, on condition that they surrendered their fleet, acknowledged the independence of the inferior towns and villages, which were scattered along the delightful banks of the Peneus and the Alpheus, and modelled their internal government according to the plan prescribed by their conquerors. ⁴⁷

The war of Elis occupied, but did not engross, the attention of the Spartans; nor did the punishment of that unfortunate republic divert them from sterner purposes of revenge. The Messenians were not their accidental and temporary, but their natural and inveterate foes; and might justly expect to feel the unhappy consequences of their triumph. After the destruction of Messen^é, and the long wanderings and misery of its persecuted citizens, the town of Naupactus, situate on the northern shore of the Corinthian gulph, furnished a safe retreat to a feeble remnant of that ancient community; which, flourish-

The Spartans drive the Messenians from Greece. Olymp. xcvi. 4. A. C. 401.

⁴⁷ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. c. 2. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 404.

C H A P.

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ing under the protection of Athens, spread along the western coast, and planted a considerable colony in the neighbouring island of Cephalenia. We have already described the memorable gratitude of the Messenians, who were the most active, zealous, and, according to their ability, the most useful allies of Athens in the Peloponnesian war. But *their* assistance (and assistance far more powerful than theirs) proved ineffectual; and the time had now arrived when they were to suffer a severe punishment for their recent as well as ancient injuries. The resentment of Sparta drove them from Naupactus and Cephalenia. The greater part escaped to Sicily; above three thousand sailed to Cyrenaica; the only countries inhabited by the Hellenic race, which lay beyond the reach of the Lacedæmonian power.⁴⁸

Causes
which
withdrew
Cyrenaica
and Sicily
from the
sphere of
Grecian
politics.

From the æra of this important migration, the names of Sicily and Cyrenaica will seldom occur in the present history; on which account it may not be improper briefly to explain the causes which withdrew from the general sphere of Grecian politics a valuable and fruitful coast, and an island not less fruitful, and far more populous and powerful. The insulated situation of those remote provinces, while it rendered it extremely inconvenient for Greece to interfere in their affairs, peculiarly exposed them to two evils, which rendered it still more inconvenient for them to interfere in the affairs of Greece. Removed from the protection of their Peloponnesian ancestors, both the Cyreneans and Sicilians often

⁴⁸ Diodor. l. xiv. p. 415.

endured the oppression of domestic tyrants, and often suffered the ravages of foreign barbarians. C H A P.
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The inhabitants of Cyrenaica alternately carried on war against the Libyans and Carthaginians.⁴⁹ They were actually oppressed by the tyrant Ariston. Soon afterwards they recovered their civil liberty⁵⁰; but were compelled frequently to struggle for their national independence. Though often invaded, their country was never subdued by any barbarian enemy; and their liberties survived the republics of their European brethren, since they reluctantly submitted, for the first time, to the fortunate general of Alexander, who, in the division of his master's conquests, obtained the fertile and wealthy kingdom of Egypt.⁵¹ Subse-
quent his-
tory of
Cyrenaica.

The revolutions of Sicily are far better known than those of Cyrené, and still more worthy to be remembered. During the later years of the Peloponnesian war, the assistance afforded by Syracuse to the Lacedæmonians, became gradually more faint and imperceptible, and at length it was totally withheld. This was occasioned by the necessity of defending the safety of the whole island, in which that of the capital was involved, against the formidable descents of the Carthaginians, whom the invitation of Ægesta and several inferior cities at variance with their powerful neighbours, the hopes of acquiring at Of Sicily,

⁴⁹ Aristot. Polit. Sallust. de Bell. Jugurth.

⁵⁰ Diodor. l. xiv. p. 413.

⁵¹ Diodor. l. xix. p. 715. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 336.

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which is
long ha-
rassed by
the Car-
thaginians.
Olymp.
xcii. 3.
Olymp.
xciv. 1.
A. C. 410
— 404.

whose
conquests
are inter-
rupted by
pestilence.

once those valuable commodities, the annual purchase of which drained Africa of such immense treasures, and, above all, the desire of revenging the death of Hamilcar, and the dishonour of the Carthaginian name in the unfortunate siege of Himera, encouraged to undertake and carry on various expeditions for the entire subjugation of Sicily.

Hannibal, the grandson of Hamilcar, was entrusted with the conduct of the war, which commenced the four hundred and tenth, and continued, with little intermission, till the four hundred and fourth year before the Christian æra. The domestic troops of Carthage were reinforced by their African allies. Considerable levies were made among the native Spaniards and Italians, who had long envied the splendour, and dreaded the power of the Greeks, to whose conquests and colonies they saw no bounds. The united army exceeded an hundred thousand men, and was conveyed to the southern shore of Sicily in a proportionable number of transports and gallies.⁵²

The design of Hannibal, as far as it appears from his measures, was to conquer successively the smaller and more defenceless towns, before he laid siege to Syracuse, whose natural strength, recently improved by art, bidding defiance to assault, could only be taken by blockade. The first campaign was rendered memorable by the conquest of Selinus and Himera; the second, by the demolition of Agrigentum; the third, by the taking

⁵² Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 43. et seq.

of Gela. The inferior cities of Solois, Motya, Ancyra, Entella, and Panormus, either invited the Carthaginian arms, or surrendered without resistance. The invaders might have proceeded to the siege of Syracuse, the main object of their expedition; but pestilence followed the bloody havoc of war, and swept off, in undistinguished ruin, the victors and the vanquished. Not only the general, but the most numerous portion of his troops, had fallen a prey to this calamity; and Hamilcar, who succeeded to the command, contented himself with leaving garrisons in the towns which had been conquered, and returned to Africa with the enfeebled remains of his armament, which communicated the pestilential infection to Carthage, where it long raged with destructive fury.⁵³

Excessive
cruelty of
the Car-
thaginians.

According to the genius of Grecian superstition, it was natural to ascribe the sufferings of the Carthaginians to the unexampled cruelty and impiety with which, in their successive ravages, they had deformed the fair face of Sicily. It would be useless and disgusting to describe the horrid scenes of bloodshed and slaughter transacted in the several places which presumed to resist their power. Whatever atrocities could be invented by the unprincipled licence of the Italians, approved by the stern insensibility of the Spaniards, and inflicted by the implacable revenge of the Africans, were committed in the miserable cities of Selinus, Himera, Gela, and

⁵³ Diodor. l. xiii. c. 70. et seq.

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Agrigentum. After the taking of Himera, Hannibal sacrificed, in one day, three thousand of its inhabitants to the manes of his grandfather, who, in the first Carthaginian invasion, had perished before its walls; and the lot of these unhappy victims, dreadful as it was, might justly be an object of envy to the long tormented natives of Gela and Selinus.

Ancient
magnifi-
cence of
Agrigen-
tum.

Yet of all Sicilian cities, the fate of Agrigentum seemed the most worthy to be deplored, from the striking contrast of its fallen state with its recent splendour and prosperity. The natural beauties⁵⁴ of Agrigentum were secured by strength, and adorned with elegance; and whoever considered, either the innumerable advantages of the city itself, or the gay cultivation of the surrounding territory, which abounded in every luxury of the sea and land, was ready to pronounce the Agrigentines the most favoured inhabitants of the earth. The exuberant fertility of the soil, particularly the rich luxuriance of the vines and olives⁵⁵, exceeded every thing that is related of the happiest climates, and furnished the materials of a lucrative commerce with the populous coast of Africa, which was very sparingly provided with those valuable plants. The extraordinary wealth of the Agrigentines was

⁵⁴ The following particulars in the text, concerning Agrigentum, we learn from Diodorus Siculus, p. 374—379. Valer. Max. l. iv. 8. Athenæus, l. i. c. 5.

⁵⁵ Diodorus celebrates the height of the vines, which we are not used to consider as a proper subject of panegyric.

displayed in the magnificence of public edifices, and in the splendid enjoyment of private fortunes. They had begun, and almost completed, the celebrated temple of Jupiter, built in the noblest style of architecture employed by the Greeks on the grandest and most solemn occasions. Its walls were encompassed by pillars without, and adorned by pilasters within; and its magnitude far exceeded the ordinary dimensions of ancient temples, as it extended three hundred and forty feet in length, sixty in breadth, and an hundred and twenty in height, without including the lofty and spacious dome. The grandeur of the doors and vestibule corresponded with the simple majesty of the whole edifice, whose sculptured ornaments represented, with finished elegance, and with a laborious accuracy that distinguished each particular figure, the defeat of the Giants, and the taking of Troy; respectively the most illustrious exploits of Grecian gods, and Grecian heroes.

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The temple of Jupiter.

This noble monument, consecrated to piety and patriotism, might be contrasted, by a philosophic mind, with others destined to a very different purpose. Without the walls of Agrigentum, an artificial pond, or rather lake, thirty feet deep and nearly a mile in circumference, was continually replenished with a rare variety of the most delicate fishes, to furnish a sure supply to the sumptuous extravagance of public entertainments. But nothing could rival the elegance and beauty of the tombs and sepulchres

Their luxury.

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Excessive
wealth of
individuals.

erected by the Agrigentines, to perpetuate the fame of their coursers which had obtained the Olympic prize; and, if we believe the testimony of an eye-witness⁵⁶, to commemorate the quails and other delicate birds, which were cherished with an affectionate and partial fondness by the effeminate youth of both sexes. Such capricious and absurd abuses of opulence and the arts might be expected amidst the mortifying discrimination of ranks, and the enormous superabundance of private riches which distinguished the Agrigentines. The labour of numerous and active slaves cultivated agriculture and manufactures with extraordinary success. From the profit of these servile hands, many citizens attained, and exceeded, the measure not only of Grecian, but of modern wealth. A short time before the siege of the town, Hexenitus returned in triumph from Olympia, with three hundred chariots, each drawn by two milk-white horses of Sicilian blood. Antisthenes had eclipsed this magnificence in celebrating the marriage of his daughter. But every native of Agrigentum yielded the fame of splendour to the hospitable Gellias, whose palace could entertain and lodge five hundred guests, who had been clothed from his wardrobe, and whose cellars, consisting of three hundred spacious reservoirs, cut in the solid rock, daily invited the joyous festivity of strangers and citizens.

⁵⁶ Timæus apud Diodor. l. xiii.

Before the second Carthaginian invasion, the Agrigentines, warned by the fate of Selinus and Himera, had prepared whatever seemed most necessary for their own defence. Their magazines were stored with provisions, their arsenals with arms. Elated by the confidence of prosperity, they had courage to resist the first impressions of their enemies; but, corrupted by the vices of wealth and luxury, they wanted fortitude to persevere. Their allies in Sicily and Italy shewed not that degree of ardour which might have been expected in a war which so deeply concerned them all; yet, by the partial assistance of Syracuse, Gela, and Camerina, as well as several Grecian allies in Italy, the Agrigentines stood the siege eight months, during which, the Carthaginians employed every resource of strength and ingenuity. At length the place was reduced to great difficulties by means of immense wooden machines, drawn on wheels, which enabled the besiegers to fight on equal ground with those who defended the walls. But, before any breach was effected, the greater part of the inhabitants determined to abandon the city.

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Siege of
Agrigentum.

In the obscurity of night, they departed with their wives and families, and many of them fortunately escaped to Gela, Syracuse, and Leontium. Others, wanting courage for this dangerous resolution, or unwilling to survive the fate of their country, perished by their own hands. A third class, more timid, or more superstitious, shut themselves up in the temples, expecting to

Unhappy
fate of its
inhabit-
ants.

CHAP. be saved by the protection of the gods, or by the
 XXIV. religious awe of the enemy. But the barbarians
 no more respected what was sacred, than what
 was profane. The consecrated statues, and
 altars, and offerings, were confounded with
 things the most vile, and plundered or destroyed
 in the promiscuous ruin. One memorable act
 of despair may represent the general horror of
 this dreadful scene. With his numerous friends,
 and most valued treasure, the humane and hos-
 pitable Gellias had taken refuge in the temple
 of Minerva; but when he understood the universal
 desolation of his country, he set fire to that sacred
 edifice, choosing to perish by the flames rather
 than by the rage of the Carthaginians.⁵⁷

Amidst
 the tu-
 mults of
 war and
 faction,
 Dionysius
 rises to
 eminence.
 Olymp.
 xciii. 1.
 A. C. 408.

Near fourscore years before the demolition of
 Agrigentum, Sicily had acquired immortal glory,
 by defeating more numerous invaders; but, at
 that time, the efforts of the whole island were
 united and animated by the virtues and abilities
 of Gelon; whereas, amidst the actual dangers
 and trepidation of the Carthaginian war, the
 Sicilians were distracted by domestic factions.
 Syracuse had banished the only man whose con-
 summate wisdom, and approved valour and
 fidelity, seemed worthy to direct the helm in the
 present tempestuous juncture. In the interval
 between the siege of Himera and that of Agri-
 gentum, the patriotic Hermocrates had returned
 to Sicily; and, at the head of his numerous
 adherents, had attempted to gain admission into
 the capital. But the attempt was immediately

⁵⁷ Diodorus, p. 379.

fatal to himself; and, in its consequences, destructive of the public freedom. His partisans, though discomfited and banished, soon found a leader qualified to avenge their cause, and to punish the ingratitude of Syracuse.

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This was the celebrated Dionysius, a youth of twenty-two years; of mean parentage, but unbounded ambition; destitute (if we believe historians) of almost every virtue, and possessed of every talent; and whose fortune it was, to live and flourish amidst those perturbed commotions of foreign war and civil dissension, which are favourable to the elevation of superior minds. Though esteemed and entrusted by Hermocrates, who could more easily discern the merit of his abilities, than discover the danger of his ambition, Dionysius had gained friends in the opposite faction, by whose interest he was recalled from exile. His services in the Carthaginian war raised him to eminence. He surpassed in valour; he was unrivalled in eloquence; his ends were pursued with steady perseverance; his means were varied with convenient flexibility; the appearance of patriotism rendered him popular, and he employed his popularity to restore his banished friends.

His character.

The gratitude of one party, and the admiration of both, enabled him to attain the command of the mercenaries and the conduct of the war. But he was less solicitous to conquer the Carthaginians than to enslave his fellow-citizens, whose factious turbulence rendered them unworthy of liberty. By the affected dread of

Means by which he usurped the government of Syracuse. Olymp. xciii. 4. A. C. 405.

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}

violence from his enemies, he obtained a guard for his person, which his artful generosity easily attached to his interest; and the arms of his troops, the influence and wealth of Philistus, the historian of Sicily, who was honoured with the appellation of the second Thucydides⁵⁸, above all his own crafty and daring ambition, enabled him, at the age of twenty-five, to usurp the government of Syracuse, which he held for thirty-eight years.

His suc-
cessful
reign.

Olymp.

xciii. 4.

A. C. 405.

Olymp.

ciii. 2.

A. C. 367.

During his long and active reign he was generally engaged in war; sometimes with the Carthaginians, sometimes with his revolted subjects. Yet in both contests he finally prevailed, having reduced the Carthaginian power in Sicily, and appeased, or intimidated, domestic rebellion. His actual condition, however splendid, he regarded only as a preparation for higher grandeur. He besieged and took Rhegium, the key of Italy: nor could the feeble confederacy of the Italian Greeks have prevented the conquest of that country, had not renewed hostilities with the Carthaginians, and fresh discontents at home, interrupted the progress of his arms. This growing storm he resisted as successfully as before, and transmitted, to a degenerate son, the peaceful inheritance of the greatest part of Sicily; after having strengthened, with wonderful art, the fortifications of the capital, enlarged the size, and improved the form of the Syracusan galleys; invented the military catapults, an engine of war which he employed with great advantage in the

⁵⁸ Cicero de Orator. l. xi.

sieges of Motya and Rhegium; and not only defended his native island against foreign invasion, but rendered his power, of four hundred galleys and an hundred and forty thousand soldiers⁵⁸, highly formidable to the neighbouring countries.

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His poetical labours were the least uniformly successful of all his undertakings. His verses, though rehearsed by the most skilful *rhapsodists* of the age, were treated with signal contempt at the Olympic games. A second time he renewed his pretension to literary fame in that illustrious assembly; but his ambassador was insulted by the most humiliating indignities; and the orator Lysias pronounced a discourse, in which he maintained the impropriety of admitting the representative of an odious and impious tyrant to assist at a solemnity consecrated to religion, virtue, and liberty.⁵⁹ The oration of Lysias leaves room to suspect that the plenitude of Dionysius's power, rather than the defect of his poetry, exposed him to the censure and derision of the Olympic spectators; and this suspicion receives strong confirmation by considering, that, in the last year of his reign, he deserved and obtained the poetic crown at Athens; a city renowned for the impartiality of its literary decisions.⁶⁰

His literary
ambition.

A. C. 387.

It is remarkable, that, with such an active, vigorous, and comprehensive mind; with such

Reasons
why the
character

⁵⁸ Diodorus, l. xiv. says 150,000 foot & 20,000 horse.

⁵⁹ Life of Lysias, p. 117. Dionys. Halicar. de Demosth.

⁶⁰ Isocrat. Panegy.

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of Dionysius appeared so odious to ancient historians.

a variety of talents, and such an accumulation of glory, Dionysius should be universally held out and branded, as the most conspicuous example of an execrable tyrant, the object of terror in his own, and of detestation in succeeding ages. Yet the uncorrupted evidence of history will prove, that the character of Dionysius was not decisively flagitious. His situation rendered it artificial; and he is acknowledged often to have assumed the semblance of virtue. Always crafty and cautious, but by turns, and as it suited his interest, mild, affable, and condescending, or cruel, arrogant and imperious: nor did the Syracusans feel the rigour of his tyranny, until they had justly provoked it by an insurrection, during which they treated his wife and children with the most barbarous and brutal fury. But there are two circumstances attending the reign of Dionysius which peculiarly excited the indignation of the moralists of Greece and Rome, and which the moderation or the softness of modern times will be disposed to consider with less severity. He had usurped the government of a free republic; a crime necessarily heinous in the sight of those who held the assassination of a tyrant to be the most meritorious exertion of human virtue; and he professed an open contempt for the religion of his country; a crime of which the bare suspicion had brought to death the most amiable and respected of men. Yet the impiety of Dionysius was only the child of his interest, and sometimes the parent of his wit. He stripped a celebrated statue of Jupiter

of a golden robe, observing, that it was too heavy in summer, and too cold in winter. For a reason equally ingenious he deprived Æsculapius of his golden beard; asserting, that such a venerable ornament ill became the son of the beardless Apollo. But if he despoiled the altars and statues, he increased and improved the fleets and armies, of Syracuse, which were successfully employed against the public enemy. And to the general current of satire and declamation against this extraordinary man⁶¹, may be opposed the opinion of Polybius and Scipio Africanus, the most illustrious characters of the most illustrious age of Rome: "That none ever concerted his schemes with more prudence, or executed them with more boldness, than Dionysius the Elder."

His son, Dionysius the Younger, exceeded his vices without possessing his abilities. The reign of this second tyrant was distracted and inglorious. His kinsman Dion, the amiable disciple of Plato, endeavoured to correct the disorders of his ungoverned mind. But the task was too heavy for Dion, and even for Plato himself. The former, unable to restrain the excesses of the prince, undertook the defence of the people. His patriotism interrupted, but did not destroy, the tyranny of Dionysius, which was finally abolished, twenty-two years after he first

Inglorious
reign of
Dionysius the
Younger.,
Olymp.
civ. 3.
A. C. 362.
Olymp.
cx. 1.
A. C. 340.

⁶¹ The authentic history of the reign of Dionysius is copiously recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xiv. & xv. To relate the numerous and improbable stories told of him by Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and other moralists, would be to transcribe what it is not easy to believe. The reader may consult, particularly, Plut. ex edit. Paris, in Moral. pp. 78 & 83. De Garrul. p. 508. In Dion. p. 961.; and various passages of Cicero de Officiis, & Tusculan. Quest.

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Sicily becomes a province of Rome. Olymp. cxlii. 1. A. C. 212.

mounted the throne, by the magnanimity of Timoleon.⁶² This revolution happened only two years before Corinth, the country of Timoleon, as well as the other republics of Greece, submitted to the arms of Philip of Macedon; and having lost their own independence, became incapable of protecting the freedom of their colonies.

New tyrants started up in Syracuse, and almost in every city of Sicily, and held a precarious sway under the alternate protection of the Carthaginians and Romans. The citizens of Syracuse, mindful of their ancient fame, dethroned their usurpers, and enjoyed considerable intervals of liberty. But at length the Romans gained possession of the place; the persevering valour of Marcellus, assisted by the treachery of the garrison, prevailing, after a siege of three years, over the bold efforts of mechanical power, directed by the inventive genius of⁶³ Archimedes. The reduction of the capital was immediately followed by the conquest of the adjoining territory, and its subjection to a Roman governor; and Sicily came thus to be regarded as the eldest province of Rome, and the first country, without the limits of Italy, which had taught that victorious republic to taste and enjoy the sweets of foreign dominion.⁶⁴

⁶² Corn. Nepos. Diodorus Sicul. Plut. Dion.

⁶³ Polyb. Excerpt. l. viii. Plut. in Marcell.

⁶⁴ Livy, l. xxiv. & Cicero in Verrem in few words—*Omnium exterarum gentium princeps Sicilia ad amicitiam fidemque, P. R. applicuit; primaque omnium, id quod ornamentum imperii est, provincia est appellata; prima docuit majores nostros, quam præclarum esset exteris gentibus imperitare.*

CHAP. XXV.

Death of Darius Nothus. — Cyrus disputes the Succession with his elder Brother Artaxerxes. — Character of Cyrus. — State of Lower Asia under his Administration. — His Strength and Resources. — His Expedition into Upper Asia. — Descries the vast Army of his Brother. — Battle of Cynaxa. — Death of Cyrus. — His Grecian Auxiliaries victorious. — Their Treaty with Tissaphernes. — Perfidious Assassination of the Grecian Generals. — Artaxerxes sends to the Greeks to demand their Arms. — Conference on that Subject.

WHILE the operations of war conspired with revolutions in government, to detach the Grecian colonies in Italy, Sicily, and Cyrené, from the general interests and politics of the mother-country, a series of events, not less curious than important, connected, in the closest intimacy, the history of Greece with the annals of the Persian empire. The same memorable year, which terminated the destructive war of Peloponnesus, brought to a conclusion the active and prosperous reign of Darius Nothus. He named as his successor Artaxerxes, styled Mne-mon, from the strength of his memory; and persisted in this choice, notwithstanding the

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Death of
Darius
Nothus,
Olymp.
xciv. 1.
A. C. 404.

The suc-
cession of
Artaxer-
xes is dis-

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puted
by his
younger
brother
Cyrus.

opposition of the artful and ambitious Parysatis, who employed her extensive influence over the mind of an old and uxorious husband, to obtain the kingdom for Cyrus, the younger brother of Artaxerxes, and the peculiar favourite of his mother. The rivalry of the young princes, both of whom were at court during the last illness of Darius, unhappily degenerated into enmity; and a circumstance, which would be thought immaterial in the present age, increased the indignation of Cyrus. The birth of Artaxerxes had happened before the accession of his father to the throne, but Cyrus was born the son of a King; a distinction which, however frivolous it may appear in modern times, had engaged Darius Hystaspis to prefer Xerxes, the younger of his sons, to his elder brother Artabazanes.¹

Cause of
his resent-
ment
against Ar-
taxerxes.

The precedent established by such an illustrious monarch might have enforced the partial arguments of Parysatis, and both might have been confirmed by the strong claim of merit, since Cyrus early discovered such talents and virtues as fitted him to fill the most difficult, and to adorn the most exalted, station. At the age of seventeen, he had obtained the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia; and the same mandate of Darius, which destroyed his hopes of succession to the Persian throne, rendered him hereditary satrap of those valuable provinces. On the demise of that monarch, Cyrus prepared to return into Asia Minor, at-

¹ Herodot. l. vii. c. 2.

tended by the same escort with which he had come to Susa ; a faithful body of three hundred heavy-armed Greeks, commanded by Xenias, an Arcadian. But when he prepared to leave court, a very criminal and unfortunate incident retarded his departure. The selfish and perfidious Tissaphernes, who expected to divide the spoils of the young prince, accused him of treason. He was apprehended by order of Artaxerxes ; but the powerful protection of Parysatis, who, though she loved only one, was beloved, or at least feared, by both of her sons, defended his life, vindicated his honour, and restored him in safety to his government.

Circumstances favourable to his ambition.

The danger that had threatened his person could not much affect the heroic fortitude of Cyrus ; but the affront offered to his dignity sank deep into his heart : and, from the moment that he recovered his freedom, he determined to revenge his injuries², or to perish in the attempt. In the despotic countries of the East, as there is scarcely any intermediate gradation between the prince and people, and scarcely any alternative but that of dominion or servitude, a discontented or rebellious subject must either stifle his animosity, submit to die, or aspire to reign.³ The magnanimity of Cyrus naturally

¹ Xenoph. Anab. l. i. c. 1. This was the origin of his resentment, which Xenophon expresses with great delicacy ; *ὁ δὲ κινδυνεύων καὶ ἀντιμαρτυρεῖ, βουλευεται ὅπως μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἐταίῳ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ, &c.* He asserted independence, the first wish of every great mind.

² "Cyrus determined no longer," says Xenophon, "to depend on his brother ; ἀλλὰ ἢ διαστῆναι βασιλευσέναι αὐτ' αἰετοῦν ; but, if possible, "to reign in his stead."

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preferred the road of danger and glory : he prepared not only to punish the injustice, but to usurp the throne, of Artaxerxes, defended as it was by a million of armed men, and protected both by the power of superstition, and by the splendour of hereditary renown. This design would have been great, but romantic, if the young prince had not enjoyed very extraordinary resources in the powers of his own mind, in the affectionate attachment of his Barbarian subjects, and, above all, in the fidelity and valour of his Lacedæmonian allies.

Character
of Cyrus ;

Whether we consider what he said, or what he did, the testimony of his contemporaries, or the more unerring testimony of his life and actions, Cyrus appears to have been born for the honour of human nature, and particularly for the honour of Asia, which, though the richest and most populous quarter of the globe, has never, in any age, abounded in great characters. From the age of seven years, he had been trained, at the gate of the palace, to shoot with the bow, to manage the horse, and to speak truth ; according to the discipline instituted by the great founder of the monarchy, and well adapted, in an age of simplicity, to form the princes and nobles of Persia. But, in the course of two centuries, the progress of refinement and luxury, the infectious example of a corrupt court, and the perfidious lessons of the world, had perverted, or rendered ineffectual, a very salutary system of education ; and the grandees of Persia, what-

contrasted
with that
of the
Persian
nobles.

ever proficiency they made in their exercises, felt so little regard for veracity, that (as will abundantly appear in the sequel) they seldom spoke but with a view to deceive, and rarely made a promise which they did not break, or took an oath which they did not violate. The behaviour of Cyrus was totally the reverse. He equalled, and surpassed his companions in all exterior accomplishments. But while his manly beauty, his bodily activity and address, and the superior courage, as well as skill, which he displayed in hunting, horsemanship, and every military exercise, commanded the admiration of the multitude; he himself seems not to have estimated such superficial accomplishments beyond their real worth. He regarded integrity of heart as the only solid basis of a great character. His probity was uniform, his word sacred, his friendship inviolable. In the giddy season of youth, he yielded, with uncommon docility, to the admonitions of experience. Neither wealth, nor birth, nor rank, but age and virtue, were the declared objects of his respect; and his behaviour, at once meritorious and singular, was justly and universally admired.

His subjects in Lesser Asia, in particular, were seized with the most pleasing astonishment, when, instead of a greedy and voluptuous satrap, eager only to squeeze, to amass, and to enjoy, they beheld a prince who preferred the public interest to his own; who alleviated the weight of taxes, that he might encourage the operations

State of
Lower
Asia dur-
ing his
admini-
stration.

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of industry ; whose own hands gave the useful example of rural labour⁴ ; whose decisions united justice and mercy ; and whose active vigilance introduced (what neither before nor since the government of Cyrus has been known in the Asiatic peninsula) such regularity of police, as rendered intercourse safe, and property secure.

His popular acts.

The virtues of justice and integrity, when accompanied with diligence and abilities, must procure such a degree of respect for the administration, as will naturally be extended to the person, of a prince. But something farther is required, not to obtain the public gratitude and esteem, but to excite the affectionate ardour of select and devoted friends ; without whose zealous co-operation, it is seldom possible to accomplish any great and memorable design. Cyrus excelled all his contemporaries in the art both of acquiring and of preserving the most valuable friendships. His gratitude overpaid every favour : his liberality was large, yet discerning ; and his donations were always enhanced by the handsome and affectionate manner in which they were bestowed. When he discovered a man really worthy of his confidence, he was not satisfied with giving him a partial share of his affections ; he gave his heart entire ; and it was his constant prayer to the gods, that he might live to requite and surpass the good offices of his friends, and the injuries of his enemies.

* Xenoph. *ibid.* Cic. in Senect. Plut. in Lysand. have all celebrated this part of his character.

With such sentiments and character, Cyrus acquired the firm attachment of a few, and the willing obedience of all his Barbarian subjects, in the populous provinces which he commanded, whose united strength exceeded an hundred thousand fighting men; who, unwarlike as they were, yet excelled, both in bravery and in skill, the effeminate troops of Upper Asia.

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Amount
of his Bar-
barian
troops.

They were probably indebted for this advantage to their intercourse with the Greeks, whose disciplined valour, far more than the numbers of his Barbarians, encouraged Cyrus to undertake an expedition for acquiring the empire of the East. By the most important services he had deserved the gratitude of the Lacedæmonian republic; which had been raised chiefly by his assistance, to the head of Greece, and to the command of the sea. In return for that favour, so inestimable in the mind of an ambitious people, the Spartans readily complied with his request, by sending into Asia eight hundred heavy-armed men, under the command of the intrepid Cheirisophus; while they charged their admiral, Samius, who had succeeded Lysander in the government of the Ionian coast, faithfully to co-operate with Cyrus, by employing his powerful fleet in whatever service the Persian prince might think proper to recommend.^s Had they done nothing more than this, Cyrus might well have approved their useful gratitude; especially as their alliance, securing him on the

His chief
confidence
in the gra-
titude and
valour of
the
Greeks.

^s Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii.

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Amount
of his
Grecian
troops.

side of Europe, enabled him, without danger, to drain his western garrisons, and to augment the strength of his army. But the friendship of the Spartans carried them still farther. They allowed him to recruit his forces in every part of their dominions; and the generous munificence of Cyrus had acquired numerous partisans well qualified to raise and to command those valuable levies. Clearchus the Spartan, Menon the Thessalian, Proxenus the Boeotian, Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan, all alike devoted to the interest and glory of the Persian prince, collected, chiefly from their respective republics, above ten thousand heavy-armed men, and near three thousand archers and targeteers.

Secrecy of
his pre-
parations.

These preparations, which were carried on with silence and celerity, deceived the haughty indolence of the Persians; but they could not escape the vigilance of Alcibiades, who then resided at Grynium, a town of Phrygia, under the protection of Pharnabazus. Moved by resentment against the Lacedæmonians, or ambitious of gaining merit with the Great King, he desired an escort from the satrap, that he might undertake with safety a journey to Susa, in order to acquaint Artaxerxes with the hostile designs of his brother. Pharnabazus, who possessed not the merit, coveted the reward of the discovery; and therefore (as we formerly had occasion to relate⁶) readily gratified the request of Lysander, by the destruction of Alcibiades.

⁶ See above, p. 112.

But neither the intelligence conveyed by the Persian governor, nor the repeated solicitations of Tissaphernes, nor the consciousness of his own injustice and cruelty, could rouse Artaxerxes from the profound security of his repose. Cyrus completed his levies without molestation, and almost without suspicion; and prepared, in the beginning of the year four hundred before Christ, to march from the Ionian coast into Upper Asia, at the head of an hundred thousand Barbarians, and above thirteen thousand Greeks. His journey towards Babylon, his defeat and death in the plain of Cynaxa, the retreat and dispersion of his followers, and the memorable return of the Greeks to their native country, have been related by the admired disciple of Socrates (whom the friendship of Proxenus, the Bœotian, recommended to the service and esteem of Cyrus), with such descriptive beauty, with such profound knowledge of war and of human nature, and with such inimitable graces of native eloquence, as never were re-united in the work of any one man but that of Xenophon the Athenian. The retreat was principally conducted by Xenophon himself; which has enabled him to adorn his narrative with such an affecting variety of incidents and characters, as will always serve to prove that the force of truth and nature is far superior to the powers of the most fertile fancy. It would be an undertaking not only hardy, but presumptuous, to invade the province of such an accomplished writer, if the design of the pre-

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Cyrus undertakes his expedition into Upper Asia. Olymp. xcv. 1. A. C. 400.

Xenophon's account of the expedition.

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Rapidity
of his
march.

sent work did not oblige us to select the principal circumstances which illustrate the condition of the times, and connect the expedition of Cyrus with the subsequent history of Greece.

Having assembled his forces at Sardis, the Persian prince was carried, by the activity of his resentment or ambition, with the utmost celerity, towards Upper Asia. In ninety-three marches, he travelled through the central provinces of Lydia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; traversed the mountains of Cilicia; passed unresisted through Syria; crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus; and after penetrating the desert, entered the confines of Babylonia. In a journey of above twelve hundred miles, his numerous army experienced fewer difficulties than might naturally be expected. The fertile territory of Asia Minor supplying them abundantly with provisions, enabled them to proceed commonly at the rate of fifteen or sixteen miles a-day⁶; and almost every second day brought them to a large and populous city. The dependent satraps or viceroys of Lycaonia and Cilicia were less solicitous to defend the throne of Artaxerxes, than anxious to protect their respective provinces from plunder and devastation. But the former experienced the severity of an invader whom he had the weakness to oppose, without the strength or courage to resist.⁷

⁶ "The *mean* march of the Greeks, taken throughout the whole expedition and retreat, was equal to 556 parasangas; or, reckoned in British miles, as nearly 15, as possible." Rennell's *Illustrations of Cyrus's Expedition*, &c. p. 9.

⁷ Xenoph. *Anab.* l. i. p. 248.

Syennesis, governor of Cilicia, had reason to fear that his country might be wasted with equal cruelty. He endeavoured, therefore, to avail himself of the natural strength of a province whose southern boundaries are washed by the sea, and which is defended on other sides by the winding branches of Mount Taurus.⁸ Towards the west is but one pass, called by Arrian the Gates of Cilicia⁹; sufficient to admit only one chariot at a time, and rendered dark and difficult by steep and almost inaccessible mountains. These were occupied by the troops of Syennesis, who, had he maintained his post, might have easily prevented the passage of an army. But the timid Cilician had not trusted in arms alone for the defence of his country. By the order, or at least with the permission of her husband, his queen, the beautiful Epyaxa, had met Cyrus at Cylenæ, on the frontiers of Phrygia; and according to the custom of the East, presented her acknowledged liege-lord and superior with gold, silver, and other costly gifts. But the greatest gift was her youthful beauty, which she submitted, it is said, to the enamoured prince, who, after entertaining her with the utmost magnificence and distinction¹⁰, restored her to Cilicia

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Cilicia defended by the beauty of Epyaxa.

⁸ Xenoph. p. 248.

⁹ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. ii. p. 51.

¹⁰ She requested of Cyrus to enjoy a sight of his troops. He complied; and attended her coach, in an open car. But the curiosity of Epyaxa had almost cost her dear. "When the Barbarians were reviewed, the Greeks were ordered to their arms, and commanded to advance, as to a charge; after which, the soldiers, of their own accord, ran with shouts to their tents. The Barbarians were thrown

CHAP. by a near, but difficult road, which led across
XXV. the mountains.

The
Greeks
plunder
Tarsus.

To the escort which accompanied her, Cyrus added a considerable body of Greeks commanded by Menon the Thessalian. The greater part arrived at Tarsus, the capital, before the army of Cyrus reached the gates of Cilicia; but two companies, amounting together to an hundred men, were missing, and supposed to have been destroyed by the mountaineers, while they wandered in quest of booty. Syennesis was mortified at hearing that the enemy had already entered his province. But when he likewise received intelligence that the Peloponnesian fleet had sailed round from Ionia, in order to co-operate with the army, the disagreeable news totally disconcerted the measures of his defence. He fled in precipitation, abandoning his tents and baggage to the invaders. Cyrus crossed the mountains without opposition, and traversed the lovely irriguous plains of Cilicia, which were adorned with trees and vines, and abounded in sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley. In four days he arrived at the large and rich city of Tarsus, which was plundered by the resentment of the Greeks, for the loss of their companions.

Cyrus exchanges presents with Syennesis of Cilicia.

Cyrus immediately sent for the governor, who had removed from his palace, and, attended by the greater part of the inhabitants, had taken

into consternation; Epyaxa quitted her coach; the Greeks returned laughing to their tents; and Cyrus rejoiced at seeing the terror with which the Greeks had inspired the Barbarians." Xenoph. Anab. l. i. p. 247.

refuge among the fastnesses in the neighbouring mountains. By the assurances of Epyaxa, her timorous¹¹ husband was with much difficulty persuaded to put himself in the power of a superior, to whom, as the price of his safety, he carried large sums of money. Cyrus courteously accepted the welcome supply, which the demands of his troops rendered peculiarly seasonable; and, in return, honoured Syennesis with presents deemed of inestimable value when bestowed by the kings of the East. They consisted in a Persian robe, a horse with a golden bit, a chain, bracelets, and scimitar of gold, the restoration of prisoners, and the exemption of Cilicia from farther plunder.¹²

During their luxurious residence at Tarsus, the Greeks were corrupted by prosperity. They disdained to obey their commanders, and refused to continue their journey. The design of marching to Babylon, though it was not unknown to Clearchus, or to the Spartan senate, had been concealed from the soldiers, lest their impatience or their fears might be alarmed at the prospect of such a long and dangerous undertaking. At Tarsus they first discovered their suspicion of the deceit, which speedily broke out into licentious

Mutiny in
the Gre-
cian camp.

¹¹ Pride, as well as fear, seems to have actuated Syennesis; *ὁ δὲ οὐδὲ προτερον οὐδενι πω κρειττονι ἑαυτου εἰς χειρας ελθειν εφη, οὐδὲ τότε Κυρῷ ικεναι θελε, πριν ἢ γυνη αὐτον πεισει;* "Syennesis declared, that he had never formerly put himself in the power of a man in any respect superior to himself; nor would he then go to Cyrus, till his wife persuaded him," &c. A true picture of oriental manners, meanness varnished with pride!

¹² Xenophon. *Anab.* p. 245.

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Appeased
by the ad-
dress of
Clearchus.

clamours. They insulted the majesty of Cyrus ; they reproached the perfidy of their generals ; and their anger was ready to ferment into bloody sedition, when the commotion was appeased by the address and prudence of Clearchus. While he privately assured Cyrus of his best endeavours to make the affair take a favourable turn, he openly embraced the cause of the soldiers, affected deeply to feel their grievances, and eagerly concurred with every measure that seemed proper to remove them. His eloquence and his tears diverted the design of immediate hostility. An assembly was summoned to deliberate on the actual posture of affairs. Several, of their own accord, offered their opinion ; others spoke as they had been directed by Clearchus. One counsellor, who was heard with applause, advised them to pack up their baggage, and to demand guides or ships from Cyrus, to facilitate their return. Another shewed the folly of making this request to a man whose measures they had traversed, and whose purpose they had endeavoured to defeat.¹⁸ They surely could not trust

¹⁸ This passage is translated as follows by Mr. Spelman : " After him another got up, shewing the folly of the man who advised him to demand the ships, as if Cyrus would not resume his expedition. He shewed also how weak a thing it was to apply for a guide to that person whose undertaking we had defeated." If Cyrus resumed his expedition, it could not be said that his undertaking was defeated ; nor is this the proper meaning of the word *λυμαινομεθα*, which signifies to hurt or weaken. I am sensible that, by an easy transition, it sometimes signifies to corrupt, to destroy, to defeat ; but in the passage before us, if a translator should choose to explain it by any of those words, he must say, " whose undertaking we had begun, endeavoured, or purposed, to defeat : an explanation of *λυμαινομεθα*,

in guides given them by an enemy ; nor could it be expected that Cyrus should part with his ships, which were evidently so necessary to the success of his expedition. At length it was determined to send commissioners to treat with Cyrus, that he might either, by granting the demands of the Greeks, prevail on them to follow him, or be himself prevailed on to allow them to return home ; and the difference was thus finally adjusted, by promising each soldier a darick and a half, instead of a darick, of monthly pay.¹⁴

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When this storm was happily appeased, the army left Tarsus, and marched five days through the fertile plains of Cilicia, till they arrived at Issus, the last town of the province ; large, rich, and populous ; and only fifteen miles distant from the frontier of Syria. This wealthy province was defended by two fortresses, called the Gates of Syria and Cilicia. They extended from the mountains to the sea. The interval of three furlongs between them contained several passes, narrow and intricate, besides the rapid Kersas, which flowed in the middle, one hundred feet in breadth. It was on this occasion that Cyrus experienced the full advantage of the Lacedæmonian assistance. A fleet of sixty sail, conducted by Pythagoras the Spártan, who had suc-

Cyrus
passes the
Syrian
gates.

which is justified by the analogy of the Greek language, and which the sense absolutely requires." This is one of the few minute mistakes which I have discovered in Mr. Spelman's most accurate translation.

¹⁴ Xenoph. *ibid.* p. 250. et seq.

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 ceeded Samius in the naval command, prepared to land the Greeks on the eastern side of the Gates, which must have exposed the Syrian works to a double assault; but the cowardice of Abrocomas, who commanded the numerous forces of Syria and Phœnicia, rendered the execution of this measure unnecessary. The design alone was sufficient to terrify him. He abandoned his forts, and fled with precipitation before the approach of an enemy. ¹⁵

The army
 wade the
 Euphrates.

Cyrus thenceforth proceeded without encountering opposition, and, in fifteen days' march, reached the banks of the Euphrates. At Thapsacus, which in some eastern languages signifies the ford ¹⁶, this noble river is above half a mile in breadth, but so shoaly that the navigation is rendered dangerous even for boats. The shallowness increases in the autumn, the season in which the army happened to cross the Euphrates, which no where reached above the breast. This favourable circumstance furnished an opportunity to the inhabitants of Thapsacus to flatter Cyrus, that the great river had visibly submitted to him as its future king. ¹⁷ Elated by this auspicious prediction, he pursued his journey southward, in Mesopotamia, part of which was anciently comprehended under the name of Syria. ¹⁸ While he proceeded along this fertile country, he did not forget that a laborious march of seventeen days through a barren

¹⁵ Xenoph. p. 253.

¹⁶ Foster's Geographical Dissertation on Xenophon's Retreat.

¹⁷ Xenoph. p. 255.

¹⁸ So it is called by Xenoph. *ibid.*

desert, must conduct him to the cultivated plains of Babylon. CHAP.
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Having amply provided for this dangerous undertaking, he performed it with uncommon celerity, both in order to avoid risking the want of provisions, and, if possible, to take his enemies unprepared. For several days the invaders marched, without interruption, through the province of Babylonia; and, on the fifth day, came to a deep and broad ditch, which had been recently dug to intercept or retard their passage. But as this defence was left altogether unguarded, and the Great King had not employed any means for protecting the most valuable portion of his dominions, it was generally believed that he had laid aside the design of venturing an engagement. The troops of Cyrus, therefore, who had hitherto maintained their ranks with circumspection, no longer observed any regular order of march; their arms were carried in waggons, or on sumpter horses; and their general, in his car, rode in the van with few armed attendants. While they proceeded in this fearless contempt of the enemy, and approached the plain of Cynaxa, which is within a day's journey of Babylon¹⁹, Patagyas, a Persian, and confidential friend of Cyrus, came riding towards

Traverse
the desert,
and enter
Babylonia.

¹⁹ I have used an indeterminate expression to denote the uncertain situation of those places as described by Strabo, l. ii. & Plut. in Artaxerx. Mr. Spelman justly observes, that the error of Xenophon, (unnoticed by any former translator,) who makes the distance from Babylon three thousand and sixty stadia, is so enormous, that it can only be owing to a mistake of the transcriber.

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Cyrus describes the immense army of his brother.

them in full speed, his horse all in a foam, calling aloud successively, in his own language, and in Greek, that the King was at hand with a vast army.²⁰

The experienced Greeks, who best knew the danger of being attacked in disorder, were most sensibly alarmed by this sudden surprise. Cyrus, leaping from his car, put on his corslet, mounted his horse, seized his javelin, commanded the troops to arm, and ordered every man to his post. His orders were readily obeyed ; and the army advanced, several hours, in order of battle. It was now mid-day ; yet no enemy appeared : but in the afternoon, an extended cloud of dust was perceived, which at first faint, gradually thickened into darkness, and overspread the plain. At length the brazen armour flashed ; the motion, the ranks, and spears, were distinctly seen. In the front were innumerable chariots armed with scythes in a downward, and in an oblique direction. The cavalry, commanded by Tissaphernes, were distinguished by white corslets ; the Persians by wicker bucklers ; the Egyptians by wooden shields reaching down to their feet. These formed the chief strength of Artaxerxes ; but the various multitude of nations, marching in separate columns according to their respective countries, had scarcely any armour of defence, and could annoy the enemy only at a distance, with their slings, darts, and arrows.²¹

²⁰ Xenoph. p. 265.

²¹ Xenoph. p. 265. et seq.

While the hostile battalions approached, Cyrus, accompanied by Pigres, the interpreter, and a few chosen attendants, all mounted on horses of extraordinary swiftness, rode through the intermediate space, observing the numbers and disposition of the enemy. He had learned from deserters, that the troops of the Great King amounted to twelve hundred thousand, divided into four equal bodies of men, respectively commanded by the four generals, Tissaphernes, Gobrias, Arbaces, and Abracomus. The last, however, had not yet joined; nor did he reach Babylonia till five days after the battle. But, notwithstanding this defect, the numbers of Artaxerxes were still competent to perform whatever numbers can accomplish. According to the custom of the East, the King, surrounded by a chosen body of cavalry, occupied the centre of the army, as the place of greatest security, and most convenient for issuing his orders with promptitude. But such was the extent of ground covered by the various nations whom he commanded, that even his centre reached beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus; who, therefore, called aloud to Clearchus to advance opposite to the King's guard, because, if *that* should be broken, the *work* would be done. But Clearchus was unwilling to withdraw the Greeks from the Euphrates, lest they should be surrounded by the enemy; he therefore kept his post, assuring Cyrus of his utmost care to make all go well.²²

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Its number
and dis-
position.

²² Upon this disobedience of Clearchus, Major Rennell, in his

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The battle
of Cynaxa.
Olymp.
xcv. 1.
A. C. 400.

The disobedience of Clearchus, and the distrust of Cyrus, threw away the fortune of the day, which involved the fate of Persia, and the renown of Greece. For although, by skilful evolutions, Clearchus eluded the armed chariots and cavalry of the enemy; though the Greeks, by their countenance and shouts alone, put to flight the opposing crowd, who could not endure the sight of their regular array, their burnished arms, or hear, without terror, the martial sounds of their harmonious Pœans, intermixed with the clanging of their spears against their brazen bucklers; yet the Great King, perceiving the impetuous pursuit of the Greeks, and that nothing opposed him in front, commanded his men to wheel to the left, and advanced with celerity in order to attack the rear of the enemy. If this design had been carried into execution, it is probable that the Greeks, having prevailed on the first onset, would immediately have faced about,

most valuable illustrations of the History of the Expedition of Cyrus, &c. in p. 115. makes the following remark. "Had he (Clearchus) combated with a superior force of his own countrymen, he would have acted wisely in keeping his flank covered: but the sequel proves, that the Great King would not venture to engage with the Greeks *alone*, even after the native army of Cyrus had left the field. We infer, therefore, that had Clearchus followed the advice of Cyrus, at the beginning of the action, and brought his forces opposite to the centre of the king's army, the event would have been totally different. No one can doubt, but that victory would have attended the steps of the Greeks; and a victory in the centre, would either have placed the king in the power of Cyrus, or driven him out of the field." But then, the Major adds in a note, "we should have been without the Anabasis, the choicest piece of ancient military history; and fairly worth the history of all the Persian dynasties, since that period."

and, animated by the joy of victory, and their native ardour, have repelled and routed the troops of Artaxerxes. CHAP.
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But the impatience of Cyrus defeated this favourable prospect. He observed the movement of his brother, and eagerly rode to meet him, at the head of only six hundred horse. Such was the rapid violence of his assault, that the advanced guards of the King were thrown into disorder, and the leader Artagerses fell by the hand of Cyrus, who, with all his great qualities, had not learned to distinguish between the duties of a soldier and a general. By a seasonable retreat, he might still, perhaps, have saved his life, and gained a crown. But his eye darting along the ranks, met that of his brother. He rushed forward, with a blind instinctive fury, crying out, "I see the man!" and, penetrating the thick crowd of attendants, aimed his javelin at the King, pierced his corslet, and wounded his breast. His eagerness to destroy the enemy, prevented proper attention to his own safety. From an uncertain hand, he received a severe wound in the face, which, however, only increased the fury with which he assaulted his brother. Various and inconsistent accounts were given of the death of Cyrus, even by those who assisted in this memorable engagement. His admiring historians thought it incumbent on them to make him die like the hero of a tragedy, after many vicissitudes of fortune, and many variations of misery. Dinon and Ctesias²², the longer to

Rash impetuosity of Cyrus.

His death.

²² Apud. Plutarch. in Artaxerx.

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The Per-
sian troops
plunder
the camp
of Cyrus.

suspend the curiosity of their readers, kill him as with a blunted weapon; but Xenophon is contented with saying, that he fell in the tumultuary conflict of his attendants with the guards of Artaxerxes, who zealously defended their respective masters; and that eight of his most confidential friends lay dead around him, thus sealing with their blood their inviolable fidelity.²³

Such was the catastrophe of this audacious and fatal enterprise; after which the troops of Artaxerxes, advanced in the ardour of success, and proceeded, without encountering any resistance, to the hostile camp; Ariæus leading off the forces of Lesser Asia, dejected and dismayed by the loss of their prince and general. Among the valuable plunder in the tents of Cyrus, the Barbarians found two Grecian women, his favourite mistresses, the elder of Phocæa, the younger of Miletus. The former, whose wit and accomplishments heightened the charms of her beauty, received and deserved the name of Aspasia, from the celebrated mistress of Pericles, whose talents she rivalled, and whose character she too faithfully resembled. The young Milesian likewise fell into the hands of the enemy; but while carelessly guarded by the Barbarians, intent on more useful plunder, escaped unobserved, and arrived naked in the quarter of the Greeks, where a small guard had been left to defend the baggage.

The
Greeks
victorious
in their
quarter of

Meanwhile Clearchus, at the head of the Grecian phalanx, pursuing the fugitives, had been carried above the distance of three miles from

²³ Xenoph. p. 266.

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XXV.the field,
pursue the
enemy.

Artaxerxes. But when he heard that the Barbarians were in his tent; and perceived that, tired with plunder, they advanced to attack his rear, he faced about in order to receive them. The time was spent, till sun-set, in various dispositions made by the cavalry of Artaxerxes; but neither the soldiers, nor their commanders, had courage to come within the reach of the Grecian spear. They fled in scattered disorder, wherever the Grecians advanced; who, wearied with marching against an enemy unwilling to fight, at length determined to return to their camp; wondering that neither Cyrus himself appeared, nor any of his messengers.²⁴ They arrived in the beginning of the night; but found their tents in disorder, their baggage plundered, their provisions destroyed or spent. They chiefly regretted the loss of four hundred carriages filled with wine and flour, which had been provided by the foresight of Cyrus, as a resource in time of want. Even these were rifled by the king's troops; and the Greeks, whom the sudden appearance of the enemy had not allowed to dine, were obliged to pass the night without supper; their bodies exhausted by the fatigue of a laborious day, and their minds perplexed by the uncertain fate of their allies.²⁵

²⁴ In relating this battle, I have followed the advice of Plutarch in *Artaxerxes*, who says, "that Xenophon has described it with such perspicuity, elegance, and force, as sets the action before the eyes of his reader, and makes him assist with emotion at every incident, not as past, but as present. A man of sense, therefore, will despair to rival Xenophon; and instead of relating the action in detail, will select such circumstances only as are most worthy of notice."

²⁵ *Xenoph.* p. 270. et seq.

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Behaviour
of the
Greeks
when in-
formed of
Cyrus's
death.

At the approach of light, they prepared to move their camp, when the messengers of Ariæus arrived acquainting them with the death of Cyrus. The new commander, they said, had assembled the troops of Lesser Asia in their former encampment, about twelve miles from the field of battle; where he intended to continue the whole day, that the Greeks might have time to join him; but if they delayed, he would next day proceed without them, towards Ionia, with the utmost expedition. When the Greeks recovered from the consternation occasioned by these unexpected and melancholy tidings, Clearchus replied, "Would to God Cyrus were alive! but since he is dead, let Ariæus know, that we have conquered the King; that his troops have every-where fled before us; and that now no enemy appears to resist our arms. You may, therefore, assure Ariæus, that if he will come hither, we will place him on the Persian throne, which is the just reward of our victory." With this proposal the messengers departed, and Clearchus led his troops to the field of battle, to collect provisions, which were prepared by using for fuel the wooden bucklers, shields, and arrows, of the Barbarians.²⁶

Their an-
swer to
the heralds
of Arta-
xerxes,
who de-
manded
their ar-
mour.

Next morning heralds arrived from Artaxerxes, who entertained a very different opinion from that expressed by Clearchus, concerning the issue of the battle. Among these respected ministers was Philinus, a fugitive Greek much esteemed by Tissaphernes, both as a skilful cap-

²⁶ Xenoph. p. 272.

tain and as an able negociator. When the chiefs were assembled, Philinus, speaking for his colleagues, declared it to be the will of the Great King, who had defeated and killed Cyrus, "That the Greeks, who had now become the slaves of the conqueror, should surrender their arms."

The demand was heard with indignation and answered with contempt. One desired him to tell the king "to come and take them;" another, "that it was better to die, than to deliver up their arms." Xenophon spoke to the following purpose; "We have nothing, as you see, O Philinus! but our arms, and our valour. While we keep possession of the one, we can avail ourselves of the other: but, if we deliver up our arms, we also surrender our persons. Do not therefore expect that we shall throw away the only advantages which we still enjoy; on the contrary, be assured, that, relying on our arms and our valour, we will dispute with you those advantages which you possess." Clearchus enforced the sentiments of Xenophon, which were confirmed by the army; and Philinus, after a fruitless attempt to discover the immediate designs of the Greeks, returned with his colleagues to the Persian camp.²⁷

Meanwhile, Ariæus replied to the honourable embassy which had been sent him, "That there were many Persians of greater consideration than himself who would never permit him to be their king; he repeated his desire that the Greeks should join him; but, if they declined to come, persisted in his resolution of returning with all

Their plan
of retreat
concerted
with Ari-
æus.

²⁷ Xenoph. p. 273.

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haste to Ionia." His proposal of a junction was approved by the propitious indications of the victims : the army marched in order of battle to the encampment of Ariæus ; who, with the most distinguished of his captains, entered into treaty with the Grecian commanders, binding themselves by mutual oaths to perform to each other the duties of faithful and affectionate allies. Having ratified this engagement by a solemn sacrifice, they proceeded to deliberate concerning their intended journey. It was determined, that instead of traversing the desolated country by which they had arrived at the field of battle, they should so shape their course northward, as to acquire provisions in greater plenty, and cross the great rivers, which commonly diminish near their source, with less difficulty and danger. They resolved also to perform their first marches with all possible expedition, in order to anticipate the King's approach ; since, with a small force he would not dare to follow, and with a great army, he would not be able to overtake, them.²⁹

They accepted a truce from Artaxerxes.

This plan of retreat proposed by Ariæus, had the dishonourable appearance of flight ; but fortune proved a more glorious conductor. Such was the effect of the Grecian courage and firmness on the counsels of Artaxerxes, that he, who had so lately commanded the soldiers to surrender their arms, sent heralds to them, the day following, to propose a truce. This memorable agreement, the consequences of which were so

²⁹ Xenoph. p. 276.

calamitous, yet so honourable to the Greeks, was concluded through the intervention of Tissaphernes ; who engaged, on the part of his master, to furnish them with a market ; to cause them to be treated as friends in the countries through which they marched ; and to conduct them without guile to the coast. For the Greeks, on the other hand, Clearchus and the generals swore, that they should abstain from ravaging the King's territories ; that they should supply themselves with meat and drink only, when, by any accident, the market was not provided ; but when it was, that they would purchase whatever they wanted at a reasonable price.²⁹

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When this business was transacted, Tissaphernes returned to the King, promising to come back as soon as possible. But on various pretences, he delayed twenty days ; during which the Persians had an opportunity to practise with Ariæus. By the dread of punishment, if he persisted in rebellion ; by the promise of pardon, if he returned to his allegiance ; and, above all, by the warm solicitation of his kinsmen and friends, that unsteady Barbarian was totally detached from the interest of his Grecian allies. His conduct gave just ground to suspect this disposition, which became fully evident after the return of Tissaphernes. From that moment, Ariæus no longer encamped with the Greeks, but preferred the neighbourhood of the satrap and his Persians. Yet, for three weeks, no open hostility was committed ; the armies, fearing, and

Treachery of
Tissaphernes
and Ariæus.

²⁹ Xenoph. p. 261. et seq.

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feared by each other, pursued the same line of march; Tissaphernes led the way; and, according to agreement, furnished the Greeks with a market; but treacherously increased the difficulty of their journey, by conducting them by many windings through the canals and marshes between the Tigris and Euphrates. When they had crossed the former river, they continued to march northward along its eastern banks, always encamping at the distance of two or three miles from the Barbarians. Yet this precaution was unable to prevent the parties sent out to provide wood or forage from quarrelling with each other. From reproachful words, they soon proceeded to hostile actions; and these partial encounters were likely to produce the worst consequences, by inflaming the latent, but general animosity, which it had been so difficult to stifle or conceal.³⁰

Perfidious
seizure
of the
Grecian
generals.

At length they arrived at the fatal scene, where the river Zabatus, flowing westward from the mountains of Media, pours its tributary waters into the broad stream of the Tigris. The Grecian generals, and particularly Clearchus, who had long seen and lamented the unfortunate jealousies prevailing among those who had sworn mutual fidelity, proposed a conference between the commanders, in order amicably to explain and remove every ground of hatred and complaint. Tissaphernes and Ariæus, as well as their colleague Orontes, eagerly desired the conference, though their motives were very different from those which actuated Clearchus. A mea-

³⁰ Xenoph. p. 282

sure so agreeable to both parties, was, without difficulty carried into execution ; and the Greeks, on this occasion alone, forsook that prudence and caution, which, both before and after, uniformly governed their conduct. Five generals, and twenty captains, repaired to the tent of Tissaphernes ; only two hundred soldiers followed them, under pretence of going to market. Clearchus, with his colleagues, Menon, Proxenus, Agias, and Socrates, were conducted into the satrap's apartment ; the rest, whether captains or soldiers, were not allowed to enter. This separation occasioned fear and distrust. The appearance of armed Barbarians increased the terror. A gloomy silence prevailed ; when, on a given signal, those within the tent were apprehended, and those without cut to pieces. At the same time the Persian cavalry scoured the plain, destroying whomsoever they encountered. The Greeks were astonished at this mad excursion, which they beheld from their camp ; until Nicarchus, an Arcadian, came, miserably mangled, and informed them of the dreadful tragedy that had been acted.²¹

Upon this intelligence, they ran to their arms, expecting an immediate assault. But the cowardly Barbarians, not daring to engage in open and honourable war, endeavoured to accomplish their designs by the same impious treachery with which they had concerted them. Instead of advancing in a body to attack the Grecian camp, they sent Ariæus, Arteazus, and Mithridates, persons

Artaxerxes sends to the Greeks to demand their arms.

²¹ Xenoph. p. 286. et seq.

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Confer-
ence on
that sub-
ject.

whose great credit with Cyrus might prevent their intentions from being suspected by the enemy. They were attended by three hundred Persians, clad in complete armour. When they drew near to the Greeks, a herald called out, "That if any of the generals or captains were present, they should advance, in order to be made acquainted with the King's pleasure." Cheirisophus, the Lacedæmonian, who, next to Clearchus, had hitherto maintained the greatest influence over the army, happened to be absent with a party of foragers. But the remaining generals, Cleanor, the Orchomenian, and Sophonetus, the Stymphalian, proceeded with caution from the camp, accompanied by Xenophon, the Athenian, who (though only a volunteer) followed the commanders, that he might learn what was become of his friend Proxenus.³² When they came within hearing of the Barbarians, Ariæus said, "Clearchus, O Greeks! having violated his oath, and the articles of peace, is punished with just death; but Proxenus and Menon, who gave information of his crimes, are rewarded with the King's favour. Of you, the King demands your arms, which he says, are now his property, because they belonged to Cyrus, who was his slave." Cleanor, the Orchomenian, speaking in the name of the rest, replied indignantly to this demand, reproaching the perfidy of Ariæus, who had betrayed the friends and benefactors of his master Cyrus; and who co-operated with the enemy of that master, the deceitful and

³² Xenoph. p. 288. et seq.

impious Tissaphernes. The Persian endeavoured to justify himself, by repeating his accusation of Clearchus. Upon which Xenophon observed, "That Clearchus, if guilty of perjury, had been justly punished; but where are Proxenus and Menon, who are *your* benefactors, and *our* commanders? Let them, at least, be sent to us, since it is evident that their friendship for both parties will make them advise what is best for both." This reasonable request it was impossible to elude; and the Barbarians, after long conferring together, departed without attempting to answer.³³ Their mean duplicity in this interview, sufficiently indicated the unhappy treatment of the Grecian commanders, who were kept in close captivity, and afterwards sent to Artaxerxes, by whose order they were put to death.

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XXV.³³ Xenoph. p. 289.

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Consternation of the Greeks. — Manly advice of Xenophon. — Their Retreat. — Difficulties attending it. — Surmounted by their Skill and Perseverance. — Their Sufferings among the Carduchian Mountains. — They traverse Armenia. — First behold the Sea from Mount Theches. — Defeat the Colchians. — Description of the southern Shore of the Euxine. — Transactions with the Greek Colonies there. — The Greeks arrive at Byzantium. — Enter into the Service of Seuthes. — His History. — Conjunct Expeditions of the Greeks and Thracians. — The Greeks return to the Service of their Country.

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Consternation
of the
Greeks.

THE perfidious assassination of their commanders, converted the alarm and terror that had hitherto reigned in the Grecian camp, into consternation and despair. This dreadful catastrophe completed the afflictions of men distant about twelve hundred miles from their native land; surrounded by craggy mountains, deep and rapid rivers; by famine, war, and the treachery of their allies, still more formidable than the resentment of their enemies. The soldiers reflected, that it was dangerous to depart, yet more dangerous to remain; provisions could be acquired only at the point of the sword; every country was hostile; although they conquered

one enemy, another would be still ready to receive them ; they wanted cavalry to pursue the Barbarians, or to elude their pursuit ; victory itself would be fruitless ; defeat, certain ruin.

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Manly advice of
Xenophon ;

Amidst these melancholy reflections they had spent the greater part of the night, when Xenophon the Athenian, inspired, as he acknowledges, by a favourable dream, and animated, as his conduct approves, by the energies of a virtuous mind awakened and emboldened by adversity, undertook, amidst the general dejection and dismay, the care of his own and of the public safety. Having assembled the captains belonging to the division of his beloved Proxenus, he faithfully represented to them their situation, which, dangerous as it was, ought not to sink brave men to despair. Even in the worst circumstances, fortitude, and fortitude alone, could afford relief. They had been deceived, but not conquered, by the Barbarians ; whose perfidious violation of faith, friendship, and hospitality, rendered them odious and contemptible to men and gods ; the gods, who were the umpires of the contest, and whose assistance could make the cause of justice and valour prevail over every superiority of strength and numbers. ¹

The manly piety of Xenophon was communicated, by a generous sympathy, to the breasts of his hearers ; who, dispersing through the various quarters of the camp, summoned together the

who, together with Cheirisophus the Spartan, is

¹ Xenoph. p. 295.

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named to
the chief
command.

principal officers in the army. To them Xenophon addressed a similar discourse, encouraging them by every argument that philosophy, experience, and particularly their own experience, and that of the Grecian history, could afford, to expect success from their own bravery and the favour of Heaven, and to disdain the offers of accommodation (if such should be made) from their impious foes, whose insidious friendship had always proved more hurtful than their open enmity. The hearty approbation of the Spartan Cheirisophus added weight and authority to the persuasive eloquence of the Athenian, who farther advised that the soldiers should substitute commanders in the room of those whom they had lost; disentangle themselves from every superfluous incumbrance that might obstruct the progress of their march, and advance with all expedition towards the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, in the form of a hollow square, having the baggage and its attendants in the middle, and presenting the valour of their battalions on every side to the enemy. These resolutions were unanimously approved by the council, after which they were referred to the assembled troops, by whom they were readily confirmed, and carried into immediate execution.² Timasion, Xanthicles, Cleanor, Philyfias, succeeded to the late commanders; Xenophon supplied the place of his friend Proxenus; and so ably was the ascendant of Spartan and Athenian virtue maintained

² Xenoph. p. 299.

by him and Cheirisophus, that the names of their unequal colleagues will seldom occur in the following narrative of this illustrious retreat.

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The
Greeks
harassed in
their re-
treat by
the Per-
sian arch-
ers and
cavalry.

The greater part of the day had been employed in preparation; and, in the afternoon, the troops having passed the Zabatus, pursued their march in the disposition recommended by Xenophon. But they had not proceeded far, before their rear was harassed by the Persian archers and cavalry, which afforded them a very inauspicious presage of the hardships to which they must be continually exposed in eighteen days' journey along the level frontiers of Media. It was difficult to repel these light skirmishers, and impossible to attack them without being exposed to considerable loss; because a detachment of heavy-armed men, or even of targeteers, could not overtake them in a short space, nor could it continue the pursuit without being cut off from the rest of the army. Xenophon, with more valour than prudence, tried the unfortunate experiment; but was obliged to retreat fighting, and brought back his men wounded, disheartened and disgraced.³

But this unfortunate event neither disheartened nor disgraced the commander. He ingenuously acknowledged his error, which, pernicious as it was, had taught the Greeks their wants. They wanted cavalry and light-armed troops; the former of which might be obtained by equipping for war the baggage-horses which had been

They
equip their
sumpter
horses for
war, and
furnish the
Rhodians
with
slings.

³ Xenoph. p. 306. et seq.

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taken from the enemy ; and the latter might be supplied by the Rhodians (well skilled in the sling), of whom there were great numbers in the army. This advice was approved : a company of fifty horsemen was soon raised, the men vying with each other to obtain the honour of this distinguished service ; and two hundred Rhodians were drawn from the ranks, who furnished themselves with slings and leaden balls, which reached twice as far as the stones employed by the Barbarians. The horsemen wore buff coats and corslets ; they were commanded by Licius, the Athenian. ⁴

Their success in consequence of these measures.

The utility of these preparations was discovered as soon as the enemy renewed their assaults, with a thousand horse, and four thousand slingers and archers. The newly-raised troops advanced with boldness and celerity, being assured that their unequal attack would be sustained by the targeteers and heavy-armed men. But the Persians, not waiting to receive them, fled in scattered disorder ; the Greeks pursued, took many prisoners, made great slaughter, and mangled the bodies of the slain, in order to terrify, by such a dreadful spectacle of revenge, their cowardly and perfidious enemies. ⁵

New difficulties with which they had to struggle.

After this advantage, the army continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, and the western boundaries of Media, meeting with many rich and populous villages, from which they were supplied with provisions ; and admiring, as they

⁴ Xenoph. p. 307.

⁵ Ibid. p. 308.

passed along, the immense walls, the lofty and durable pyramids, the spacious but deserted cities, which testified the ancient greatness of that flourishing kingdom, before the Medes reluctantly submitted to the oppressive government of Persia. The Barbarians still endeavoured to annoy them, but with very little success, unless when they passed a bridge or any narrow defile. On such occasions, the square form, in which they had hitherto marched, was found doubly inconvenient.* In order to traverse such a passage, the soldiers were obliged to close the wings, and to crowd into a narrow space, which disordered the ranks, and made them obstruct each other. When they had crossed the bridge or defile, they were again obliged to run with all haste, in order to extend the wings, and resume their ranks, which occasioned a void in the centre, and much disheartened the men, thus exposed to the sudden attack of the pursuers.

To obviate both inconveniences, the Greeks separated from the army six companies, each consisting of an hundred men. These were subdivided into smaller bodies, of fifty and twenty-five, each division of the company, as well as the whole, commanded by proper officers. When it became necessary to close the wings, in order to pass a defile, these troops staid behind, thus disburdening the army of a superfluous mass, and thereby enabling them to proceed without confusion in their ranks. After the passage was

Sur-
mounted
by their
military
skill.

* Xenoph. p. 510.

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The
Greeks
approach
the coun-
try of the
Cardu-
chians.

effected, the army might again extend their wings, and assume the same loose arrangement as before, without exposing the centre to danger; because the vacuity left there was immediately supplied by the detached companies; the opening, if small, being filled up by the six divisions of an hundred men each; if larger, by the twelve divisions of fifty; and if very large, by the twenty-four divisions of twenty-five?; as the same number of men, in proportion to the number of columns into which they were divided, would occupy a wider extent of ground.⁸

With this useful precaution the Greeks performed a successful march to the mountains of the Carduchians, where the enemy's cavalry could no longer annoy them. But here, they found new difficulties, far more formidable than those with which they had hitherto been obliged to contend. The Tigris, on their left, was so deep and rapid, that the passage appeared absolutely impracticable. Before them rose the high and craggy mountains, which overshadowed the river, inhabited by a warlike race of men,

⁷ Xenoph. p. 310.

⁸ I have explained this matter minutely, because the words of Xenophon are mistaken by great military writers. Major Mauvillon, a skilful engineer and excellent scholar, proposes a transposition of the words of Xenophon, that the greater gaps may be filled up by the greater divisions. He justly observes, that no translator or commentator has taken notice of the difficulty that naturally presents itself on reading the passage, which however, I hope, is sufficiently perspicuous in the text. See *l'Essai sur l'Influence de la Poudre à Canon, &c.*; a work which, I believe, no military man can read without receiving from it instruction and entertainment.

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Ingenious
contrivance of a
Rhodian
for passing
the Tigris.

whose barbarous independence had always defied the arms⁹ of Persia, as that of their successors, the modern Curdes, still defies the power of the Turks, to whom they are but nominally subject.¹⁰ While the Greeks doubted what course to pursue, a certain Rhodian undertook to deliver them from their perplexity, provided they gave him a talent to reward his labour. "I shall want, besides," continued he, "two thousand leather bags, which may be obtained by flaying the sheep, goats, oxen, and asses, which the country affords in such numbers as you see around us. The skins may be blown, tied at end, and fastened together by the girts belonging to the sumpter horses, then covered with fascines, and lastly with earth. I shall use large stones instead of anchors; every bag will bear two men, whom the fascines and earth will prevent from slipping, and whom, with very little labour on their part, the rapidity of the current will waft across the river."¹¹

This ingenious contrivance was commended, but not carried into execution; the Grecians having learned from some prisoners recently taken, that the road through the country of the Carduchians would soon conduct them to the spacious and plentiful province of Armenia. Thither they fearlessly penetrated, regardless of the report, that under a former reign, a Persian army of an hundred and twenty thousand men had been cut off by those fierce Barbarians, whose

The sufferings
of the
Greeks
among the
mountains
of the Car-
duchians.

⁹ Xenoph. p. 315.

¹⁰ Rauwolfe's Travels.

¹¹ Xenoph. p. 314.

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manners were more rude and inhospitable than the mountains which they inhabited. At the approach of the Greeks, the Carduchians retired to their fastnesses, leaving the villages in the plain at the mercy of the invaders. The troops were restrained from injury ; but their inoffensive behaviour, and kind invitations to peace, were regarded with contempt by the common enemies of the Greeks, of the Persians, and of human kind. They seized every opportunity to obstruct the march of the army ; and though unprepared for a close engagement, used with extraordinary effect their bows, three cubits long, which they bent by pressing the lower part with their left foot. The arrows were near as long as the bows ; and their well fashioned points pierced the firmest shields and corslets. The Greeks employed their skill in tactics, and their valour, to elude, or to repel, the assault of these dangerous foes, from whom they suffered more in seven days than they had done in as many weeks from the bravest troops of Artaxerxes.¹² At length they arrived at the river Centrites, two hundred feet broad, which forms the southern boundary of Armenia, having just reason to rejoice that they had escaped the weapons of the Carduchians, whose brethren, the ¹³ Parthians, with the same arms and address, became formidable to Rome, when Rome was formidable to the world.¹⁴

¹² Xenoph. p. 218—226.¹³ Strabo, l. xvi. p. 515.¹⁴ Plut. in Crasso & Marc. Anton.

The month of January was employed in traversing the fruitful plains of Armenia¹⁵, which are beautifully diversified by hills of easy ascent. Teribazus, the Persian governor of the province, entered into an agreement with the generals, that if they abstained from hostilities, he would not obstruct their march, but furnish them plentifully with provisions. But this league was perfidiously violated. The Greeks had recourse to arms; pursued Teribazus; assaulted and plundered his camp.¹⁶ Next day they were exposed to a more dangerous contest, in which neither skill nor valour could avail. The snow fell in such quantities during the night, as completely covered the men with their arms. Their bodies were benumbed and parched with the piercing coldness of the north wind. Many slaves and sumpter horses perished, with about thirty soldiers. The rest could scarcely be persuaded by Xenophon to put themselves in motion, which was known to be the only remedy for their distress; and as the severity of the weather still continued during the remainder of their march through Armenia, several soldiers lost their sight by the glare of the snow, and their toes and fingers by the intenseness of the cold.¹⁷ The eyes were best defended by wearing something black before them; the feet were preserved by

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They tra-
verse Ar-
menia.

In danger
of perish-
ing by the
intense
cold of
that
country.

¹⁵ There the Greeks found πάντα τα επιτήδεια, ὅσα εἰν ἀγαθὰ, ἰσπρία, σππον, οἶνους παλαιους εὐωδεις, ἀσπίδας, ὀσπρια παντοδαπα; "all kinds of necessaries, and even luxuries, victims, corn, old fragrant wines, dried grapes, and all sorts of pulse."

¹⁶ Xenoph. p. 328.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 329. & seq.

CHAP. constant motion in the day, and by stripping
XXVI. bare in the night.

Proceed
 through
 the terri-
 tories of
 the Tao-
 chians.

From Armenia they proceeded to the country of the Taochians ; who, alarmed by the approach of an unknown enemy, had abandoned their vallies, and taken refuge on the mountains, with their wives, children, and cattle. Hither also they had conveyed all their provisions ; so that the Greeks were obliged to attack these fastnesses, otherwise the army must have starved. The Barbarians boldly defended them, by letting fly innumerable vollies of stones down the precipices. But this artillery was at length exhausted ; the Greeks became masters of the heights ; and a dreadful scene followed. The women first threw their children down the rocks and then themselves. The men imitated this frantic example of despair ; so that the assailants made few prisoners, but took a considerable quantity of sheep, oxen, and asses.¹⁸

The fierce
 and fear-
 less char-
 acter of
 the Chaly-
 beans.

From thence the army proceeded with uncommon celerity through the bleak and rocky country of the Chalybeans ; marching, in seven days, about an hundred and fifty miles. The Chalybeans were the fiercest nation in all those parts. They wore for their defence linen corslets, greaves, and helmets ; they carried a short faulchion at their girdles ; and attacked with pikes fifteen cubits long. Instead of discovering any symptoms of flight or fear, they sang, danced, and rejoiced, at the approach of an enemy. They

¹⁸ Xenoph. p. 338.

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boldly defended their villages, not declining even a close engagement with the Greeks ; who, unable to supply themselves with any thing from this inhospitable and warlike country in their dangerous march through it, subsisted entirely on the cattle lately taken from the Taochians.¹⁹

The river Harpasus, four hundred feet broad, separated the territories of the Chalybeans and Scythinians. From the latter, the Greeks met with little resistance, in a march of thirteen days, which brought them to the lofty mount Theches, a place held in particular devotion by the inhabitants of the neighbouring territory. The vanguard had no sooner ascended this sacred mountain, than the army were alarmed by loud shouts, which continued to redouble with increasing violence. It was imagined that some new form of danger had appeared, or that some new enemy was ready to assail them. The rear advanced with all possible expedition to the assistance of their companions ; but having arrived within hearing, were seized with the most pleasing astonishment, when their ears were saluted from every quarter with the repetition, “ The sea ! the sea ! ” the sight of which, a sight so long wished in vain, at first filled them with transports, of tumultuous joy, and afterwards recalled more distinctly the remembrance of their parents, their friends, their country, and every object of their most tender concern.²⁰ The soldiers, with tears in their eyes, embraced each other, and em-

The
Greeks
arrive at
mount
Theches,
from
which they
behold the
sea.

¹⁹ Xenoph. p. 358.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 359.

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braced their commanders; and then, as by a hidden consent of sympathy, (for it was never known by whose orders,) heaped up a mount of stones, which they covered with barbaric arms, as a trophy of their memorable journey through so many fierce and hostile nations.

They pass
through
the coun-
try of the
Macro-
nians.

The distant prospect of the Euxine made them forget that they had not yet attained the end of their labours. A space, indeed, of less than sixty miles intervened; but it was covered by the trackless forests of the Macronians, and by the abrupt and intricate windings of the Colchian mountains. A fortunate circumstance enabled them without difficulty to surmount the first of those obstacles. Among the Grecian targeteers was a man who understood the language of the Barbarians. He had been carried to Athens in his youth, where he had served as a slave. At the sight of the Macronians, he recognised his long-forgotten countrymen; and having addressed them in terms of friendship and respect, engaged them to exchange presents, and to enter into alliance with the Greeks²¹, whom they plentifully supplied with provisions, and having cut down the trees that interrupted their passage, conducted them in three days to the western frontier of Colchos.

Enter Col-
chos.

This country, so famous in the fables of antiquity²², was inhabited by an ancient colony of Egyptians, who long preserved pure from any foreign admixture, not only their original lan-

²¹ Xenoph. p. 340.

²² See vol. i. p. 19. & seq.

guage, but the singular manners, and the more singular rites and ceremonies, of their mother-country.²³ Though distinguished in other respects from the neighbouring nations, whom they despised, and to whom they seemed despicable, they agreed with them in their jealousy of the Greeks, whose flourishing colonies along the southern shores of the Euxine threatened the safety of their dominions. They assembled therefore from all quarters, occupied the heights, and prepared to dispute the passage with obstinacy. Their numbers, their discipline, their arms, but, still more, their situation, rendered them formidable. If the Greeks advanced in a phalanx, or full line, their ranks would be broken by the inequalities of the ground, the centre would be disordered, and the superior numbers of the enemy would outreach either wing.²⁴ These inconveniences might partly be remedied by making such parts of the line, as had an easy ascent, wait for the slow and difficult progress of their companions; and, by extending the phalanx in length, and leaving very few men in file, their front might be rendered equal to that of the Colchians. But the first of these operations would have too long exposed the army to the darts and arrows of the Barbarians, and the second would have so much enfeebled the line, as must have rendered it liable to be penetrated. Amidst this choice of difficulties, Xenophon proposed, and the proposal was readily approved

²³ Herodot. l. xi. c. 104.²⁴ Idem, p. 341.

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by his colleagues, that the heavy-armed men should be divided into companies of an hundred each, and that each division should be thrown into a separate column. The wide intervals between the columns might thus enable the smaller army to extend on the right and left beyond the enemy's line; each company or division might ascend the mountain wherever they found it most convenient; the bravest men might be led first to the charge; the depth of the columns²⁵ could not possibly be penetrated; nor could the enemy fall into the intervals between them, without being cut off by the divisions on either side, which might be arranged in such a manner as to relieve, encourage, and support each other.

Defeat the
Colchians.

This judicious disposition was attended with the expected success. The heavy-armed men formed eighty companies; the targeteers and archers, divided into three bodies, each of about six hundred men, flanked the army on the right and left. Their third division, consisting chiefly of Arcadians, occupied a distinguished place in the centre. Thus disposed for battle, the wings of the Grecian army, and particularly the targeteers and archers, who were most capable of

²⁵ The *λοχος ορθιος* is defined by Arrian to be a body of men, with the files longer than the ranks; that is, with more men in depth than in front. The *φαλαγγις*, without any epithet, means the contrary. But the *φαλαγγις ορθια* is an army, as the same author tells us, *ὅταν ἐν κεραις πορευηται*, that is, having more men in depth than in front, and employing, for some extraordinary reason, what is naturally the line of march as an order of battle.

expedition, advanced with celerity to the attack. The enemy, who saw them approach, and who perceived that on either hand they outreached their line, filed to the right and left in order to receive them. By this movement they left a void in their centre, towards which the Arcadian targeters, supported by the nearest columns, advanced with rapidity, and soon gained the summit. They could thus fight on equal terms with the Barbarians, who thinking that they had lost all, when they lost the advantage of the ground, no longer offered resistance, but fled on every side with disordered trepidation, leaving the Greeks masters of the field of battle, as well as of the numerous villages in that ²⁶ neighbourhood, and within two days' march of the Euxine sea, without any other enemy to oppose their long-disputed passage thither.

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The southern shore of the Euxine, which actually presents one uniform scene of effeminate indolence and sullen tyranny, anciently contained many barbarous, but warlike, tribes, totally independent on each other, and scarcely acknowledging any dependence on the King of Persia. That part which extends towards the east and the borders of mount Caucasus, and which afterwards formed the kingdom of the great Mithridates, was inhabited by the Colchians, Drillians, Mysonæcians, and Tybarenians; the middle division was possessed by the Paphlagonians, who gloried in the irresistible prowess of their numerous cavalry; and the western parts, ex-

Descrip-
tion of the
southern
shore of
the Eux-
ine.

²⁶ Xenoph. p. 342.

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The
Greek
colony of
Sinopé.

tending two hundred miles from Heraclea to the Thracian Bosphorus, were occupied by the inhospitable Bithynians; a colony of Thrace, who excelled and delighted in war, which, like their ancestors in Europe, they carried on with a savage fury.²⁷

Amidst the formidable hostility of those numerous nations arose, at wide intervals, several Grecian cities, which enlivened the barbaric gloom, and displayed the peculiar glory of their arts and arms. Sinopé, the mother and the queen of those cities, was advantageously situated on a narrow isthmus which joined its territory, consisting in a small but fertile²⁸ peninsula, to the province of Paphlagonia. The foundation of Sinopé remounted to the highest antiquity, and was ascribed to Antolycus, one of the Argonauts.²⁹ The city was afterwards increased by a powerful accession of Milesians. It possessed convenient harbours on either side of the isthmus. The peninsula was surrounded by sharp rocks, which rendered it inaccessible to an enemy; and the sea abounded with the tunny fish, which flow in shoals from the Palus Mæotis, where they are supposed to be³⁰ bred, to the Euxine and Propontis.

²⁷ See Dionysius Periegetes, and Arrian's Periplus.

²⁸ Tournefort, v. iii. p. 46., says, it is about six miles in circumference.

²⁹ See the account of the Argonautic expedition, vol. i. p. 19. et seq. Strabo, l. xii. p. 546., who gives us this information, says farther, that Lucullus, when he took the town, carried away the statue of Antolycus.

³⁰ Tournefort, Voyage au Levant.

Such multiplied advantages rendered the Sinopians populous and powerful. They diffused their colonies to the east and west. It is not improbable that they founded Heraclæa³¹, on the frontier of Bithynia; and it is certain that they built Cotyora in the territory of the Tybarenians, Cerasus in that of the Mysonæcians, and Trapezus in that of the Drillians.

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The Sinopians found new colonies on that coast.

Trapezus, or Trebizond, was the first friendly city at which the Grecians arrived, after spending more than a twelvemonth in almost continual travelling and war. The numerous inhabitants of this flourishing sea-port, which has now decayed into the much neglected harbour of Platana³², received them with open arms, generously supplied their wants, and treated them with all the endearing yet respectful hospitality of kinsmen, who commiserated their sufferings, and admired their virtue. The Grecians, on their part, displayed a very just and becoming sense of the evils which they had escaped, and of their actual security. In the fervour of religious gratitude, they paid the solemn vows and sacrifices which they had promised to Jupiter the preserver, and the other gods and heroes, whose

The Greeks are hospitably received at Trebizond.

³¹ Strabo, l. xii. p. 542., calls Heraclæa a colony of the Milesians, by whom we may understand the Sinopians, who were themselves a colony of that people. Xenophon, however, calls Heraclæa a colony of Megareans. Xenoph. Anab. p. 358.

³² Tournefort, l. xvii. The place is still large but depopulated; containing more woods and gardens than houses, and those only of one story: yet the town retains the form of an oblong square, the modern walls being built on the ruins of the ancient, the shape of which occasioned the name of Trapezus, from the Greek word signifying a table. Tournefort, *ibid.*

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bountiful protection had hitherto conducted them through so many known, and so many concealed dangers. They afterwards celebrated, with much pomp and festivity, the gymnastic games and exercises; an entertainment equally agreeable to themselves, to the citizens of Trebizond, and to the divinities whom they both adored. When these essential duties, for such the Greeks deemed them, had been performed with univereal satisfaction, the soldiers, who were unwilling to be burthensome to their Trebizontian friends, found sufficient employment in providing for their own subsistence, and that of their numerous attendants. For several days they ravaged the neighbouring villages of the Colchians and Drillians; and, while they cruelly harassed the enemies, they carefully respected the allies, of Trebizond. Their repeated devastations at length ruined the country immediately around them, so that the foraging parties could no longer set out and return on the same day; nor could they penetrate deep into the territory, without being endangered by the nocturnal assaults of the Barbarians. These circumstances rendered it necessary for them to think of their departure; on which account an assembly was convened to fix the proper time, and to regulate the mode and plan of their future journey.³³

Cheiriso-
phus sails
to the
Helles-
pont to

In this important deliberation, the soldiers very generally embraced the opinion of Antileon of Thuria, who told them that, for his

³³ Xenoph. p. 343. et seq.

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demand
transports
from the
Spartan
admiral.

part, he was already tired with packing up his baggage, marching, running, mounting guard, and fighting, and now wished, after all his labours, to perform the remainder of the journey like Ulysses, and, stretched out at his ease, to be carried asleep³⁴ into Greece. That this pleasing proposal might be put in execution, Cheirisophus sailed to the Hellespont, hoping to obtain ships from Anaxibius, who commanded the Spartan fleet in that sea. But in case such a request could not be conveniently granted, the soldiers determined to demand a few ships of war from the inhabitants of Trebizond, with which they intended to put to sea, and to capture whatever merchantmen they might meet with in the Euxine, in order to employ them as transports.³⁵

Several weeks elapsed without bringing any news of Cheirisophus, or promising any hope of assistance from the Spartan admiral. Mean-

Mean-
while the
Greeks
capture
the
merchant-
men in the

³⁴ Thus was Ulysses transported by the Phæacians, who placed him sleeping on the shore of Ithaca :

‘Οἱ δὲ εὐδόντ’ ἐν νηὶ δῶν ἐπὶ ποντοῦ ἀγορτες
Καθέσαν ἐν Ἰθάκῃ, &c. *Odyss.* xiii. 133.

The beautiful images which the poet, in the same book, gives of the pleasures of rest, after immoderate labour, played about the fancy of Antileon :

Καὶ τῷ νηδύμος ὄπνος ἐπὶ βλεφαροῖσι ἐπίπτε
Νηγρετός, ἥδιστος, δαυατὴ ἀγχίστα εὐκούς. v. 80.

And again ; “ The ship cut the waves with a rapidity which the flight of the swiftest hawk could not accompany, carrying a man

‘Ὅς πρὶν μὲν μάλα πολλὰ πῶβ’ ἀλγέα δὲ κατὰ θυμὸν
Λύθρον τε πτολέμοις, ἀλαγρυπία τε κυμάτα πείρων
Ἀπὸ τότε γ’ ἀτρεμὸς εὐδα, λολασμένος ὅσσ’ ἐκπασθεῖ.”

³⁵ Xenoph. p. 345.

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Euxine;
in which
they trans-
port their
sick, &c.
to Cerasus.

better name, infested the Euxine sea. Dexippus, the Lacedæmonian, with a degree of perfidy worthy of his commission, betrayed his companions, and sailed off with the galley which he commanded.³⁶ But Polycrates, the Athenian, behaved with an ardour and fidelity which even robbers sometimes display in their transactions with each other; and his successful diligence soon collected such a number of vessels as served to transport to Cerasus the aged, the infirm, the women, and baggage; while the strength of the army, consisting of men below their fortieth year, reached the same place in three days' march.³⁷

Transac-
tions of the
Greeks at
that place.

The colony of Cerasus, or Cerazunt, was delightfully situate near the sea, among hills of easy ascent, covered in every age³⁸ with whole woods of cherry-trees, from which, in all probability, the place derived its name.³⁹ From thence the voluptuous Lucullus, in the six hundred and eightieth year of Rome, first brought into Italy this delightful plant, which ancient naturalists scarcely believed capable of thriving in an Italian sky; but which actually adorns the bleakest and most northern regions of our own island. At Cerasus the Greeks remained ten days, disposing of their booty, supplying their

³⁶ Xenoph. p. 345.

³⁷ Xenoph. p. 349.

³⁸ Tournefort.

³⁹ *Κεραρός*, cerasus, cerise, cherry. For a similar reason, Tadmor in the desert was called Palmyra, à *palmis*, the palm tree. Tournefort mentions it as the opinion of St. Jerom, that the place gave name to the fruit. The difference is not material.

wants, and reviewing the army, which still amounted to eight thousand six hundred men, the rest having perished by fatigue, war, cold, and sickness.⁴⁰

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After this necessary delay, the less active portion again embarked, while the vigorous youth pursued their journey through the romantic country of the Mosynæcians; a barbarous, yet powerful tribe, who received their singular denomination from the wooden houses, or rather towers, which they inhabited⁴¹; and which, either by chance or design, were scattered in such a manner among the hills and vallies, that, at the distance of eight miles, the villages could hear and alarm each other.⁴² The army next proceeded through the dark and narrow district of the Chalybians, who subsisted by the working of iron; and whose toilsome labours, rugged mountains, and more rugged manners⁴³, must have formed a striking contrast with the smiling plains, the pastoral life⁴⁴, the innocent and hospitable character of their Tyberenian neighbours; who treated the Greeks with every mark of friendship and respect, and conducted them, with attentive civility, to the city of Cotyora.

They traverse the territories of the Mosynæcians;

Chalybians;

and Tyberenians.

It might be expected, that the army, having reached the country of their friends and kinsmen, should have been disposed peaceably to

Dissensions in the camp soon

⁴⁰ Xenoph. p. 349.

⁴¹ *Μοσυν & οικου.*

⁴² Xenoph. p. 351.

⁴³ *Idein,* p. 354.

⁴⁴ Dionysius Periegetes qualifies them by the epithet *πολυθηρες*, abounding in sheep.

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after their
arrival in
Cotyora.

enjoy the fruits of their past labours and dangers. If they were unwilling to expose themselves to fresh hostilities from the warlike inhabitants of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, they might have waited the arrival of ships from Sinopé and Heraclæa, or from the Spartan admiral in the Hellespont, who would either retain them in his own service, or transport them to the Chersonesus, to Byzantium, and to other cities and territories, which, being lately conquered by Sparta, required the vigilant protection of brave and numerous garrisons. But it is more easy for men to repel the assaults of external violence, than to elude the effects of their own ungovernable passions. The Greeks were involved in real danger, in proportion as they attained apparent security. During the long course of their laborious journey, the terror of unknown Barbarians hanging over them, maintained their discipline and their union. But the air of a Grecian colony at once dissolved both. They, who in the remote regions of the East had acted with one soul, and regarded each other as brethren, again felt the unhappy influence of their provincial distinctions. The army was divided by separate interests, and warped by partial affections. Those who had acquired wealth, desired to return home to enjoy it. Those who were destitute of fortune, longed to plunder friends and foes, Greeks and Barbarians. The commanders despised and deceived the troops; the troops clamoured against, and insulted the commanders. Both were really in

the wrong ; and both suspected and accused each other of imaginary crimes, of which none were guilty.

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Xenophon, who, with wonderful address, has justified himself from every reproach⁴⁵ that can reflect either on his understanding or his heart, does not deny an imputation to which he was exposed by discovering (somewhat, perhaps, unseasonably) the just and extensive views of a philosopher. When he surveyed the southern shores of the Euxine, covered in ancient times, as well as they are at present, with tall and majestic forest trees, admirably adapted to ship-building ; when he considered the convenience of the harbours, and the productions of the neighbouring territory, consisting in flax, iron, and every commodity most necessary in raising a naval power, he was ambitious of establishing a new settlement, which the numbers, the valour, and the activity of his followers, must soon render superior to the other Grecian colonies on the Euxine, or perhaps in any part of Asia. But this noble design, which might have proved so useful and honourable to the army, was blasted by the mean jealousy of his enemies. Xenophon was reproached with forming projects equally romantic and dangerous ; and accused of an intention to keep the soldiers from home, that they might continue dependent on himself, and that he might increase his own fame and fortune at the risk of the public safety.⁴⁶

Xenophon's great views defeated by the mean jealousy of his enemies.

⁴⁵ Xenoph. p. 567.

⁴⁶ Idem, p. 559. et seq.

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Sufferings
of the
Greeks in
their
march
through
Bithynia.

The mutinous and distracted spirit of the troops rendered all their future measures weak and wavering. The terror which they inspired, and their wants, which it was necessary to supply, made them very unwelcome guests at Cotyora, Sinopé, and Heraclæa, at which places they continued several months, under pretence of waiting for transports, but meanwhile plundering the neighbouring country, laying the cities under contribution, and threatening them with burdens that far exceeded their resources. The inhabitants of Heraclæa, while they affected to weigh and consider those unreasonable demands, removed their effects from the villages, shut the gates of their city, and placed armed men on the walls. Cheirisophus had by this time returned with vessels from Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, but not sufficiently numerous to transport so great an army. The soldiers thus disappointed of their hopes, and discontented with their commanders, and with each other, rashly undertook, in separate bodies, the dangerous journey through Bithynia, a country extending two hundred miles from Heraclæa to Byzantium, and totally inhabited, or rather wasted, by the Thynians, a Thracian tribe, the most cruel and inhospitable of the human race. In this expedition they lost above a thousand men; and the destruction must have been much greater, had not the generous boldness of Xenophon seasonably led his own division to the assistance of those who had deserted his standard. Cheirisophus was soon afterwards killed by a medicine given to him in

a fever. The sole command devolved on Xenophon; not by appointment, but by the voluntary submission of the troops to his superior mind. He at length taught them to defeat the irregular fury of the Thynians; and, after collecting many slaves, and much useful booty, conducted them in safety to Chrysopolis⁴⁷, which is now known by the name of Scutari, and considered as the Asiatic suburb of Constantinople.

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After the death of Cheiriso-phus, are conducted by Xenophon to Byzantium.

The neighbourhood of a Grecian colony seemed infectious to the temper of the troops. At Byzantium their mutinous spirits were again thrown into fermentation. Cleander, the governor of that city, who had come down to meet them, narrowly escaped death during the fury of a military sedition. Their behaviour rendered them the objects of terror to all the inhabitants of those parts. The Lacedæmonians dreaded the assistance of such dangerous allies; and the satrap Pharnabazus, alarmed for the safety of his province, practised with Anaxibius, who commanded in the Hellespont, to allure them, by fair promises, into Europe. Gained by the bribes of the Persian, not only Anaxibius, but his successor, Aristarchus, made proposals of advantage to the army, which he had not any intention to fulfil. The troops, enraged at this disappointment, and still more at the treachery of the Spartan commanders, would have attacked and plundered Byzantium, had they not been restrained by the wisdom and authority of Xenophon, who, struggling like a skilful pilot against

The mutinous spirit of the troops breaks out afresh at Byzantium.

⁴⁷ Xenoph. p. 277. et seq.

C H A P. this unruly tempest, prevented the perpetration
 XXVI. of a crime which must have exposed them to immediate danger, and covered them with eternal infamy.⁴⁸

Xenophon dissuades them from plundering that place.

With tears and prayers, he conjured them “not to tarnish, by the destruction of a Grecian city, the glory of a campaign signalized by so many illustrious victories over the Barbarians. What hopes of safety could they entertain, if, after unsuccessfully attempting to dethrone the King of Persia, they should provoke the resentment of Sparta? Destitute as they were of friends, of money, of subsistence, and reduced by their misconduct to a handful of men, could they expect to insult with impunity the two greatest powers in the world? The experience of late years ought to correct their folly. They had seen that even Athens, in the zenith of her greatness, possessed of four hundred gallies, an annual revenue of a thousand talents, and ten times that sum in her treasury; Athens, who commanded all the islands, and occupied many cities both in Asia and Europe, among which was Byzantium itself, the present object of their frantic ambition, had yielded to the arms of Sparta, whose authority was actually acknowledged in every part of Greece. What madness, then, for men in *their* friendless condition, a mixed assemblage of different nations, to attack the dominions of a people whose valour was irresistible, and from whose vengeance it was impossible for them to fly, without flying from

⁴⁸ Xenoph. p. 399. et seq.

their country, and taking refuge among those hostile Barbarians, from whom, for nearly two years past, they had met with nothing but cruelty, injustice, persecution, and treachery?"

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The seasonable remonstrances of Xenophon saved Byzantium ; but it is probable that neither the weight of argument, nor the power of eloquence, would have long restrained the discontented and needy troops from attempting other enterprises of a similar nature, if an opportunity had not fortunately presented itself of employing their dangerous activity in the service of Seuthes, a bold and successful adventurer of Lower Thrace. Mæsadæ, the father of Seuthes, reigned over the Melandæptans, the Thynians, and the Thranipsans, who inhabited the European shores of the Propontis and Euxine sea. The licentious turbulence of his subjects compelled him to fly from his dominions. He took refuge with Medocus, king of the Odrysians, the most powerful tribe in Upper Thrace, with whose family his own had long been connected by the sacred ties of hospitality. Medocus kindly received, and generously entertained, the father ; and, after his decease, continued the same protection and bounty to his son, Seuthes. But the independent spirit of the young prince disdained, as he expresses it, to live like a dog at another man's table. He desired horses and soldiers from Medocus, that he might acquire subsistence for himself. His request was granted ; his incursions were successful ; the terror of his name filled all the maritime parts of Thrace ; and there was

The
Greeks
invited
into the
service of
Seuthes ;

his history.

C H A P. reason to believe that if he could join the Grecian
 XXVI. forces to his own, he might easily regain possession of his hereditary dominions.⁴⁹

Their
 agreement
 with that
 prince.

For this purpose, he sent to Xenophon Medosades, a Thracian, who, understanding the Greek language, was usually employed as his ambassador. The terms of the treaty were soon agreed on. Seuthes promised each soldier a Cyzicene, (about eighteen shillings sterling,) the captains two Cyzicenes, and the generals four, of monthly pay. The money, it was observed, would be clear gain, as they might subsist by plundering the country; yet such of the booty as was not of a perishable nature, Seuthes reserved for himself, that by selling it in the maritime towns, he might provide for the pay of his new auxiliaries.⁵⁰

The
 Grecian
 commanders
 entertained
 in the
 camp of
 Seuthes.

Having communicated their designs to the army, the Grecian commanders followed Medosades to the camp of Seuthes, which was distant about six miles from the coast of Perinthus, a city of considerable note in the neighbourhood of Byzantium. They arrived after sun-set, but found the Barbarians awake and watchful. Seuthes himself was posted in a strong tower; horses ready bridled stood at the gate; large fires blazed at a distance, while the camp itself was concealed in darkness; precautions, however singular, yet necessary against the Thynians, who were deemed, of all men, the most dangerous enemies in the night. The Greeks were in-

⁴⁹ Xenoph. p. 393. et seq.

⁵⁰ Idem ibid.

roduced and received with rustic hospitality. Before entering on business, Seuthes challenged them to drink in large horns full of wine; then confirmed the promises of his ambassador; and still farther allured Xenophon by the hopes of receiving, besides the stipulated pay, lands and cattle, and an advantageous establishment on the sea-shore.

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Next day the Grecian army joined the camp of their new master. The commanders were again entertained with a copious feast, in which Seuthes displayed all his magnificence. After supper, the buffoons and dancers were introduced, the cup went briskly round, and the whole assembly was dissolved in merriment. But Seuthes knew how far to indulge, and when to restrain, the joy of festivity. Without allowing his revels to disturb the stillness of the night, he rose with a martial shout, imitating a man who avoided a javelin; and then addressing the Grecian captains without any sign of intoxication, desired them to have their men ready to march in a few hours, that the enemy, who were as yet unacquainted with the powerful reinforcement which he had received, might be taken unprepared, and conquered by surprise.⁵¹

The army
joins his
standard.

The camp was in motion at midnight: it was the middle of winter, and the ground was in many parts covered with a deep snow. But the Thracians, clothed in skins of foxes, were well prepared for such nocturnal expeditions. The

Conjunct
expedi-
tions of
the Greeks
and Thra-
cians.

⁵¹ Xenoph. p. 406. et seq.

C H A P. had an early opportunity to reproach his perfidy
XXVI. and ingratitude, being soon called to engage in
The a more honourable warfare⁵⁵, kindled by the re-
Greeks re- sentiment of Artaxerxes against the presumption
turn to the service of Sparta, which had so strenuously abetted the
of their country. unfortunate rebellion of Cyrus.

⁵⁵ Xenoph. p. 427.

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Tissaphernes makes war on the Greeks, by order of Artaxerxes. — Attacks the Æolian Cities. — Expedition of Thimbron. — He is succeeded by Dercyllidas. — His Treaty with Tissaphernes. — Agesilaus King of Sparta. — Cinadon's Conspiracy. — Agesilaus Commander of the Grecian Forces in Asia. — His Success. — Tissaphernes succeeded by Tithraustes. — Great Views of Agesilaus. — War rekindled in Greece. — League against Sparta. — Campaign of Lysander in Bœotia. — His Death.

It does honour rather to the modesty than to the judgment of Xenophon, that he has excluded, from his general history of Grecian affairs, the account of an expedition in which he himself acted so distinguished a part, and which immediately occasioned very important transactions both in Asia and in Europe. After the downfall of Athenian greatness, the Spartans were naturally exposed to the jealousy and resentment of Persia, by their dominion in Greece, by their conquests on the coast of Asia, by the pre-eminence of their naval power, and especially by their open participation in the rebellious designs of Cyrus. The former circumstances rendered their republic the rival of the

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Tissaphernes prepares to make war on the Lacedæmonian allies in Asia, by order of Artaxerxes. Olymp. xcv. 2. A. C. 399.

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King of Persia; but their co-operation with an ambitious rebel rendered them the personal enemies of Artaxerxes. His resolution to chastise their audacity was communicated to Tissaphernes, who, after harassing the retreat of the Greeks to the foot of the Carduchian mountains, beyond which he had not courage to follow them, returned with a powerful army towards Lower Asia, to resume the government of Caria, his hereditary province, as well as to take possession of the rich spoils of Cyrus, bestowed on him by the gratitude of his master, in return for his recent and signal services against that dangerous pretender to the throne.

Attacks
the
Æolian
cities.

Honoured with this magnificent present, Tissaphernes was naturally selected for executing the vengeance of the Great King against the Spartans. Without any formal declaration of war, which the late hostilities in the East seemed to render unnecessary, he attacked the Æolian cities; the satrap Pharnabazus readily entered into his views, and zealously concurred with all his measures. The Lacedæmonian garrison, supported by the townsmen, defended themselves with their usual courage, earnestly soliciting, however, a reinforcement from home, which might enable them to resist and to surmount such an unexpected danger. ¹

The Spar-
tans send
Thimbron
with an
army to

On this important occasion, the Spartan senate and assembly were not wanting to the assistance of their garrisons, or to the hopes of their

¹ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 480. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. p. 416.

Æolian allies. They immediately levied a body of five thousand Peloponnesian troops, and demanded a considerable supply from the Athenians. The latter sent them three hundred horsemen, who having served under the thirty tyrants, were cheerfully sacrificed to this dangerous duty by the partisans of the new democracy. The command of the joint forces was entrusted to the Spartan Thimbron, who had orders², as soon as he arrived in Æolis, to take into pay the Greeks who had engaged in the expedition of Cyrus, and who were actually employed in the dishonourable service of an ungrateful Barbarian. The mean and perfidious behaviour of Seuthes, who, in his new character of sovereign prince, still retained his original manners of a Thracian robber, rendered the proposal of joining Thimbron extremely agreeable to Xenophon, who conducted to the Lacedæmonian standard six thousand men, the venerable remains of an army ennobled by unexampled toils³, by unexampled and ⁴unimitated perseverance.

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their assistance;

which is reinforced by the Greeks who had returned from Upper Asia.

Having received this powerful reinforcement, Thimbron opened the campaign against the lieutenant of Artaxerxes, at the distance of two years after Cyrus had marched from Ephesus to dispute the crown of Persia. The first impressions of the Grecian arms were attended with

Thimbron opens the campaign with success; Olymp. xcv. 3. A. C. 598.

² Xenoph. Hellen. p. 580. Diodor. p. 416.

³ Xenoph. Anabas. l. vii. p. 427.

⁴ In the whole compass of history, ancient and modern, where do we find a parallel, any thing similar or second?

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fails in the
siege of
Larissa;

recalled
and dis-
graced;

is succeed-
ed by Der-
cyllidas;

who ad-
ministers
with great
ability.

considerable success. Thimbron took, or re-
gained, the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania,
Halisarnia, Myrina, Cymé, and Grynium. But
the walls of Larissa, a strong city in Troas, de-
fied his assault; the vigilant garrison baffled all
his contrivances for depriving them of fresh wa-
ter; and, assisted by the inhabitants of the place,
made a vigorous sally, repelled the besiegers,
and burned or demolished their works.

Nothing but continual action, and an uninter-
rupted career of victory, could restrain the li-
centious passions of the troops, composed of a
motley assemblage from so many different, and
often hostile communities. Their seditious spirit
rendered them formidable to each other, and to
the Greeks of Asia. Their rapacity spared not
the territories of the Lacedæmonian allies, who
loudly complained to the senate, ascribing the
violence of the troops to the weakness of the
general. In consequence of this representation,
Thimbron was recalled and disgraced⁵; and the
command, for which he seemed so ill-qualified,
was bestowed on Dercyllidas, a man fertile in
resources, who could often vary his conduct
without changing his principles; who knew
when to relax, and when to enforce the discipline
of the camp; and who, to the talents of an able
general, added the reputation of being the best
engineer of his times. By a judicious direction
of the machines of war which he invented, or
improved, Dercyllidas overcame the obstinacy

⁵ Xenoph. p. 481.

of Larissa ; and, in the space of eight days, reduced eight other cities in the province of Pharnabazus. The rapidity of his conquests recommended him to the Spartan senate, and his moderate use of victory endeared him to the Asiatic colonies. He lessened their taxes, encouraged their industry, heard their complaints with indulgent candour, and decided their differences with the most impartial justice. Disdaining the cruel example of his predecessors, he imposed not any arbitrary duties on the peaceful citizens and husbandmen ; and lest the maintenance of his troops should prove burdensome to the allies and subjects of Sparta, he fixed his winter-quarters in Bithynia, where the valour of Xenophon and his followers had lately spread the terror of the Grecian name.

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Early in the spring, commissioners were sent from Sparta to inspect the affairs of Asia, and to prorogue, for another year, the authority of Dercyllidas, provided their observations and inquiries confirmed the very favourable accounts that had been given of his administration. On their arrival at Lampsacus, where the army was then assembled, they visited the camp, and assured the soldiers, that the magistrates of the republic as much approved their conduct in the last, as they had condemned it in the preceding year. A captain, expressing the sense of the multitude, replied, that the different behaviour of the troops, now and formerly, was yet less different than the characters of Thimbron and Dercyllidas. This testimony of military appro-

Commissioners sent from Sparta to prorogue his authority. Olymp. xcv. 4. A. C. 497.

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Dercylli-
das forti-
fies the
Cherso-
nesus.

bation was equally flattering to the general, and satisfactory to the commissioners; who afterwards, at his request, visited the neighbouring towns of Æolis and Ionia, and found them in a condition extremely happy and flourishing.⁵

Before taking leave of Dercyllidas, they acquainted him, that the inhabitants of the Thracian Chersonesus had lately sent to Sparta an embassy, requesting assistance against the fierce Barbarians who inhabited the adjoining territory; and that, should circumstances permit him to afford protection to those industrious and distressed Greeks, he would perform a signal service to the state. The inactivity of Tissaphernes, who, in addition to the powerful army which he had conducted into Lower Asia, still expected further reinforcements from the East, encouraged the Grecian general to undertake this useful and meritorious enterprise. The Chersonesus was one of the most fertile⁶ and best cultivated spots on earth. In an extent of fifty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, it contained eleven rich and flourishing cities, and several commodious harbours. The fields, producing the most valuable grains, were interspersed and adorned with delightful plantations and orchards, as well as with lawns and meadows, stored with all sorts of useful cattle. Had this beautiful country enjoyed an insular form, its happiness would have been complete; but a neck of land, thirty-seven furlongs in breadth, joined it to the territories of

⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 487.

⁶ Παμφωροτάτην και ἀριστήν. Xenoph. p. 488.

the fiercest tribes in Thrace. The troops of Dercyllidas could easily have repelled their inroads. They might have punished their cruelty by destroying their miserable villages in the open country ; but the Barbarians would have found a secure refuge in their woods and mountains, and whenever the army was withdrawn, would have again poured down on the helpless Chersonesites with their native fury, heightened by revenge. Dercyllidas afforded a more useful assistance to these unhappy Greeks ; and employed in their defence, not the courage, but the labour, of his soldiers. With incessant toil, begun in the spring, and continued almost to the autumn, they formed a strong wall across the isthmus ; the space was marked out, and the labour distinctly apportioned to the separate communities from which the army had been levied ; and the spur of emulation was sharpened by the incitement of gain, the general in person superintending the work, and assigning rewards (lavishly furnished by the wealthy Chersonesites) to the most diligent and deserving. ⁷

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Dercyllidas had scarcely returned from this employment, justly ennobled by its utility, when the combined forces of Pharnabazus and Tisaphernes appeared in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. The general collected his whole strength in order to give them battle : the European soldiers displayed a noble ardour for action ; but the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast, who had flocked to his standard, were intimidated by

Enters
into treaty
with Tis-
saphernes.

⁷ Xenoph. p. 438.

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the sight of an enemy whose numbers far exceeded their own. This panic might have proved fatal, had not the troops of Tissaphernes felt the terror which they inspired. They recollected the bravery of the ten thousand who had accompanied Cyrus ; they perceived that the forces with whom they now had to contend exceeded that number ; but they did not reflect that the army of Dercyllidas was swelled by the degenerate Greeks of Æolis and Ionia, whose minds had been enfeebled and degraded by a long series of oppression. The cowardice of the Persians engaged Tissaphernes, much against the inclination of Pharnabazus, to propose a conference ; the cowardice of the Ionians engaged Dercyllidas to accept the proposal. Hostilities were thus suspended ; mutual hostages were given ; overtures of peace were made ; and messengers were dispatched for instructions to the Spartan council, and to the court of Persia.

The Persians secretly prepare to renew the war.

The design of Tissaphernes, however, was only to gain time by amusing the enemy. The most solemn oaths and engagements had long lost their power over his perfidious mind. He treacherously watched an opportunity to renew the war, waiting with impatience for the promised reinforcements from the East, and especially for the equipment of a fleet, which Artaxerxes was preparing, with silence and celerity, in the ports of Phœnicia. These secret preparations were communicated to the Spartan magistrates by the patriotism of Herodas, a Syracusan, who, animated by the love of Greece, betrayed

his Phœnician master. The Spartans were alarmed with the danger, indignant at the treachery of Tissaphernes, and perhaps displeased with the too easy credulity of their general. But the death of king Agis had given them, in the person of their first magistrate, a commander who equalled Dercyllidas in merit, and who has far surpassed him in renown.

Agesilaus
declared
King of
Sparta.

The destructive expedition against the Elians was the last exploit of the long and warlike reign of Agis. On his death-bed, he acknowledged for his son Leotychides, whose legitimacy the levity or the guilt of his mother Timea had exposed to just suspicion. But this late avowal of a successor, whom he had so long disowned, did not satisfy the partisans of Agesilaus, who was brother to Agis on the side of his father Archidamus, but younger by many years, being born of a different mother, and, failing Leotychides, the nearest heir to the throne. Under a diminutive and ignoble form, Agesilaus concealed a vigorous and fervid mind, a manly elevation of character, a generous ambition of soul. These respectable qualities, adorned by the milder virtues of modesty, candour, condescension, and unlimited complaisance for his friends, early attracted the notice, and merited the esteem, of the first names of Sparta ; and of none more than Lysander, who, as his personal hopes of grandeur were blasted by the universal jealousy and resentment that had been justly excited in Sparta against his ostentatious abuse of power, confined all his projects of ambition to the aggrandisement

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of his favourite. That eloquence and address^{*}, which would have been ineffectual if employed for himself, succeeded in behalf of another; and by the influence and intrigues of Lysander, still more than by the strong claims of justice and of merit, Agesilaus was declared successor to the vacant throne; and, at the distance of only two years, commander-in-chief of the Greek forces in Asia; an office less splendid in name than that of King of Sparta, but carrying with it more substantial authority.

Cinadon's
conspi-
racy,

In the interval of these successive honours, he approved his attentive vigilance in the service of the republic, of which the safety, and even the existence, was endangered by a daring and well-concerted conspiracy. A youth named Cinadon, distinguished above his companions by extraordinary strength and agility, was not less conspicuous for undaunted courage and towering ambition. Descended of an obscure family, Cinadon felt and regretted the mortifying partiality of the government under which he lived. His pride was deeply wounded with the reflection,

* The partisans of Leotychides, in pleading his cause before the assembly, alleged an oracle that exhorted the Spartans to beware of a lame reign. This pointed at Agesilaus, who limped in walking. But Lysander, by one of those ready and unexpected turns calculated to decide the resolutions of numerous assemblies, directed the battery of the oracle against Leotychides, asserting, that it was the lameness of the title only which Apollo must have had in view, since it was a matter indifferent to the gods whether the Spartan kings walked gracefully; but a matter of high importance whether they descended from Hercules, the son of Jupiter, or Alcibiades, an Athenian profligate and exile. Com. Plut. in Agesil. & Lysand. & Xenoph. Agesil. Panegy. & Hellen. l. iii. p. 493.

that whatever abilities his youth might promise, and his manhood mature, the unfortunate circumstances of his birth must for ever exclude him from the principal dignities of the state, which circulated among a few Spartan families, without the possibility of extension beyond that very limited sphere. The warmth of his character, and the impetuosity of his passions, prompted him to seek justice and revenge: nor was his blind and headlong ferocity alarmed by the means, however atrocious, that must lead to this favourite end. He communicated his bold design to men of his own, and of an inferior condition, exaggerating their cruel oppression under a stern aristocracy, which he contrasted with the mild equality of the neighbouring communities; and perhaps asserting, that if they must submit to a master, it would be better to have *one* than *many*; that even the subjects of a monarchy enjoyed greater equality and liberty than the members of the Spartan republic⁹, since the former all equally participated in those preferments and honours, to which not only the slaves, the Helots, and freedmen, but the whole body of the Lacedæmonian people, were forbidden to aspire. After this general representation, he neglected not, what was more effectual and important, to arraign the arrogance and cruelty of particular

⁹ This language I have often heard from the *subjects* of a modern republic, whose *citizens* are not more remarkable for their firmness in maintaining power, than for their moderation in exercising it.

The above note was written thirty-six years ago in the once happy canton of Bern. Though long habituated to the iron, I enjoy in recollection a golden age.

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senators, and to inflame the resentment of individuals against their private and domestic foes ; nor did he forget to encourage them all with the certain prospect of success, by contrasting their own strength and numbers with the weakness of an enemy, who might be taken unarmed, and cut off by surprise.¹⁰

is discovered
when ripe
for execution.

The time for action approached, and the author of the conspiracy commanded his associates to stay at home, that they might be ready at a call. Agesilaus, meanwhile, performed the accustomed vows and sacrifices for the safety of the republic : the appearance of the entrails announced some dreadful and concealed danger ; a second victim was slain, and the signs were still more unfavourable ; but after examining the third sacrifice, the priest exclaimed, “ We seem, O Agesilaus ! to be in the midst of our enemies.” Soon afterwards, a person, whose name has not been thought worthy of record, denounced Cinadon to the magistrates, as guilty of a treasonable design, of which he had endeavoured to render the informer an accomplice. When this informer was desired to explain his declaration more fully, he told them, that Cinadon, having conducted him to the great square of the city, the usual place of rendezvous on all public occasions, desired him to count the number of Spartans whom he saw in that spacious resort. That he counted the king, the ephori, the senators, and about forty others, and then asked Cinadon, for what purpose he had required him to take that seem-

° Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 493, et seq.

ingly useless trouble? Because, replied the conspirator, I reckon the Spartans to be enemies; and all the rest, whose great numbers you behold in the market-place, to be friends. Nor does this proportion apply to Sparta only; in the farms and villages adjacent to the city, we shall in each house and family have one enemy, the master, but all the servants will be our friends. Cinadon then acquainted him with the object and cause of the conspiracy, which had been formed by men of probity and fortitude, and which was soon to be communicated to the slaves, the peasants, and the whole body of the Lacedæmonian people, whose animosity against the Spartans was too violent to be concealed. That the greatest part of the conspirators, being trained for war, had arms in their hands; that the shops of the armourers, the tools of those artificers who wrought in metal, wood, and stone, and even the instruments of agriculture, might furnish such weapons to the rest, as would fully answer the purpose against unarmed men.

This alarming intelligence roused the activity, without shaking the firmness, of the Spartan magistrates. It would have been imprudent to seize Cinadon in the capital, as they were unacquainted with the extent of his resources, and the number of his associates. On pretence of the public service, they contrived to send him to Aulon (for in similar expeditions they had often employed his ready arm and enterprising valour), that he might seize, in that licentious

Activity
and pru-
dence of
the Spar-
tan ma-
gistrates.

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Cinadon and his accomplices seized and punished.

Agesilaus takes the command of the Greek forces in Olymp. xvi. 1. A. C. 396.

city, and bring within the reach of justice, several daring violators of the Spartan laws, among whom was a very beautiful woman, who corrupted the manners of young and old.¹¹ The senate prepared waggons for conveying the prisoners, and furnished every thing necessary for the journey. A body of chosen horsemen was appointed to accompany Cinadon, who set out without suspecting that this long train of preparation was destined against himself alone. But no sooner had he reached a proper distance from the city than he was arrested as a traitor, and compelled, by the terror of immediate death, to denounce his accomplices. Their names were sent to the senate, who instantly secured their persons. Cinadon, Tisamenes, a priest, and the other leaders of the conspiracy, were scourged through the city, gored with instruments of torture, and finally relieved by death.

The rash enterprise of Cinadon still filled the Spartans with alarm, when intelligence was conveyed of the formidable preparations of Artaxerxes, against whom the persuasive influence of Lysander encouraged them to employ the great and solid, but as yet unknown abilities of their young and warlike prince. Since the reign of Agamemnon, Agesilaus was the first Grecian king who led the united forces of his country to make war in Asia; and his expedition, though

¹¹ Αγαγειν δ' ἐκελευον την γυναικα η καλλιστη μεν ελεγετο αυτοθε ειναι, λυμανεσθαι δ' εφκει τους αφικνουμενους λακεδαιμονιων και πρεσβυτερους και νεωτερους, Xenoph. p. 494.

not less important than the exploits of the sons of Atreus and Achilles, is much inferior in renown; because the panegyric of Xenophon, warm and splendid as it is, even beyond the usual colour of his compositions, must yet, like all other eulogies, be for ever eclipsed by the lustre of the Iliad. But the conquests of Agesilaus, however different in fame, yet surpassed, in misfortune, the war of Troy. Both were pernicious to the interests of Greece; but of the two, the victories of Agesilaus proved the more fatal, not indeed in their immediate, but in their remote consequences.

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In the spring of the year three hundred and ninety-six before Christ, he left Sparta, with three thousand Lacedæmonian freedmen, and a body of foreign troops, amounting to six thousand, chiefly collected from the confederate cities of Peloponnesus. Since the irregular and unjustifiable conduct of Agis in his unfortunate expedition against Argos, the Spartan Kings were usually attended in the field by a council of ten senators, whose concurrence was held necessary in all public measures. Agesilaus demanded a council, not of ten, but of thirty Spartans; a refined stroke of policy, which strongly indicates that artful dexterity with which, during a long administration, he uniformly promoted the views of his interest and ambition. By augmenting the number of the council, he diminished its importance. Each member, possessing less weight and influence, felt himself less concerned in the honour of the

Disgraces
Lysander,
who alone
rivalled
his authority.

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body ; and the whole were more easily swayed and governed by the King. Lysander alone, whose name in Asia was illustrious or terrible, rivalled for a while the power of Agesilaus. But the colleagues of Lysander were the first to dispute his pretensions, and to control his authority. Agesilaus availed himself of their envy, and listened too easily to the dictates of selfishness, in humbling the arrogance of a rival who had been the chief author of his own greatness. By thwarting the measures of Lysander, by denying his requests, by employing him in offices unbecoming his dignity¹², he rendered him contemptible in the eyes of those by whom he had been so long feared. This ungenerous treatment of a benefactor, as well as the aspiring pride of the benefactor himself, which could excite such black ingratitude in an otherwise virtuous breast, doubly prove the instability of friendship between ambitious minds. After a disgraceful rupture, which ended in an affected reconciliation, Lysander was sent by Agesilaus and his council to command the Lacedæmonian squadron in the Hellespont, an inactive and subordinate service, in which he could not expect an opportunity of performing any thing worthy of his ancient fame. He returned, therefore, in a few months to Sparta, covered with disgrace, enraged by disappointment, and vowing implacable revenge against the cruel ingratitude of his friend, which

¹² Lysander was known in the East as a conqueror ; Agesilaus made him a commissary. Vid. Plut. in Agesil. & Lysander. & Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 497.

he felt more deeply than the injustice of all his enemies together.

Agésilas fixed his head-quarters at Ephesus, a place recommended by its central situation, as the most convenient rendezvous for the recruits which flocked to his standard from every part of the coast ; at the same time that such a station enabled him to conceal from the enemy which of their provinces was the intended object of his invasion. Thither Tissaphernes sent an embassy, demanding the reason of such mighty preparations. Agésilas replied, " That the Greeks in Asia might enjoy the same liberty with their brethren in Europe." The messengers of Tissaphernes had orders to declare, that the King was inclined to acknowledge the ancient freedom and independence of the Grecian colonies ; that the report of his hostile intentions against either them or the mother country was totally void of foundation ; and that, in consequence of the recent transactions between Tissaphernes and Dercyllidas, ambassadors might shortly be expected from Susa, empowered to ratify a firm and lasting peace between Artaxerxes and the Greeks. Until this desirable work should be completed, Tissaphernes earnestly desired a continuation of the truce, which, on his side, he was ready to seal by whatever formalities Agésilas thought proper to require. The Spartan King frankly avowed his suspicions of treachery ; yet, being unwilling to embroil his country in an unnecessary war, he dispatched Dercyllidas, with two members of the Spartan

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Treachery
of Tissa-
phernes.

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council, to renew his late engagements with Tissaphernes. The perfidious satrap swore and deceived for the last time. No sooner had he received the long-expected auxiliaries from the East, than he commanded Agesilaus to leave Ephesus, and to evacuate the coast of Asia; if he delayed to comply, the weight of the Persian arms would enforce obedience. The prudent, or pious Spartan, while his friends were alarmed with this unexpected declaration, assumed an unusual gaiety of countenance, observing that he rejoiced to commence the war under such favourable auspices, since the treachery of Tissaphernes must render the gods his enemies.

Innocent
stratagem
of Agesi-
laus.

Meanwhile he prepared to encounter the insidious arts of the satrap, with equal, but more innocent address. It was industriously given out, that he intended to march into the province of Caria, the favourite residence of Tissaphernes, which was adorned by his voluptuous parks and palaces, and strengthened by a fortress, the repository of his treasures. The intervening cities were ordered to mend the roads, to furnish a market, and to prepare every thing most necessary to facilitate the march of the Grecian army. Tissaphernes, not doubting that Caria was the intended scene of warfare, especially as the mountainous nature of that province rendered it improper for horse, in which the Greeks were very poorly provided, encamped with his own numerous cavalry in the plains of the Meander, in order to intercept the passage of the enemy. But Agesilaus having posted a

He defeats

sufficient garrison in Ephesus, left that city, and turning to the north, advanced by rapid marches into Phrygia, the rich plunder of which rewarded the active diligence of his soldiers. The selfish satrap was unwilling to relieve the province of Pharnabazus, by weakening the defence of his own; and accordingly remained inactive on the fruitful banks of the Meander, whose winding stream skirts the northern frontier of Caria, still suspecting an invasion of the Greeks from Ephesus and the neighbouring sea-ports. During the greatest part of the summer Agesilaus ravaged Phrygia; the Barbarians were shamefully defeated in several rencounters; at length they ceased to resist his arms; nor attempted even to harass his retreat, when, having gratified the just resentment of his country, he returned, loaded with spoil, to winter in Ephesus.¹³

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the Persians, and plunders Phrygia.

In the Phrygian expedition, Agesilaus shared, and surpassed the toils of the meanest soldier, from whom he refused to be distinguished by his dress, his food, or his accommodations by day or night. The inactive season of the year was most diligently and usefully employed. Ephesus and the neighbouring towns glowed with the ardour of military preparation. The Phrygian wealth was employed to urge the hand of industry. Shields, spears, swords, and helmets, filled every shop, and crowded every magazine. The inhabitants of the country were allured by great rewards to form their best horses to the discipline of the field; and the wealthy citizens were

Employment of the Greeks during their winter-quarters.

¹³ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 498 et seq.

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exempted from the service of the ensuing campaign, upon condition only that they furnished a horseman, properly equipped, to perform their vicarious duty. The veteran soldiers, as well as the new levies, were daily exercised within the walls of Ephesus, in those martial amusements which represented a faithful image, and which formed the best school, of war. Agesilaus often condescended to dispute the prize of valour or dexterity; his popular manners endeared him to the troops; the superiority of his talents commanded their willing obedience; they vied with each other in honour to their prince; they vied in gratitude to the gods with the prince himself, who, as often as he obtained the crown of victory, dedicated the honourable reward in the august temple of Ephesian Diana. "What then (adds a soldier, a philosopher, and a man of piety) might not be expected from troops who delighted in the exercise of arms, respected their general, and revered the gods?"¹⁴

Agesilaus
prepares
for the
ensuing
campaign.
Olymp.
xcvi. 2.
A. C. 395.

The expectation of Xenophon, who beheld the interesting scenes at Ephesus, which he has inimitably described, was fully gratified by the success of the ensuing campaign. Agreeably to the annual revolution of offices in the Lacedæmonian republic, a commission of thirty Spartans was sent early in the spring to supply the place of Lysander and his colleagues. Among the members of this new council Agesilaus distributed the various departments of military command. The superior abilities of Herippidas were

¹⁴ Xenoph. Panegy. Agesil.

entrusted with the veteran army who had served under Cyrus. Xenocles was appointed to conduct the cavalry. Mygdo commanded the Asiatic levies; Scythes, the Lacedæmonian freedmen; for himself, as his peculiar care, the general reserved the faithful and warlike body of Peloponnesian allies, chosen from the flower and vigour of many flourishing republics. With a view to encourage his soldiers before taking the field, he ordered the Phrygian prisoners to be brought forth, stripped, and exposed to sale. The Greeks viewed with contempt the delicate whiteness of their skins, their flaccid muscles, their awkward motions, their shapeless forms, their unwieldy corpulence, and the effeminate softness of their whole texture. Such an enemy they considered as nothing superior to an army of women.¹⁵

Attacks
the centre
of the Per-
sian do-
minions in
Lower
Asia.

Agesilaus had declared, that he would be no longer satisfied with ravaging the extremities, but was determined to attack the centre, of the Persian power. Tissaphernes, fearful of being deceived by a second feint, again conducted his squadrons to the banks of the Meander, and reinforced with the flower of his infantry the garisons of Caria, which (as the contrary had been industriously reported) he concluded to be the main object of approaching hostilities. But the Spartan was too able a general to repeat the same game. On this occasion, therefore, he

¹⁵ Xenoph. p. 500.

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Death of
Tissapher-
nes.

carried into execution the design which had been made public, marched towards the royal city of Sardes, and ravaged the adjoining territory without opposition. He had acquired much valuable booty, and shaken the fidelity of the Lydians, before any enemy appeared to resist his progress. That resistance, when made too late, proved ineffectual. After several successful skirmishes, he defeated the Persians in a general engagement on the banks of the Pactolus, surrounded and took their camp, in which, beside other riches, he found seventy talents of silver. He hoped likewise to have captured the relentless enemy of the Greeks, the perfidious Tissaphernes; but that crafty traitor, suspecting the event of the battle, had thrown himself, with a considerable body of troops, within the strong walls of Sardes, where his cowardice continued to reside, displaying the inglorious pride of pomp and luxury, while the provinces of Artaxerxes fell a prey to the hostile invader. The time of his punishment, however, was now arrived. His whole life had been disgraceful to himself; but its last scene had disgraced the arms of his master, who cancelled, by one stroke of royal ingratitude, the merit of innumerable perfidies and cruelties committed for his service. Tithraustes was sent from court to take off the head of the obnoxious satrap; who, being allured to a conference, was caught by his own arts¹⁶, and met with a deserved fate;

¹⁶ Polyænus, l. vii. The fact is mentioned with few circumstances in Diodorus, and with none in Xenophon, p. 501.

although the author of his death was perhaps the only man in Persia or in Greece with whom Tissaphernes had any claim of merit.

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Tithraustes, who had come from Babylon escorted by a powerful body of cavalry, carried the mandate of the Great King for assuming the government of Lower Asia, and the conduct of the war. Having removed the only rival who had interest or ability to dispute this extensive and honourable commission, his next care was to send an embassy to Agesilaus, which, instead of indicating the character of a great general, (for such Tithraustes was esteemed in the East,) betrayed the mean and temporising genius of his worthless predecessors. The ambassadors were instructed to declare, "That Tissaphernes, author of those troubles which embroiled Greece and Persia, had suffered a just death; and that the King, who had been too long deceived by his artifices, was now ready to acknowledge the independence of the Grecian colonies, on condition that Agesilaus withdrew his troops from Asia." The Spartan honestly replied, "That the alternative of war or peace depended not on himself, but on the resolution of the assembly and senate; nor could he remove his forces from the East without the express command of his republic." The artful satrap, perceiving that it was impossible for him to interrupt, determined at least to divert, the course of hostilities. None knew better than Tithraustes the use of money as an instrument of negociation. He condescended to purchase from Agesilaus, by a very large sum,

He is succeeded by Tithraustes, who pursues the same line of conduct.

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Agesilaus
entrusted
with the
command
of the Gre-
cian fleet;
Olymp.
xcvi. 3.
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the tranquillity of Lydia; and, as it seemed a matter of indifference to the Spartan King which particular portion of the Persian dominions felt the weight of his invasion, he evacuated that province, and again entered Phrygia.

While he pursued his march northwards, he was overtaken in Ionia by a welcome messenger from home, who delivered him a letter, testifying the grateful admiration of his countrymen, prolonging the term of his military command, and entrusting him with the numerous fleet, which had sailed two years before, to counteract the designs of the enemy.¹⁷ This fleet, consisting of ninety gallies, was actually commanded by Pharax, who, during the glorious career of Agesilaus's victories, had silently performed very useful and meritorious service. The naval preparations of Artaxerxes, which, as above mentioned, first excited the alarm in Greece, were still carried on with activity. Various squadrons were equipped in the harbours of Phoenicia, Cilicia, and other maritime provinces, of which the combined strength would have far exceeded the fleet of Greece. But the vigilant diligence of Pharax prevented their union. His ships were victualled by Nephres, the rebellious viceroy of Egypt; with whom, in the name of Sparta, he had contracted an alliance. The ports of Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Greek cities in the Carian Chersonesus, were open to his cruisers. Availing himself of these important advantages,

¹⁷ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 501.

he steered with rapidity along the hostile shores ; and seasonably dividing or combining his fleet, effectually restrained the enemy from making their projected descents on Peloponnesus, and even deterred them from sailing the Asiatic ¹⁸ seas. Agesilaus, unmindful of this essential service, which had prevented any diversion of the Greek forces in the East, deprived Pharax of the command, and substituted in his stead Pisander, a near relation of his own, who possessed indeed the ambitious valour and manly firmness of the Spartan character, but neither the experience, nor the abilities, sufficient to qualify him for this weighty trust.

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which he
commits
to Pisan-
der.

The first effects of this fatal error were eclipsed by a momentary blaze of glory. Agesilaus entered Phrygia ; attacked, conquered, and pursued Pharnabazus ; who, flying from post to post, was successively driven from every part of his valuable province. ¹⁹ The fame of the Grecian victories struck terror into the neighbouring countries. Cotys ²⁰, or Corylas, the proud tyrant of Paphlagonia, who disdained the friendship of the Great King ²¹, sent humbly to request that the native valour of his numerous and invincible cavalry might be associated with the Spartan ²² arms. The inferior satraps, and especially their oppress-

Agesilaus
entertains
hopes of
conquer-
ing the
Persian
empire ;

¹⁸ Isocrat. Panegy. He does not give the name of the admiral which we find in Xenophon's Gr. Hist.

¹⁹ Xenoph. compares his erratic course to the wanderings of Scythian Nomades.

²⁰ He is called Cotys in Xenoph. Gr. Hist., Plutarch, and Diodorus ; and Corylas in Xenoph. Anabas. l. v. p. 370.

²¹ Xenoph. *ibid.*

²² Plut. in Agesil.

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ed subjects, courted the protection of Agesilaus, expecting that the unknown dominion of Greece would be lighter than the yoke of Persia, of which they had long felt and regretted the severity. The deceitful Ariæus, who had shared the guilt, without sharing the punishment of Cyrus, could never be heartily reconciled to a master against whom he had once rebelled. His actual wealth, and ancient honours, gave him a powerful influence over the numerous Barbarians who had followed the standard of Cyrus and his own; and whose discontented spirits might easily be inflamed into a second revolt.²³ The commotion was general in Lesser Asia; and, as Egypt had already rebelled, Agesilaus, at the head of about twenty thousand Greeks, and innumerable Barbarian allies, might entertain a very rational expectation to shake the throne of Artaxerxes; especially as the experience of his friend and admirer, Xenophon, who was still the companion of his arms, must have powerfully encouraged him to that glorious enterprise.²⁴

which are
blasted by
unexpected
intelligence
from
Greece.

But an undertaking of which the success, however splendid, could not probably have been followed by any solid advantages, because the diminutive territory and scanty population of Sparta formed a basis far too feeble to support such a weight of conquest, was blasted in the bloom of hope, by intelligence equally unexpected and distressful. Tithraustes, who knew the power of gold over the Grecian councils, determined, with

²³ Plut. in Agesil. Diodor. l. xiv. p. 439.

²⁴ Diodor. *ibid.* & Xenoph. Agesil. Panegy. & Plut. in Agesil.

the approbation of the King his master, to give full play to this main-spring of politics. The Cretan and Ægean seas were carelessly guarded by the unsuspecting confidence of the new admiral. Tithraustes perceived the neglect; and dispatched, without any fear of capture, various emissaries into Greece, well qualified, by bribes and address, to practise with the discontented and factious demagogues, the natural enemies of Sparta, of aristocratic government, and of the public tranquillity.²⁵

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The principal instrument of these secret negotiations was, Timocrates of Rhodes, a man of an intriguing and audacious spirit, who carried with him no less a sum than fifty talents (above nine thousand pounds sterling), which he distributed, with lavish promises of future bounty, to Cyclon of Argos, to Timolaus and Polyanthes of Corinth, to Androclides, Ismenias and Galaxadorus of Thebes; names for the most part obscure in the annals of war, but important in the history of domestic faction. The tyranny of Sparta was the perpetual theme of these venal hirelings, not only in their respective communities but in every quarter of Greece to which they were successively carried with a mercenary diligence. They painted in the strongest colours the injustice, the cruelty and the immeasurable ambition of that haughty republic, who had made soldiers of her slaves, that she might make slaves of her allies. The destructive and impious devastation of the

Means by
which the
Persians
kindle a
war in
that coun-
try.

²⁵ Xenoph. p. 513. et seq. •

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Motives
by which
the ene-
mies of
Sparta
were actu-
ated.

sacred territory of Elis was arraigned with every term of reproach. The same calamities, it was prophesied, must soon overwhelm the neighbouring countries, unless they prepared (while it was yet time to prepare) for a vigorous defence; since Sparta pursued her conquests in Asia with no other view but to lull the security, and rivet the chains, of Greece.²⁶

Strong as these invectives may appear, and interested as they certainly were, they did not exceed the truth; and what is of more importance, they were addressed to men well disposed to believe them. Since the subversion of the Athenian power, the imperious government of Sparta had rendered her almost alike odious to her old, and to her new, confederates. The former, and particularly the Corinthians, Arcadians, and Achæans, complained with the warmth which justice gives, that, after sharing the toils and dangers of the Peloponnesian war, they had been cruelly deprived of the fruits of victory. The latter, and especially such communities as had revolted from Athens, lamented that their blood and treasure had been spent in vain. They had fought for freedom and independence; but their valour had been rewarded by a more intolerable servitude. Argos had long been the enemy, and Thebes aspired to become the rival, of Sparta. Above all, the Athenians, animated by the patriotism of Thrasybulus, their deliverer from the Spartan yoke, longed to employ the

²⁶ Xenoph. p. 514.

first moments of returning vigour in the pursuit of glory and revenge.

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The corruption of those morbid humours, which must soon have fermented of themselves, was accelerated by the mercenary emissaries of Tithraustes. The occasion, too, seemed favourable for assaulting the domestic strength of a republic, whose arms were emulously employed in extending her distant conquests. The conduct of the Thebans had already announced this design. They not only refused assistance to Agesilaus towards carrying on his eastern campaign, but treated him without respect or decency, while he crossed their dominions; and, were not ambition blind, he must have perceived and resented their hostility, and have delayed to undertake his expedition against Asia, till he had extinguished the seeds of war in Greece.

Circumstances which encouraged their hostility.

But, notwithstanding the concurring causes which hastened a rupture, such was the terror of the Spartan name, increased by the recent glory of Agesilaus, that none of her numerous enemies had courage openly to take arms and to avow their just animosity. After various, but secret conferences, held in the principal cities, it was determined to wound that republic through her allies, the Phocians, who were distinguished, amidst the very general discontent, by their unshaken attachment and fidelity. The Locri Ozolæ, a fierce and insolent people ²⁷, who lived in the neighbourhood of Phocis, were easily per-

Their caution in beginning the war.

²⁷ Thucyd. l. i. p. 4. et p. 47.

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suaded to levy contributions from a district on their eastern frontier, to which they had not the smallest claim, and of which the dominion had been long a matter of dispute between the Phocians and Thebans. Both these states seem to have been injured, and exactly in the same degree, by this aggression; but the Phocians, who were the enemies of the Locri, took arms to revenge, while the Thebans, who were their friends, prepared to abet, their injustice. They expected, and their expectation was gratified, that the Spartans would quickly interfere in a quarrel that affected the most important interests of their Phocian allies; a measure which tended precisely to that issue which prudence and policy required, since the Thebans would be compelled to arm in their own defence, and must appear to all the neutral states of Greece, and even to their Lacedæmonian enemies, to be undesignedly dragged into a war, not from an inclination to commit, but from the necessity to repel, injuries.²⁸

Campaign
of Lysan-
der in
Bœotia.

The irascible pride of Sparta, ever prone to chastise the smallest offences with unbounded severity, conspired with the most sanguine hopes of Thebes and her allies. Instead of condescending to remonstrate, instead of demanding satisfaction, instead of ordering the Thebans to evacuate the territory of Phocis, and to abstain from future injury, the Spartans flew to arms,

²⁸ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. ad fin. Diodor. xiv. 82. Plutarch. in Lysand. p. 448. et seq.

and marched to invade Bœotia. On the first rumour of hostilities, the activity of Lysander had been employed to assemble their northern confederates; the Maleans, Heracleans, with those who inhabited the villages of Doris and Mount Oeta. He penetrated into the Theban territory, gained Lebadea by force, Orchomenus by address, and prepared to assault the walls of Haliartus, which, next to Thebes, was the strongest of the Bœotian cities. The difficulty of this enterprise made him dispatch a messenger to hasten the arrival of Pausanias, the Spartan King, who had led forth six thousand Peloponnesians, to co-operate with this experienced commander. The unfortunate messenger was taken by the scouts of the Thebans, and with him a letter, in which Lysander had signified his purpose, and appointed the time of rendezvous with Pausanias, that they might surprise Haliartus with their combined forces.²⁰

At the same time that this useful intelligence was brought to Thebes, there arrived in that city a powerful reinforcement of Athenian troops, who, though their own capital was unwall'd and defenceless, had been persuaded by Thrasybulus to brave the resentment of Sparta. To these generous auxiliaries the Thebans committed their city, their wives, their children, and every object of their most tender concern; while the warlike youth, and almost all those of a military age, assembled in complete armour,

The Thebans march in the night to the defence of Haliartus.

²⁰ Xenoph. Hellen. p. 503. et seq.

C H A P. departed in the dead of night, and performing
XXVII. a journey of fifteen miles with silence and cele-
 rity, reached, while it was yet dark, the gates
 of Haliartus. Their unexpected arrival struck
 a pleasing terror into their friends, who were
 affected still more deeply when they understood
 the cause of this nocturnal expedition. The
 Thebans dispelled their fear, and animated their
 resolution, hoping not only to save Haliartus,
 but to obtain a signal advantage over the un-
 suspecting confidence of the assailants.

Stratagem
 by which
 they de-
 feat the
 assailants.

For this purpose, they sent a strong detach-
 ment to lie in ambush without the walls. The
 rest, reinforced by the townsmen, formed them-
 selves in battle array, and stood to their arms,
 behind the gates. Lysander arrived in the
 morning; but Pausanias, who had not received
 his message, still continued in the neighbour-
 hood of Plataea. The soldiers, flushed by recent
 victory, disdained to depend on the tardy mo-
 tions of their auxiliaries. They requested Ly-
 sander to lead them against the place; a mea-
 sure to which he was otherwise much inclined,
 being eager to snatch the glory to himself, with-
 out dividing it with Pausanias, his rival and
 enemy.

Battle of
 Haliartus,
 and death
 of Ly-
 sander.

He approached the town, and boldly began
 the attack, perceiving the walls and battlements
 to be unguarded. But before any breach was
 made, the different gates at once flew open,
 while the Thebans and Haliartans rushed forth
 with one consent, and with resistless fury. Ly-

sander, with a priest who attended him, was slain on the first onset. His men began to rally, but the Thebans, posted in ambush without the city, occasioned a new terror. The enemy every where gave way; about a thousand fell in the field of battle, the rest were routed, put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter.³⁰

The first intelligence of this fatal disaster brought Pausanias to the scene of action, that he might examine the full extent of the calamity. It would have been fruitless to assault the fortified strength of Haliartus; but it was necessary to carry off the bodies of the slain. Pausanias held a council of war, to determine whether this pious duty should be effected by force, or whether he might condescend to solicit the humanity of the victors. Force seemed dangerous, as the principal destruction had happened immediately under the walls of the place, which it would be impossible to approach without suffering extremely from the missile weapons of the enemy, and without being exposed to a second sally, perhaps more bloody than the former. It was therefore unanimously resolved to send a Spartan herald to Haliartus, requesting leave to bury the dead. The demand was granted, on condition that the Peloponnesian army should immediately evacuate Boeotia. Pausanias complied, and returned to Sparta. His want of success, rather than his demerit, subjected him to trial and condemnation. He escaped capital punishment by

³⁰ Xenoph. l. iii. p. 505. et seq. Plutarch. in Lysand.

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flying to Tegea, where he soon afterwards sickened and died. His son Agesipolis assumed the Spartan sceptre, which at that juncture required the direction of more experienced hands.²¹

²¹ Xenoph. l. iii. p. 505. et seq. Plutarch. in Lysand.

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Recall of Agesilaus from the East. — He invades Boeotia. — Views of Evagoras King of Cyprus. — His Friendship with Conon. — The latter entrusted with the Persian Fleet. — He defeats the Lacedæmonians. — Battle of Coronæa. — The Corinthian War. — Conon rebuilds the Walls and Harbours of Athens. — Conquests of Conon and Thrasybulus. — Peace of Antalcidas.

THE defeat at Haliartus, which exasperated without humbling the Spartans, confirmed the courage of their enemies, and hastened the defection of their allies. The league was openly ratified and avowed by the republics of Thebes, Argos, Athens, and Corinth. The spirit of revolt seized Eubœa, pervaded the provinces of Acarnania, Leucas, Ambracia, the rich cities of Chalcis, and the warlike principalities of Thessaly. ¹ The whole fabric of the Spartan power, raised and cemented by a war of twenty-seven years, was shaken to the foundation; their victorious leaders were no more; nor did any resource remain, but that of recalling Agesilaus from his Asiatic victories, that the fortune and valour of this

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The league formed against Sparta obliges that republic to recall Agesilaus from the East.
Olymp. xcvi. 3.
A. C. 394.

¹ Diodor. l. xiv. p. 443. Xenoph. Hellen. l. iii. p. 207.

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accomplished general might sustain the falling ruins of his country. He received the fatal scytalé², intimating his recall, at the important crisis of his fortune. He had completed his preparations for marching into Upper Asia, and his heart already beat with the ardour of destined conquest and promised glory.³

He communicates his recall to the troops.

Having assembled the confederates, he communicated the revered order of the republic, with which he expressed his resolution immediately to comply. The generous troops, having associated their own honour with the renown of the general, testified their grief and their reluctance by tears and entreaties. But Agesilaus remained firm in his purpose, to obey the command of Sparta, to set bounds to his triumphs in the East, and to turn the direction of his arms towards a less alluring field to which duty summoned⁴ him. Before crossing the Hellespont, he detached four thousand veteran soldiers to strengthen the Asiatic garrisons; several of which he visited in person, every where assuring his friends, that it was his most earnest wish to rejoin them in Asia, whenever the troubles of Greece should permit his absence from that country.

* See Vol. II. c. xii. p. 60.

* Plutarch. in Agesil. & Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 513.

* Xenoph. Hellen. & Panegy. Agesil. & Plutarch. in Agesil., bestow seemingly immoderate praises on this resolution; but it is to be considered, that in the tumultuary governments of Greece, it was not uncommon to behold a successful general, proud of the zeal and strength of his followers, set at defiance the feeble authority of senates and assemblies.

The greater part of the army, and particularly the new levies of Ionians and Æolians, who had passed their apprenticeship in arms under his fortunate standard, declared, with tears of affection, that they would never abandon their beloved general. Agesilaus encouraged this disposition, which was extremely favourable to his views; and, lest it might be nothing but a sally of temporary enthusiasm, artfully secured its permanence, by proposing the distribution of valuable rewards, in the Thracian Chersonesus, to such officers as brought the best companies of foot or cavalry for the service of his European expedition. He was able to perform his promises with a generous magnificence; since, after defraying the necessary expenses of the war, he carried from Asia above a thousand talents, or an hundred and ninety-three thousand pounds sterling.⁵

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Their desire to follow him prudently encouraged by Agesilaus.

When the whole forces were assembled in the Chersonesus, they probably amounted to about ten thousand men. Their nearest route into Greece lay through the same countries that had been traversed near a century before by Xerxes; but the activity of Agesilaus accomplished in a month what, to eastern effeminacy, had been the journey of a laborious year. In the long interval of time between these celebrated expeditions, the Barbarians of Thrace and Macedon, through whose countries it was necessary to march, seem not to have made much improvement in the arts

His return to Greece.

⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. & Panegy. Agesil. & Plutarch. in Agesil. & Diodor. p. 441.

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He defeats
the Thes-
salian ca-
valry.

of war or peace. They were still undisciplined and disunited; and their desultory arms were alike incapable of opposing the Spartan and the Persian. Agesilaus descended unobstructed into the plains of Thessaly, where his progress was stopped for a moment by the numerous cavalry of that country, whose petty princes had acceded to the alliance formed against the ambition of Sparta. By a judicious disposition of his forces, and by evolutions equally skilful and rapid, he speedily surmounted this obstacle. To the charge of the Thessalian cavalry, he opposed the weight of his heavy-armed men, by whom the enemy were routed and put to flight. Then with his own horsemen, who would have proved an unequal match for the unbroken vigour of the Thessalians, he pursued them with great slaughter, took many prisoners, and erected a trophy of his victory, between the mountains Prantes and Narthacium⁶, which form the western boundary of the extensive plain of Coronæa.

Invades
Bœotia.

Instead of continuing his journey through the hostile country of Locris, whose weakness he disdained to chastise, he marched through the friendly territories of Doris and Phocis, that he might turn the shock of the war against the daring and rebellious Thebans. He found them in arms with their powerful allies, rather provoked, than discouraged, by a bloody but undecisive battle, which, soon after the disaster at Haliartus, they had fought against the Lacedæ-

⁶ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 517.

monians at Epiecia, a small town on the common frontier of Corinth and Sicyon. The confederate army was still about twenty thousand strong; the forces of Agesilaus fully equalled that number, as he had received considerable supplies from Sparta and Phocis; and as the secondary cities, particularly Orchomenus of Bœotia, and Epidaurus of Argolis, had joined his arms, prompted by their usual envy and resentment against their respective capitals. The hostile battalions approached; those of Agesilaus marching in good order, from the banks of the Cephissus, while the Thebans impetuously descended from the mountains of Helicon. Before they arrived at the scene of action, in the Bœotian plain of Coronæa⁷, a city thirty miles distant from Thebes, the superstition of both armies was alarmed by an eclipse of the sun, and the wisdom of Agesilaus was alarmed, far more justly, by most unexpected intelligence from the East.⁸

Since his unfortunate partiality had entrusted the Lacedæmonian fleet to the obstinacy and inexperience of his kinsman Pisander, the Persian, or rather Phœnician, squadrons had been committed to the direction of a far more able commander. After the decisive engagement at Ægos-Potamos, which was followed by the taking of Athens, and the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, Conon, the Athenian admiral,

Evagoras
recovers
his heredi-
tary do-
minion in
Cyprus.

⁷ The places distinguished by that name are described by Strabo, p. 407. 410, 411. and 434.

⁸ Xenoph. Hellen. l. iv. p. 518. Plut. in Agesil.

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escaped with a few galleys into the harbour of Salamis, the capital of the isle of Cyprus. That city, and a considerable part of the island, was then subject to Evagoras, a man whom the voice of panegyric represents as governing with consummate wisdom⁹, a kingdom which he had acquired by heroic valour. This admired prince boasted a descent from Teucer, who, returning from the siege of Troy eight hundred years before the reign of Evagoras, had founded the first Grecian colony on the Cyprian shore. During that long space of time, Salamis had undergone various revolutions. Evagoras was born and educated under the reign of an usurper, who fell by the dagger of an assassin, who in his turn assumed the crown. Evagoras fled to Cilicia, obtained the protection of the satrap of that province, returned to Salamis with a handful of men, surprised and dethroned the new tyrant, to whom he was not bound by any tie of allegiance.

His attachment to Athens, and friendship for Conon the Athenian.

From the moment that he began to reign, he discovered the most partial fondness for Athens, in whose language, arts, and institutions, his youth had been liberally instructed; and which afterwards formed the study and delight of his manhood, the amusement and consolation of his declining age. But unfortunately for the sensibility and affectionate gratitude of Evagoras, towards a country to which he owed his education and his happiness, he lived at a period when,

⁹ Isocrates's panegyric of Evagoras may be entitled the picture of a great king; the character is only too perfect.

before the situation of his principality enabled him to afford any effectual assistance to Athens, he beheld that magnanimous republic deprived of the splendour and dominion which she had enjoyed above seventy years. He lamented her misfortunes with a filial tenderness, and received with the kindest hospitality her oppressed and afflicted citizens. The virtuous and enterprising Conon deserved his affection and esteem, and soon acquired the unlimited confidence of a mind congenial to his own. They acted with the happiest concert for the security and aggrandisement of the little kingdom, alluring new inhabitants from Greece, promoting their arts and industry, extending navigation and commerce, and in a short time Salamis was able to fit out a considerable naval force, and to subdue and incorporate with her own subjects several of the neighbouring communities. The Great King, who had long been considered as lord paramount of Cyprus, interfered not in the domestic concerns of the island, provided he received from thence his small customary tribute. The flourishing state of Evagoras's affairs might enable him to pay, and to exceed, the stipulated sum; though it is probable that he early meditated, what he afterwards attempted to accomplish, the deliverance of his country from this mark of bondage.

But a design which actually engaged him more deeply, and to which he was strongly incited by the ardent solicitations of Conon, was the restoration of Athens (which he considered

Evagoras
and Conon deter-
mine to
retrieve the for-

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tune of
that re-
public.

as his adoptive country and parent) to that state of glory and pre-eminence from which she had miserably fallen. The virtuous and patriotic friends (for as such contemporaries describe them) are represented as pilots and mariners watching the tides and currents, and catching every propitious gale that might facilitate the execution of this hazardous enterprise. The victories of Agesilaus in the East, which threatened to shake the throne of Artaxerxes, furnished an opportunity too favourable to escape their vigilance. Conon had been already recommended to the Great King by Evagoras; and the recommendation had been enforced by Pharnabazus, who knew and admired his merit. The experienced skill of the illustrious Athenian, and of his countrymen Hieronymus and Nicodemus, had assisted in equipping the Barbarian squadrons in the Cilician and Phœnician harbours. But the abilities of Pharax, the Spartan admiral, and the cowardice or negligence of the Persian commanders, hitherto rendered useless a fleet of nearly three hundred sail, which was ill manned, and which often wanted money.

Conon entrusted with the command of the Persian fleet.

The activity of Conon undertook to remedy these evils. He left Cilicia, travelled to Thapsacus, embarked in the Euphrates; and, as his vessel was moved by the combined impulse of winds, oars, and stream, he descended with rapidity along the winding channel to ⁴⁰ Babylon. The only obstacle to his intended conference

⁴⁰ Diodorus, l. xiv. p. 442.

with Artaxerxes was, his unwillingness to degrade the Athenian character by depressing the body, bending the knee, and paying the usual marks of respectful submission, which were readily granted by Barbarians to the monarch of the East; but which the Greeks refused to man, and reserved for the majesty of the gods. This difficulty, however, was at length obviated by those whose mutual interest strongly solicited an interview. Conon represented to the trembling monarch, who was still agitated by the terror of Agesilaus's victories, the necessity of opposing the Spartans vigorously by sea. Their fleet alone had acquired, and maintained, the command of the Asiatic coast. A single defeat at sea would excite their allies to revolt, and drive their armies from Asia. But to obtain this advantage, the Great King must employ an admiral worthy to command, and men willing to obey. In looking for the first, the valour of Pharnabazus could not escape his notice. The second might be purchased by money: and should Artaxerxes entrust him with the requisite sum, he pledged his life that he would soon collect such a number of sailors (chiefly from the Grecian coasts and islands) as would enable him to defeat the fleet of Sparta, and to compel that republic to abandon her eastern conquests. The proposal pleased Artaxerxes, the money was raised, and Conon returned to Cilicia to accomplish his undertaking.

From various sea-ports of Asia, from the smaller Greek cities, reluctant subjects to Sparta,

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He defeats
the Spar-
tans and

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takes
fifty gal-
leys
Olymp.
xcvi. 5.
A. C. 394.

from several maritime towns whose inhabitants were ready to serve any master for pay, but chiefly from the powerful islands of Rhodes and Cyprus, he soon collected a naval force exceeding his most sanguine hopes; and which might have enabled him (independently of the Barbarian squadrons commanded by Pharnabazus) to contend on nearly equal terms with Pisander. With their combined strength, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed westward in quest of the hostile fleet, knowing that the rash confidence of the Spartan admiral would not decline battle with a superior enemy. As the united armament doubled the northern point of Rhodes, they perceived the Lacedæmonian squadron, amounting to nearly an hundred galleys, in the capacious bay which is formed between the projections of the Dorian shore, and the small islands called Sporades, from the careless irregularity with which they seem to have been scattered by the hand of nature.¹¹ The unexpected approach of such a formidable fleet did not shake the sullen obstinacy of Pisander. He commanded (as it had been foreseen) his men to prepare for battle. They bore up against the enemy, but on a nearer survey were alarmed and terrified with the excessive disproportion of numbers. The greater part turned their prows, and retired towards the friendly shore of Cnidus. Pisander advanced in

¹¹ Virgil expresses, in few words, the geography described in the text:

— Et crebris legimut freta consita terris.

Virg. *Æneid.* iii. v. 129.

the admiral galley, and died fighting bravely in defence of the Spartan honour, vainly endeavouring to maintain by the energy of his arm, what had been betrayed by the madness of his counsels. The victors pursued; and, after destroying great numbers of the enemy, took and carried off fifty galleys.¹²

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It was the intelligence of this battle, of which he anticipated the consequences, in the loss of the Spartan dominions from Cnidus to Byzantium, that justly alarmed and afflicted the patriotic breast of Agesilaus. He assembled the troops, honestly confessed the death of Pisander, but artfully declared, that, though the admiral was slain, his fleet had obtained a complete victory, for which it became himself and them to pay the usual tribute of thanks and sacrifices to the protecting gods. He then crowned himself with a chaplet of flowers, and set the example of performing this pious duty. The devout stratagem was attended with a very salutary effect; for, in a skirmish between the advanced guards,

The battle
of Coro-
næa.
Olymp.
xcvi. 3.
A. C. 394.

¹² Polybius seems to consider the battle of Cnidus as the era at which the Spartans lost the command of the sea, which they had acquired by their victory at Ægos-Potamos. He says, their dominion lasted twelve years. This number, however, is too large for the interval between those battles, as appears from the text. Other writers say, that the Lacedæmonian empire, which the Greeks speak of as synonymous with the command of the sea, lasted thirty years, reckoning from the battle of Ægos-Potamos to the defeat at Leuctra. But this number again is too small for the interval between those events; a remarkable proof of the carelessness of Greek writers in matters of chronology. See Isocrat. de Pace, & Cassob. ad Polyb. vol. iii. p. 97—99. edit. Gronov.

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immediately preceding the battle, the Lacedæmonian troops, animated by their imagined victory in the East, defeated and repelled the enemy. Meanwhile, the main bodies of either army advanced into the plain of Coronæa, at first in awful silence; but having approached within a furlong of each other, the Thebans raised an universal shout, and ran furiously to the charge. Their impetuosity bore down every thing before them; but the troops immediately commanded by Agesilaus, repelled the left wing of the enemy, consisting chiefly of Argives and Athenians. Already those who surrounded his person saluted him as conqueror, and adorned him with the crown of victory; when it was told that the Thebans had broke and totally routed the Orchomenians, and were advancing to seize the baggage. Agesilaus, by a rapid evolution, prepared to intercept them, in order to frustrate this design. The Thebans perceived this movement, wheeled about, and marched in an opposite direction, that they might join and rally their allies, who fled towards the mountains of Helicon. In the rencounter which followed, Xenophon is disposed to admire rather the valour, than the prudence, of the Spartan King. Instead of allowing the Thebans to pass, that he might attack their rear and flanks, he boldly opposed their progress, and assailed their front. The shock was terrible; their shields meeting, clashed; they fought, slew, and were slain. No voice was heard, yet none was silent; the field

resounded with the noise of rage and battle¹³; and this was the most desperate and bloody scene of an action, itself the most desperate and bloody of any in that age. At length, the firmness of the Thebans effected their long-attempted passage to Helicon; but could not rouse their allies to a renewal of the engagement. The Spartans thus remained masters of the field, the sight of which seems to have deeply affected a spectator whose mind was habituated to such objects of horror. It was covered with steel and blood, with the bodies of friends and foes heaped promiscuously together, with transfixed bucklers and broken lances, some strewed on the ground, others deeply adhering in the mortal wounds which they had inflicted, and others still grasped by the cold and dead hands of the combatants who had lately fought with such impetuous ardour.¹⁴

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Agésilæus himself had received several wounds from various kinds of weapons; yet did he restrain his resentment in the moment of victory. When informed that about fourscore of the enemy had taken refuge in a neighbouring temple of Minerva, he religiously respected the right of sanctuary, ordered his soldiers to abstain from hurting them, and even appointed a

¹³ Εἰς Ἀθήνην μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, ἐν μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φωνὴ δὲ τῆς τῆς τοῦτο-
της αὐτῶν φωνῆς τῆς καὶ μάχης ἀναμύχνης' αὐ. Xenoph. Agésilæus, c. xii.
Such passages, inimitable in any other language, shew the superiority
of the Greek.

¹⁴ Xenoph. Agesil. c. xii.

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XXVIII. security. The next day was employed by the victors in erecting a trophy on the scene of this important action; while the enemy acknowledged their defeat, by requesting the bodies of the slain. Notwithstanding his fatigue and wounds, Agesilaus then travelled to Phocis, that he might dedicate the tenth of his Asiatic spoil (amounting to above an hundred talents) in the temple of Delphian Apollo. Having returned towards the Peloponnesian, he disbanded his eastern troops, most of whom were desirous to revisit their respective cities; his Peloponnesian, and even Lacedæmonian, forces inclined also to return home, that they might reap the fruits of harvest¹⁵; and the general, probably to avoid a journey painful to his wounds, sailed to Sparta, and joined in the celebration of the Hyacinthian festival.

The Corinthian war.

Olymp.

xcvi. 5.

A. C. 394.

Olymp.

xcviii. 2.

A. C. 387.

The sea-fight of Cnidus, and the battle of Coronæa, were the most important and decisive actions in the Bœotian or Corinthian war, which lasted eight years. The contending republics darted their stings at once, which remained in the wounds made by them; and afterwards retained their resentment when they had lost the power of gratifying it. Petty hostilities, indeed, were carried on by mutual inroads, and ravages in the spring and autumn; the Lacedæmonians issuing from Sicyn, and the Thebans from Co-

¹⁵ The solar eclipse, mentioned above in the text, fixes the battle of Coronæa to the fourteenth of August.

rinth. The inhabitants of the latter city had eagerly promoted the alliance against Sparta; but when their country was made the seat of war, they began to repent of this rash measure. The noble and wealthy part of the community, who had most to fear, as they had most to lose, talked of a separate peace: and, as they were abetted by a majority of the people, their dependants or clients, they intended to summon an assembly which might confirm this laudable resolution. But the partisans of Timolaus and Polyantes, who, though the mercenaries of a Barbarian slave, were the patrons of Corinthian liberty, anticipated a design so unfavourable to their interests, by committing one of the most horrid massacres recorded in history. They chose the Eucleian festival¹⁶, a circumstance which seemed to heighten the enormity of a crime which nothing could aggravate. Many of the citizens were then enjoying themselves in the market-place, or assembled at the dramatic entertainments. The assault was rapid and general. The Corinthians were assassinated in the circles of conversation, some in the public walks, most in the theatre; the judges on the bench, the priests at the altar: nor did those monsters cease from destroying, till they had cut off whomever they deemed most willing, or most able to oppose their measures. The great body of the people, who perceived that even the

Massacre
in Corinth.

¹⁶ Xenophon, with the superstitious insensibility of his age, dwells on the enormous impiety of this choice.

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temples, and adored images of the gods, (whose knees they grasped,) afforded not any protection to the victims of this impious fury, prepared to fly from their country; when they were restrained, first by the lamentable cries of their wives and children, and then by the declaration of the assassins, that they intended nothing farther than to deliver the city from traitors, the partisans of Sparta and slavery. This abominable massacre infected Corinth with the plague of sedition, which silently lurked, or openly raged, in that unfortunate republic, during the six following years. The Spartans and Argives assisted their respective factions; Corinth was alternately subject to the one and the other, but always to a foreign power; and, of the two Corinthian harbours, which were considered as most important divisions of the capital, the Lechæum was long garrisoned by the Spartans, while the Cenchreæ remained in possession of the Argives.

The Spartans successful by land, and the Athenians by sea.

After the battles of Cnidus and Coronæa, there was not any general engagement by land or sea; and it is worthy of observation, that the partial actions, which happened on either element, generally followed the bias of those important victories. Success for the most part attended the sailors of Athens, and the soldiers of Sparta; though the naval exploits of Teleutias, the kinsman of Agesilaus, who surprised the Piræus with twelve gallies, took many merchantmen, destroyed several ships of war, and scoured the coast of Attica, formed an exception extremely

honourable to that commander ; and the military advantages of Iphicrates the Athenian, though unimportant in their consequences, announced those great talents for war, which afterwards rendered him so illustrious. But, in general, Agesilaus and the Spartans maintained their superiority in the field, while Conon, Thrasybulus, and Chabrias, proved successful against Timbron, Anaxibius, and the other naval commanders of the enemy. ¹⁷

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In the actual state of Greece, the respective successes of the contending powers were not accompanied by proportional advantages. The Lacedæmonians derived not any solid or permanent benefit from their victory at Coronæa, unless we account as such the gratification of their revenge, in ravaging, without resistance, the Argive and Boëotian territory ; but their defeat at Cnidus deprived them in one day of the fruit of many laborious campaigns, since, with the assistance of a superior naval force, and with the command of the Persian treasury, Conon found little difficulty in detaching for ever from their dominion the whole western coast of Lesser Asia. This enterprise must have been effected with uncommon rapidity, and, unless the Persian fleet kept the sea in the middle of winter, (which is not at all probable,) could only employ about three months. The measures taken by the Spartans, either to preserve or to recover their va-

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of Conon.

¹⁷ Diodor. l. xiv. ad Olymp. xvi. 4. & Xenoph. Hellen l. iv. 5.

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fence of
Abydus.

luable possessions in the East, have scarcely deserved the notice of history, if we except their resistance at Abydus, a place less famous for this memorable defence, (such is the contempt for truth in comparison with an alluring fiction!) than for the fabulous amours of Hero and Leander. Dercyllidas had obtained the government of this strong and populous town, as the reward of his military services. Instead of imitating the pusillanimity of the neighbouring governors, many of whom, alarmed by the disaster at Cnidus, fled in precipitation from the places entrusted to their command, Dercyllidas assembled the Abydenians; assured them that one naval defeat had not ruined the power of Sparta¹⁸, who, even before she had attained the sovereignty of the sea, now unfortunately lost, was able to reward her benefactors, and to punish her enemies. "The moment of adversity furnished an occasion to display their inviolable attachment to the republic; and it would be glorious for them alone, of all the inhabitants of the Asiatic coast, to brave the power of Persia." Having confirmed the courage of the Abydenians, he sailed to the town of Sestos, across the most frequented

¹⁸ The remarkable expression of Xenophon shews the importance of this defeat in the general estimation of the Abydenians, and of Dercyllidas himself, though he would fain dissemble it. Εἰς δὲ οὐχ ὅπως ἔχω, αἱ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ἀκρατηθέντες, οὐδὲν ἀπὸ ἐπὶ εἶσθαι: "The matter stands not thus, that, because we have been worsted in the sea-fight, we are therefore nothing."

and narrowest passage of the Hellespont. Sestos was the principal place of the Thracian Chersonesus, the inhabitants of which owed their protection and safety to the useful labours of Dercyllidas¹⁹; and this claim of merit enabled him to secure their allegiance. The fidelity of these towns, amidst the general defection of the coast of Europe and of Asia, prevented the inconveniences and hardships to which the expelled Spartans, who had served in the garrison of those parts, must have been otherwise exposed; and delivered them from the necessity of undertaking a winter's journey to the Peloponnesus through the territories of many hostile republics. The unfortunate governors and garrisons, who had fled, or who had been driven from the places of their respective command, took refuge within the friendly walls of Sestos and Abydus. Their numbers increased the security of those cities, and enabled Dercyllidas, who excelled in the art of fortification, to put them in such a posture of defence as baffled the attempts of Conon and Pharnabazus.

But the success of these commanders was still sufficiently complete; and the importance of their services excited the warmest gratitude in the breast of Artaxerxes. The merit of the satrap was acknowledged soon afterwards; he obtained in marriage the daughter of the Great King.

¹⁹ See above, p. 216.

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Conon re-
builds the
walls and
harbours
of Athens.
Olymp.
xcvi. 4.
A. C. 393.

The patriotic Conon neither desired nor received any personal reward; but employed his favour with Artaxerxes to retrieve the affairs of Athens, the interest of which formed the honourable motive that had alone engaged, and that still retained him, in the Persian service. He inflamed the resentment which both Pharnabazus and his master had justly conceived against Sparta, and encouraged them, early in the spring, to send their victorious armament towards Greece, to retaliate the ravages committed in the East by the arms of Agesilaus. But he instructed them, that if they would render their vengeance complete, and humble the Spartans for ever, they must raise the fallen rival of that imperious people. The disbursement of a sum of money, which would be scarcely felt by the treasury of Persia, might suffice to rebuild the walls and harbours of Athens; a measure by which they would inflict the deepest wound on the power, as well as on the pride, of their ambitious enemy. The proposal was heard with approbation; the expense was liberally supplied; the Persian fleet set sail, reduced the Cyclades and Cythera, ravaged the coast of Laconia, and, after performing in detached squadrons whatever seemed most useful for the Persian service, assembled in the long-deserted harbours of the Phalerus, Munichia, and Piræus. There, the important task of restoring the ancient ornaments and defence of the city of Minerva, was begun, carried on, and accomplished with extraordinary diligence.

The ready service of the crews belonging to the numerous fleet, assisted the industry of mercenary workmen, whom the allurements of gain had brought from every quarter of Greece; and the labour of both was seconded and encouraged by the voluntary and eager exertions of the Boeotians and Argives; but, above all, by the zeal of the Athenians themselves, who justly regarded their actual employment as the second foundation of their once glorious capital.

The work was completed before the return of spring; and the mortifying intelligence, when brought to Sparta, affected the magistrates of that republic with the cruellest anxiety. They were ready to abandon for ever the prospect of recovering their lost dominion in the East; they were desirous to obtain an accommodation with Artaxerxes on the most humiliating terms; they were willing to deprive themselves of the only advantage yet in their power, to forego even the pleasure of revenge, and to abstain from ravaging the territories of their neighbours and enemies, provided only the Great King and his satraps would grant them a condition, with which it was easy to comply, since it required nothing but that they should cease to lavish their own money in restoring the dangerous power of the Athenians. Accordingly, they sent successive embassies to the court of Persia, as well as to Teribazus, who had lately succeeded Tithraustes in the government of the southern provinces. They industriously neglected Pharnabazus, from whom they could not reasonably expect any

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Sparta, alarmed by that measure, solicits peace from Persia. Olymp. xcvi. 1. A. C. 393.

C H A P. favour, as the hostilities of Agesilaus had peculiarly excited the resentment of that warlike satrap.
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Employ
Antalcidas
as their
minister.

Among the ministers employed by Sparta in this negotiation was Antalcidas, a man whose prior history is little known. He appears to have had an intercourse of hospitality with several noble Persians²⁰; it is not improbable that he had served under the standard of Cyrus, and perhaps continued in the East during the successive expeditions of Thimbron, Dercyllidas, and Agesilaus. If we except the artful and daring Lysander, Sparta never employed a more proper agent to treat with the Barbarians. Antalcidas was bold, eloquent, subtle, complying, a master in all the arts of insinuation and address, and equally well qualified, by his abilities and vices, to execute an insidious commission at a corrupt court. The revered institutions of his country were the objects of real or well-feigned contempt; he derided the frugal and self-denying maxims of the divine Lycurgus; but peculiarly delighted the voluptuous, cowardly and treacherous satraps and courtiers, when he directed the poisoned shafts of his ridicule against the manly firmness, the probity, and the patriotism of Leonidas and Callicratidas, names equally glorious to Sparta and dishonourable to Persia.

His negotiation facilitated

The success of such a minister, almost ensured by his own character and talents, was hastened

²⁰ Xenoph. Hellen.

by the imprudent ambition of Conon and the Athenians, too soon and too fatally intoxicated by the deceitful gifts of prosperity. When this illustrious commander co-operated with Pharnabazus in expelling the Lacedæmonians from the East, he earnestly exhorted the satrap to confirm the Asiatic Greeks in the enjoyment of their ancient immunities, lest the fear of oppression might suggest the means of resistance, and oblige them to form a general alliance for their own defence, highly unfavourable to the views of Artaxerxes. In this plausible advice the patriotic Athenian had a farther view than it was possible for the Persian at that time to discover. After rebuilding the walls and harbours of Athens, he requested Pharnabazus, who prepared to return to his province, that he might be allowed, for a few months longer, to employ a squadron of Persian ships, in conjunction with his own, to infest the territories of Sparta and her allies. The satrap, naturally unsuspecting, and perhaps betrayed by his resentment, readily granted this demand. But Conon, unmindful of his promised operations against the common enemy, thought only of promoting the interest of his republic. He sailed to the Cyclades, to Chios, to Lesbos, and even to the coast of Eolis, and Ionia, displayed the strength of his armament, described the flourishing fortune of Athens, and endeavoured to persuade or to compel the astonished Asiatics and islanders to acknowledge the just authority of their ancient metropolis or sovereign, who having risen more splendid from

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by the unreasonable ambition of Conon and the Athenians.

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Negocia-
tions of
the ad-
verse
states with
Persia.

her ruins, required only the attachment of her former subjects, and allies, to resume her wonted power, and recover her hereditary renown.

The success of this extraordinary enterprise is not particularly described, nor is the omission material, since this last expedition of Conon had not any other memorable effect but that of ruining himself. His unjustifiable ambition furnished powerful weapons to the dexterity of Antalcidas, who represented him as guilty of the most unexampled audacity, aggravated by the most perfidious ingratitude, in attempting to alienate and to conquer the King's dominions, even by the assistance of the King's forces, to which both his country and himself owed so many recent and signal benefits. The accusation was probably rendered more welcome to Teribazus, by the jealousy which he naturally entertained of the neighbouring satrap, the friend of Conon, and his own rival. But after the last unwarrantable transaction of the Athenian, which he could defend only by the obsolete Greek maxim, that every thing is lawful to a man in the service of his country, even his late colleague Pharnabazus seems to have withdrawn from him the protection and friendship by which he had been so long distinguished, so that the influence of that powerful satrap formed not any opposition to the negotiations and intrigues of Antalcidas. The Athenians, however, sent Dion, Hermogenes, with other emissaries, to watch and counteract his measures. Conon was named at the head of this deputation; and as he knew not

the full extent of Teribazus's animosity, inflamed and exasperated by the address of Antalcidas, he expected that the personal presence of a man, who had formerly served the Persians with fidelity and success, might obtain an easy pardon from the satrap, and perhaps prove useful to the affairs of Athens. The Bœotians and Argives likewise sent their ambassadors, who had instructions to act in concert with Conon and his colleagues. But *their* overtures were little regarded, while those of Antalcidas met with warm approbation from Teribazus.

The Lacedæmonian ambassador declared that he had been commanded to offer such terms of peace as suited equally the dignity and the interest of the Great King. "The Spartans resigned all pretensions to the Greek cities in Asia, which they acknowledged to be dependencies of the Persian empire. Why should Artaxerxes, then, continue to lavish his treasure in vain? since the Spartans not only ceded to him the immediate object of dispute, but earnestly desired to promote the future prosperity of his dominions, by settling the affairs of Greece, as best answered his conveniency. For this purpose they were ready to declare all the cities and islands, small and great, totally independent of each other; in consequence of which there would not be any republic sufficiently powerful thenceforth to disturb the tranquillity of Persia." These conditions, which the most insolent minister of the Great King might himself have dictated, were too advantageous not to be liable

The overtures of Sparta most acceptable to the Persian ministers.

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Death of
Conon.

Obstacles
to the con-
clusion of
the treaty
of peace.
Olymp.
xcvii. 3.
A. C. 390.

Military
opera-
tions.

to suspicion. But Teribazus was so blinded by partiality for the Spartan minister, that he seems not to have entertained the smallest doubt of his sincerity. The terms of peace were transmitted to the court of Susa, that they might be approved and ratified by Artaxerxes. The subtlety of Antalcidas was rewarded by a considerable sum of money ; and the patriotism of Conon (a patriotism which had carried him beyond the bounds of prudence and of justice) was punished by immediate death²¹, or by an ignominious confinement.²² His fate is variously related ; but his actions justly rank him with the first of Grecian names ; and the fame of an illustrious father was supported and rivalled by that of his son Timotheus.²³

It might have been expected that a plan of accommodation, so advantageous and honourable for Persia, should have been readily accepted by Artaxerxes. But the negociation languished for several years, partly on account of the temporary disgrace of Teribazus, who was succeeded by Struthas ; a man who, moved by some unknown motive, warmly espoused the interest of the Athenians ; and partly by the powerful solicitations and remonstrances of the Bœotian and Argive ambassadors, who accused the sincerity, and unveiled the latent ambition, of Sparta.

Meanwhile the war was carried on with unremitting activity. The Lacedæmonians and their

²¹ Isoc. Panegy.

²² Xenoph. Gr. Hist. l. iv.

²³ Dinarch. adv. Demosth. p. 94. & Corn. Nepos, in Vit. Conon: & Timoth.

allies sallied from their strong garrisons in Sicyon and the Lechæum, to destroy the harvests and the villages of their Peloponnesian enemies. The Bœotians and Argives retaliated these injuries by several hostile incursions into the territories of Sparta ; while the Athenians, as if they had again attained the command of the sea, bent the whole vigour of their republic towards an element long propitious to their ancestors.

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The recent splendour of Canon had eclipsed the ancient and well-merited renown of Thrasybulus, whose extraordinary abilities, and more extraordinary good fortune, had twice rescued his country from the yoke of tyrants. But after the lamented death or captivity of the former, the Athenian fleet, amounting to forty sail, was entrusted to Thrasybulus ; who, having scoured the Ægæan sea, sailed to the Hellespont, and persuaded or compelled the inhabitants of Byzantium, and several other Thracian cities, to abolish their aristocratic governments, and to accept the alliance of Athens. His activity was next directed against the isle of Lesbos, in which the Lacedæmonian interest was still supported by a considerable body of troops. Having landed his men, he joined battle with the enemy in the neighbourhood of Methymna, and obtained a complete victory, after killing with his own hand Therimachus, the Spartan governor and general. The principal cities of the island acknowledged the Athenian power, and seasonably reinforced the fleet, by the terror of which they had been

Conquests
of Thrasy-
bulus.

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He is surprised and slain.

subdued. Encouraged by this success, Thrasybulus sailed towards Rhodes, in order to assist the democratic faction, who equally contended for the interest of Athens and their own.

Before proceeding, however, to that important island, he determined to multiply the resources, and to confirm the affections, of the fleet. For this purpose he raised considerable supplies of whatever seemed most necessary for his expedition from the maritime towns of Asia, and at length entered the mouth of the Eurymedon (the glorious scene of Cimon's victories), and levied a heavy contribution on Aspendus, the principal seaport and capital of Pamphylia. But here his good fortune ended.²⁴ The patient timidity of the Barbarians had endured the public depredation, to which they were long accustomed; but even *their* servility could not brook the private rapacity and intolerable exactions of the sailors and troops, which were imputed (not perhaps without reason) to the merciless avarice of the commander. The resentment of the Pamphylians overcame their cowardice. They attacked the Grecian tents in the night, and surprised the security of Thrasybulus, who thus fell a sacrifice to a very unjustifiable defect, which, if we may believe a contemporary writer, greatly debased the dignity of his otherwise illustrious character.²⁵

²⁴ Corn. Nep. in Vit. Thrasybul.

²⁵ Lysias against Ergocles. This Ergocles was the friend and confidant of Thrasybulus. He had assisted him in expelling the thirty tyrants, and had recently accompanied him in his expedition

The unjust treatment of Aspendus, which had been retorted by such signal revenge, would never perhaps have reached the ears of Artaxerxes, had not his voluptuous indolence been beset by the active importunity of Antalcidas. This vigilant and artful minister let slip no opportunity to rouse the jealousy of the Great King against the Athenians, his hereditary foes, and to obliterate his resentment against the Spartans, his recent but less natural enemies. The severe exactions from Pamphylia, a province acknowledging his authority, afforded a powerful topic of persuasion, which the Spartan ambassador could not fail to employ; but it is uncertain whether even this important argument would have conquered the reluctance of the Persian monarch to concur with the measures of a people, who had enabled the rebellious Cyrus to dispute his throne, and who had recently invaded and plundered, not a maritime city, but the interior provinces of the empire. His interest and inclination were combated by his resentment and his pride; when his fluctuating irresolution was at length decided by the Athenians, whose mad imprudence crowned the triumph of Antalcidas.

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Activity of
Antalcidas at the
Persian
court.
Olymp.
xcvii. 4.
A. C. 389.

to the coast of Thrace, mentioned in the text. The military exploits of Thrasybulus in Thrace were highly honourable and meritorious; but his private behaviour was the reverse. He stuck at nothing by which he could enrich himself or his dependants. Ergocles was condemned to death for the share which he had taken in this unjustifiable peculation and rapacity. Lysias's *Oration* against Ergocles and Philocrates. See likewise Aristophanes *Ecclesiaz*, v. 356. & Schol. ad locum.

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Revolt of
Cyprus
abetted by
the Athe-
nians.

The signal victories of Conon and Thrasybulus, and the rising fortune of Athens, encouraged Evagoras, King of Salamis, who had received some late cause of disgust, to execute his long-meditated design of revolting from Persia. Egypt was actually in rebellion; Artaxerxes had undertaken a war against the barbarous Carduchians²⁶, who were by no means a contemptible enemy. These were very favourable circumstances; but the Persian fleet, which, after performing the service for which it had been equipped, had continued to lie inactive in the Phœnician and Cilician harbours, was ready to be employed in any new enterprise. The skilful and experienced bravery of the King of Salamis, seconded by the youthful ardour of his son Protagoras, obtained an easy victory over the first squadrons that were sent to invade his island. There was reason, however, to dread the arrival of a far superior force. In this danger, Evagoras requested, and obtained, the assistance of the Athenians; who not only enjoyed peace with Persia, but whose ambassadors were endeavouring to prevent that court from making peace with their enemies.

The Great
King dic-
tates the
terms of
a general
peace.
Olymp.
xcviii. 1.
A. C. 388.

This extraordinary measure of a people, in preferring their gratitude to their interest; a gratitude which they might have foreseen to be useless to him whom they meant to oblige, and pernicious to the most important interests of their republic, finally determined Artaxerxes to

²⁶ These and the following circumstances concerning the war of Cyprus are scattered through Diodorus, Isocrates's Panegyric of Athens, and his Panegyric of Evagoras.

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espouse the cause of the Spartans ; and to dictate the terms of a general peace, almost in the same words which had been proposed by Antalcidas : “ That the Greek cities in Asia, with the island of Cyprus, and the peninsula of Clazomené, should be subject to Persia ; Athens should be allowed to retain her immemorial jurisdiction in the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros ; but all the other republics, small and great, should enjoy the independent government of their own hereditary laws. Whatever people rejected these conditions, so evidently calculated for preserving the public tranquillity, must expect the utmost indignation of the Great King, who, in conjunction with the republic of Sparta, would make war on their perverse and dangerous obstinacy, by sea and land, with ships and money.”⁷

Teribazus and Antalcidas returned from the East, charged with the definitive resolutions, or rather the haughty mandate of Artaxerxes, which had been confirmed by the unalterable sanction of the royal signet. There was reason, however, to apprehend that Thebes, Athens, and Argos, might still reject the terms of a peace proposed by their avowed enemies, pernicious to their particular and immediate interests, and equally disadvantageous and dishonourable to the whole Grecian name. The remembrance of the glorious confederacy, for defending the Asiatic colonies against the oppression of Bar-

Which the Grecian states are compelled to accept. Olymp. xcvi. 2. A. C. 387.

⁷ The last words are literally translated from Xenoph. p. 550. See likewise Diodorus, l. xiv. c. 110. Plut. Ageil. p. 608 ; and Artaxerx. p. 1032.

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barians, could not, indeed, much influence the degenerate councils of these republics ; but the Thebans must resign, with reluctance, their real or pretended authority over the inferior cities of Bœotia ; the Argives must unwillingly withdraw their garrison from Corinth, and leave that important capital in the power of the aristocratic or Lacedæmonian faction ; and the Athenians must abandon, with regret, the fruits of their recent victories, and the hopes of recovering their ancient grandeur. The opposition of these states had been foreseen by Antalcidas, who took the most effectual measures to render it impotent. By the assistance of Persian money he equipped a fleet of eighty sail, from the mercenary sea-ports of Greece and Asia, from the intermediate isles, and even from the coast of Italy and Sicily. This armament was independent of the squadrons with which Teribazus prepared to attack the isle of Cyprus, if the presumption of Evagoras, unassisted and alone, should dare to provoke his hostility. The satrap, also, had collected a very considerable army, which was ready to embark for Greece, and to co-operate with Agesilaus, who had assembled the domestic troops, and the allies of Sparta, to march, at the first summons, against any city or republic that might reject the peace of Antalcidas.²⁸ These vigorous preparations, intimidating the weakness of the confederates, compelled them into a reluctant compliance with the terms of the treaty. The Thebans made the strongest and most ob-

²⁸ Τῆς ἐκ' Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. Xenoph. p. 277.

stinate resistance ; but their pretensions were finally silenced by the threats of the Spartan King, an inveterate enemy to their republic. The Boeotian cities were acknowledged to be independent, and admitted as parties in the peace. The Argives retired from Corinth, which, being deserted by the leaders of the democratical faction, became a faithful ally to Sparta. The military and naval operations ceased, tranquillity was restored, and the armies and fleets were, on both sides, disbanded and dissolved. *

But amidst this universal and most obsequious submission to the court of Persia, one man avowed his discontent, and prepared to maintain his opposition. The article respecting Cyprus was loudly rejected by Evagoras, who asserted the independence of his native island ; and, with a magnanimity that formed a striking contrast with the degenerate and disgraceful softness of his Grecian allies, set the power of Artaxerxes at defiance. Evagoras trusted to the resources of his own vigorous mind, to the superior skill of his seamen, and to the assistance of Acoris King of Egypt. But the numerous squadrons of Teribazus prevailed over all his hopes. He was discomfited in a naval engagement ; his territories were invaded and ravaged ; he was reduced to his capital Salamis ; and even Salamis was threatened with a siege. His resistance had already exceeded what his strength warranted, or what his dignity required. His ene-

Evagoras
alone re-
jects the
authority
of Persia.

* Διαλυθῆναι τὰ πλοῖα, &c. Xenoph. p. 551.

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Submits to
an honour-
able com-
promise.
Olymp.
xcviii. 4.
A. C. 385.

mies were incapable of perseverance, or unwilling to drive him to despair. He resigned his numerous and recent conquests in Cyprus, but retained possession of the ancient principality of Teucer, which his fortunate arms had recovered from an usurper; and submitted, without dishonour, to imitate the example of many preceding princes of Salamis, and to acknowledge himself the tributary of the King of Persia.*

* Diodor. l. xv. p. 462.

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Reflections upon the Peace of Antalcidas. — Ambitious Views of Sparta. — State of Arcadia. — Siege of Mantinea. — Olynthian Confederacy. — The Spartans make War on Olynthus. — Submission of that Republic. — Pella becomes the capital of Macedon. — Phæbidas seizes the Theban Citadel. — The Measure approved by Agesilaus. — Conspiracy of the Theban Exiles. — The Theban Democracy restored.

THE peace of Antalcidas forms, in Grecian history, an important and disgraceful era. The valuable colonies in Asia, the cause, the object, and the scene, of so many memorable wars, were resigned and abandoned for ever to the power of a Barbarian master. The King of Persia dismembered the distant dependencies, and controlled the domestic arrangements of a people who had given law to his ancestors.¹ Their ancient confederacies were dissolved; the smaller cities were loosened from dependence on their powerful neighbours; all were disunited and weakened; and Greece felt the languor of peace, without enjoying the benefits of security.

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Reflections on the peace of Antalcidas.

¹ See the articles of the treaty concluded in 449. A. C vol. ii. c. xii. p. 80.

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But if the whole Grecian name was dishonoured by accepting this ignominious treaty, what peculiar infamy must belong to the magistrates of Sparta, by whom it was proposed and promoted? What motives of advantage could balance this weight of disgrace? Or rather, what advantage could the Spartans derive from such ignoble condescension as seemed totally unworthy of their actual power, but far more unworthy of their ancient renown? This question, like most political questions, may be best answered by facts; and the transactions which both preceded and followed the peace of Antalcidas clearly reveal the secret, but powerful causes of that dishonourable, and seemingly disadvantageous measure.

Motives which engaged the Spartans eagerly to embrace that treaty.

The ambition of making conquests in the East, which it now appeared impossible to retain, had deprived the Lacedæmonians of an authority, or rather dominion, in Greece, acquired by the success of the Peloponnesian war, and which they might have reasonably expected to preserve and to confirm. Not only their power, but their safety, was threatened by the arms of a hostile confederacy, which had been formed and fomented by the wealth of Persia. Athens, their rival, their superior, their subject, but always their unrelenting enemy, had recovered her walls and fleet, and aspired to command the sea. Thebes and Argos had become sensible of their natural strength, and disdained to acknowledge the pre-eminence, or to follow the standard,

of any foreign republic. The inferior states of Peloponnesus were weary of obeying every idle summons to war, from which they derived not any advantage but that of gratifying the ambition of their Spartan masters. The valuable colonies in Macedon and Thrace, and particularly the rich and populous cities of the Chalcidic region, the bloodless conquests of the virtuous Brasidas, had forsaken the interest of Sparta, when Sparta forsook the road of honour and the maxims of justice. Scarcely any vestige appeared of the memorable trophies erected in a war of twenty-seven years. The Eastern provinces (incomparably the most important of all) were irrecoverably lost; and this rapid decline of power had happened in the course of ten years, and had been occasioned chiefly by the fatal splendour of Agesilaus's victories in Asia.

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About a century before, and almost on the same scene, the Spartans had been first deprived of their hereditary fame, and prescriptive honours.² Almost every interference, in peace or war, with the Ionian colonies, had hurt the interests of their republic. They naturally began to suspect, therefore, that such distant expeditions suited not the circumstances of Sparta, an inland city, with a fertile territory, but destitute of arts, industry, and commerce; and whose inhabitants, having little genius for the sea, were naturally unable to equip, or to maintain, such a naval force as might command the obedience

Advantages
which they
derived
from it.

² See above, vol. ii. p. 68.

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of an extensive coast, attached by powerful ties to their Athenian rivals. The abandoning, therefore, of what they could not hope to regain, or, if regained, to preserve, seemed a very prudent and salutary measure; since, in return for this imaginary concession, they received many real and important advantages. They were appointed to superintend and to direct the execution of the treaty; and in order to make their authority effectual, entitled to demand the assistance of Persian money; with which they might easily purchase Grecian soldiers. The condition requiring the smaller cities to be declared free and independent, (although the dexterity of Antalcidas had proposed it as the best means of preventing the future invasion of Asia,) was peculiarly beneficial to the Spartans. It represented them as the patrons of universal liberty, and restored them that honourable reputation which they had long lost. From the nature of the condition itself, it could only apply to such places, as, being kept in a reluctant subjection, still possessed courage to vindicate their freedom. In the secondary towns of Messenia and Laconia, the stern policy of Sparta had crushed the hope, and almost the desire, of obtaining this inestimable benefit. The authority of other capitals was less imperious and imposing; the sovereign and subject were more on a footing of equality; and it was a maxim in Greece, "That men are disposed to reject the just rights of their equals, rather than to revolt against the unlawful

tyranny of their masters.”³ But Sparta expected not only to detach the inferior communities from their more powerful neighbours, but to add them to the confederacy of which she formed the head; and by such multiplied accessions of power, of wealth, and of fame, to re-establish that solid power in Greece, which had been imprudently abandoned for the hope of Asiatic triumphs.⁴

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That such considerations of interest and ambition, not a sincere desire to promote the public tranquillity, had produced this perfidious treaty, could not long be kept secret, notwithstanding the various artifices employed to conceal it. Thebes and Argos were required to fulfil the conditions required by the peace; but no mention was made of withdrawing the Lacedæmonian garrisons from the places which they occupied. Lest this injustice might occasion general discontent, the Athenians were allowed the same privilege. The possession of the unimportant isles of Lemnos, Scyros, and Imbros, flattered their vain hopes, and lulled them into false security; and, as they expected to reap the fruits of the victories of Conon and Thrasybulus, they were averse to renew the war for the sake of their allies, whose interests were now separated from their own. Meanwhile the Spartan emissaries negotiated and intrigued in all the subordinate cities, encouraging the aristocratical

Their ambitious designs immediately after that event.

³ Thucyd. *passim*. See particularly the speech of the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, vol. ii. c. xv. p. 203.

⁴ Vid. Isocrat. *de Pace*, *passim*.

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factions, and fomenting the animosities of the citizens against each other, and against their respective capitals. The jealousies and complaints, which had been principally occasioned by these secret cabals, were usually referred to the Spartan senate; whose affected moderation, under pretence of defending the cause of the weak and the injured, always decided the contest in the way most favourable for themselves. But the warlike disciples of Lycurgus could not long remain satisfied with these juridical usurpations. They determined to take arms, which they probably hoped to employ with such artful dexterity as might prevent any general, or very dangerous alarm; beginning with such cities as had not entered into the late confederacy against them, gradually extending their hostilities from the weak to the more powerful members of that confederacy; and thus conquering successively those, whose entire and collective strength it would have been vain to assail.⁵

State of
Arcadia.
Olymp.
xcviii. 8.
A. C. 586.

The first victim of this ambitious policy was the flourishing republic of Mantinæa, whose territory was situate almost in the centre of Arcadia, itself the centre of the Peloponnesus. The origin of Mantinæa was the same with that of Tegea, Stymphalis, Heræa, Orchomenos, and other neighbouring cities, which had grown into populousness and power from the scattered villages of shepherds inhabiting the vallies and mountains of Arcadia. The exuberant fertility,

⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. p. 561. & Diodor. l. xv. p. 448.

the inland situation, the generous warmth, yet lively verdure⁶, together with the picturesque and animating scenery of this delightful region, seemed peculiarly adapted to inspire, and to gratify the love of rural happiness; and to afford, in all their elegance and dignity, *those sublime and sacred joys of the country*, which the genius of ancient poets hath felt, and described with such affecting sensibility. Every district of Arcadia was marked and diversified by hills, some of which, could we credit the suspicious vanity of geographical description, ascend two miles in perpendicular height, and which supply innumerable streams, that water and fertilise the rich vallies which they inclose and defend.⁷ This secure and insulated position of their territory long preserved the Arcadians ignorant and uncorrupted; and a little before the period of history now under review, they were distinguished by the innocent simplicity of their manners, and by their fond attachment to a pastoral life. But the turbulent ambition of their neighbours had often obliged them to employ the sword instead of the sheep-hook. They had *reluctantly* taken arms; yet, when compelled by necessity, or excited by honour, the mountaineers of Arcadia had displayed such stubborn valour, and exerted such efforts of vigour and activity, as made their services

⁶ These circumstances are common to Arcadia with the other mountainous districts of Greece, as well as with the islands of the Archipelago. TOURNEFORT.

⁷ Pausanias, viii. 5. & Strabo, p. 588, &c. Descrip. Græc. apud Gronov. vol. i.

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eagerly courted by the surrounding states, and purchased with emulation. Nor had they trusted to their personal strength and bravery alone for the defence of their beloved possessions. Having quitted their farms and villages, they had assembled into walled towns, from which their numerous garrisons were ready to sally forth against an hostile invader. The dangerous vicinity of Sparta had early driven the companions of Pan and the Nymphs from the vocal woods of Mount Mænalus⁸, into the fortifications of Tegea, formerly the principal city of the province⁹, but afterwards rivalled and surpassed by Mantinæa, which was become an object of jealousy and envy, not only to the neighbouring cities of Arcadia, but even to Sparta herself.

The proud
message of
the Spar-
tans to the
Mantinæ-
ans.

Olymp.
xcviii. 3.

A. C. 386.

In the year immediately following the treaty of Antalcidas, Lacedæmonian ambassadors were sent to Mantinæa, to discharge a very extraordinary commission. Having demanded an audience of the assembly, they expressed the resentment of their republic against a people, who, pretending to live in friendship with them, had in the late war repeatedly furnished with corn their avowed enemies the Argives. That, on other occasions, the Mantinæans had unguardedly discovered their secret hatred to Sparta, rejoicing in her misfortunes, and envying her prosperity. That it was time to anticipate this

⁸ Mænalus argutumque nemus pinosque loquentes
Semper habet ; semper pastorum ille audit amores
Panaque, &c. VIAG. Ecl. viii. v. 22.

⁹ Herodot. l. vi. c. 105.

dangerous and unjust animosity; for which purpose the Spartans commanded them to demolish their walls, to abandon their proud city, and to return to those peaceful villages in which their ancestors had lived and flourished.¹⁰ The Mantinæans received this proposal with the indignation which it merited; the ambassadors retired in disgust; the Spartans declared war; summoned the assistance of their confederates; and a powerful army, commanded by King Agesipolis, invaded the hostile territory.

But the most destructive ravages could not bend the resolution of the Mantinæans. The strength and loftiness of their walls bade defiance to assault: nor could a regular siege be undertaken with certain success; as the magazines of Mantinæa were abundantly stored with various kinds of grain, the crops of the former year having been uncommonly plentiful. Agesipolis, however, embraced this doubtful mode of attack, and drew first a ditch, and then a wall, entirely round the place, employing one part of his troops in the work, and another in guarding the workmen. This tedious service exhausted the patience of the besiegers, without shaking the firmness of the Mantinæans. The Spartans were afraid to detain longer in the field their reluctant confederates; but Agesipolis proposed a new measure, which was attended with complete and immediate success. The river

Mantinæa
besieged.

¹⁰ Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. c. 2. et seq. Diodor. l. xv. c. 7. et seq.

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Ophis, formed by the collected torrents from Mount Anchisius, a river broad, deep, and rapid, flowed through the plain, and the city of Mantinæa. It was a laborious undertaking to stop the course of this copious stream ; which was no sooner effected, than the lower parts of the walls of Mantinæa were laid under water. According to the usual practice of the Greeks, the fortifications of this place were built of raw bricks, which being less liable to break into chinks, and to fly out of their courses, were preferred as the best defence against the battering engines then in use. But it is the inconvenience of raw bricks, to be as easily dissolved by water, as wax is melted by the sun.¹¹ The walls of Mantinæa began to yield, to shake, to fall in ruins. The activity of the inhabitants propped them with wood, but without any permanent advantage : so that, despairing of being able to exclude the enemy, they sent to capitulate, requesting that they might be permitted to keep possession of their city, on condition that they demolished their fortifications, and followed, in peace and war, the fortune of Sparta.

The town
capitu-
lates.

Hard con-
ditions
imposed
on the in-
habitants.
Olymp.
xcviii.
A. C. 385.

Agesipolis and his counsellors refused to grant them any other terms of peace than those which had been originally proposed by the Spartan senate. He observed that while they lived together in one populous city, their numbers exposed them to the delusions of seditious demagogues,

¹¹ This is the expression of Pausanias, in Arcad. who mentions the name of the river Ophis, omitted by Xenophon and Diodorus.

whose address and eloquence easily seduced the multitude from their real interest, and destroyed the influence of their superiors in rank, in wealth, and in wisdom, on whose attachment alone the Lacedæmonians could safely depend. They insisted therefore, that the Mantinæans should destroy their houses in the city; separate into four distinct communities¹²; and return to those villages which their ancestors had inhabited. The terror of an immediate assault made it necessary to comply with this humiliating demand: but the most zealous partisans of democracy, to the number of sixty, afraid of trusting to the capitulation, were *allowed* to fly from their country; which is mentioned as an instance of moderation¹³ in the Lacedæmonian soldiers, who might have put them to death as they passed through the gates.

This transaction was scarcely finished, when the Spartan magistrates availed themselves of the domestic discontents among the Phliasians, to display the same tyrannical spirit, but with still greater exertions of severity. The little republic of Phlius, like every state of Greece in those turbulent times, was distracted by factions. The prevailing party banished their opponents, the friends of Sparta and aristocracy. They were allowed to return from exile, in consequence of the commands and threats of Agesi-

The Spartans regulate, with a strong hand, the affairs of Phlius. Olymp. xcix. 1. A. C. 382.

¹² Xenophon says four, Diodorus five.

¹³ Or rather of good discipline, *μεταρχία*. The nobles of the Mantinæans, & *βελτίστοι των Μαντινέων*, were not so temperate; vide Xenoph. p. 552.

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laus¹⁴; but met not with that respectful treatment which seemed due to persons who enjoyed such powerful protection. They complained, and Agesilaus again interfered, by appointing commissioners to try and condemn to death the obnoxious Phliasians; an odious office, which must have been executed with unexampled rigour, since the city of Phlius, which had hitherto been divided by a variety of interests, thenceforward continued invariably the stedfast ally of Sparta.¹⁵

Embassy
of Acan-
thus and
Apollonia
to Sparta.

Meanwhile ambassadors arrived from Acanthus and Apollonia, two cities of the Chalcidicæ, requesting the Lacedæmonian assistance against the dangerous ambition of Olynthus. This city, of which we had occasion to mention the foundation towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, was situate nine miles from the sea, in a fertile and secure district, between the rivers Olynthus and Amnias, which flow into the lake Bolyca, a name improperly bestowed on the inmost recess of the Toronaic gulph. The vexatious government of Athens first drove the maritime communities of the Chalcidic region within the walls of Olynthus; the oppressive tyranny of Sparta obliged them to strengthen those walls, as well as to provide sufficient garrisons to defend them; and the subsequent misfortune of these domineering republics, together with the weakness of Macedon, encouraged and

¹⁴ Xenoph. in Agesil. & Hellen. l. v. p. 553.

¹⁵ Ibid. l. vii. p. 624

enabled the inhabitants of Olynthus successfully to employ, in offensive war, the forces which had been raised with no other view than to maintain their own independence. The towns which they subdued were either incorporated or associated with their own; and Olynthus became the head of a confederacy, whose extent, power, resources, and hopes, occasioned just alarm among the neighbouring communities of Greeks and Barbarians. They had already conquered the southern shores of Macedon, which comprehended the delightful regions of Chalcis and Pieræa, indented by two great and two smaller bays, and affording, in the highest perfection, the united benefits of agriculture, pasturage, and commerce. They aspired at acquiring the valuable district of mount Pangæus, whose timber and mines alike tempted their ambition and avarice; and Olynthus being favourably situate in the centre of the Chalcidicé, itself the centre of the Macedonian and Thracian coasts, might have preserved and extended her dominion, if the ambassadors of Acanthus and Apollonia had not completely effected the object of their commission at Sparta. They applied to the Ephori, who introduced them to the greater assembly, consisting, not only of the Spartans and Lacedæmonians, but of the deputies sent by their confederates. Cleigenes, the Acanthian, spoke in the name of his colleagues: "We apprehend, O Lacedæmonians, and allies! that amidst the multiplied objects of your care and correction, you have overlooked a great and growing dis-

They petition the assistance of that republic against the Olynthian confederacy.

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order which threatens, like a pestilence, to infect and pervade Greece. The ambition of the Olynthians has increased with their power. By the voluntary submission of the smaller cities in their neighbourhood, they have been enabled to subdue the more powerful. Emboldened by this accession of strength, they have wrested from the King of Macedonia his most valuable provinces. They actually possess Pella, the greatest city in that kingdom; and the unfortunate Amyntas is on the point of abandoning the remainder of his dominions, which he is unable to defend. There is not any community in Thrace capable of resisting their progress. The independent tribes of that warlike but divided country, respect the authority, and court the friendship of the Olynthians, who will doubtless be tempted to extend their dominion on that side, in order to augment the great revenues which they derive from their commercial cities and harbours, by the inexhaustible mines in mount Pangæus. If this extensive plan should be effected, what can prevent them from acquiring a decisive superiority by sea and land? and should they enter into an alliance with Athens and Thebes (a measure actually in contemplation), what will become, we say not, of the hereditary pre-eminence of Sparta, but of its independence and safety? The present emergency, therefore, solicits, by every motive of interest and of honour, the activity and valour of your republic. By yielding a seasonable assistance to Acanthus and Apollonia, which, unmoved by the pusil-

lanimous example of their neighbours, have hitherto spurned the yoke, and defied the threats of Olynthus, you will save from oppression two peaceful communities, and check the ambition of an usurping tyrant. The reluctant subjects of the Olynthians will court your protection; and the Chalcidian cities will be encouraged to revolt, especially as they are not yet inseparably linked with the capital by the ties of intermarriage and consanguinity, and by the interchange of rights and possessions.¹⁶ When such a connection shall take place (for the Olynthians have made a law to encourage it), you will be unable to break the force of this powerful and dangerous confederacy."

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The speech of Cleigenes and the ambitious views of the republic to which it was addressed, afford reason to conjecture that the ambassadors neither asked any thing in favour of their own communities, nor urged any accusation against Olynthus, which had not been previously suggested by the Spartan emissaries in Macedon. The reception given to the proposal of Cleigenes tends to confirm this conclusion. The Lacedæmonians, with affected impartiality and indifference, desired the opinion of their allies, before declaring their own. But there was not any occasion to declare what none could be so blind as to mistake. The confederates with one consent, but especially those who wished to in-

The Spartans readily listen to a request probably suggested by themselves. Olymp. xcix. 2. A. C. 385.

¹⁶ *Ἐπὶ γαμμοῖς καὶ συκτῆσιν παραλλήλαις.* Xenoph. p. 555.

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Their pre-
parations
for the
Olynthian
war.

gratiate themselves with Sparta¹⁷, determined to undertake the expedition against Olynthus. The Spartans commended their resolution, and proceeded to deliberate concerning the strength of the army to be raised, the mode of levying it, and the time for taking the field. It was resolved, that the whole force should amount to ten thousand effective men; and a list was prepared, containing the respective contingents to be furnished by the several cities. If any state should be unable to supply the full complement of soldiers, money would be taken in their stead, at the rate of half a drachm a day (or three-pence halfpenny) for each man; but if neither the troops nor the money was sent in due time, the Lacedæmonians would punish the disobedience of the obstinate or neglectful, by fining them eight times the sum which they had been originally required to contribute.

The ambassadors then rose up, and Cleigenes, again speaking for the rest, declared that these were indeed noble and generous resolutions; but, unfortunately, could not be executed with such promptitude as suited the urgency of the present crisis. The dangerous situation of Acanthus and Apollonia demanded immediate assistance. He proposed, therefore, that those troops which were ready, should instantly take the field; and insisted on this measure as a matter of the utmost importance to the future success of the war.

¹⁷ Καὶ μάλιστα ἡ βουλευμένη χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. Xenoph. p. 856.

The Lacedæmonians acknowledged the expediency of the advice; and commanded Eudamidas, with two thousand men, to proceed without delay to Macedon, while his brother Phœbidas collected a far greater force, in order to follow him. A very extraordinary event, which we shall have occasion fully to explain, retarded the arrival of this powerful reinforcement until the season for action had been nearly spent. But Eudamidas, with his little band, performed very essential service. He strengthened the garrisons of such places as were most exposed to assaults from the enemy; the appearance of a Spartan army encouraged the spirit of revolt among the allies and subjects of Olynthus; and soon after his march into the Chalcidicé, Eudamidas received the voluntary surrender of Potidæa, a city of great importance in the isthmus of Palléné.

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First campaign
against
Olynthus.
Olymp.
xcix. 2.
A. C. 383.

Such was the first campaign of a war which lasted four years, and was carried on under four successive generals. Eudamidas, too much elated by his first success, ravaged the Olynthian territory, and unguardedly approached the city. He was intercepted, conquered, and slain, and his army dispersed or lost.¹⁸

Eudamidas
defeated and
slain.

Teleutias, the brother of Agesilaus, whose naval exploits have been already noticed with applause, assumed the conduct of this distant expedition, with a body of ten thousand men.

Second
campaign
under Teleutias,
the brother of
Agesilaus

¹⁸ Xenoph. p. 546.

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Olymp.

xcix. 3.

A. C. 382.

He was assisted by Amyntas, king of Macedon, and still more effectually by Derdas, brother to that prince, and the governor, or rather sovereign, of Elymea, the most western province of Macedon, which abounded in cavalry. By the united efforts of these formidable enemies, the Olynthians, who had been defeated in various rencounters, were shut up within their walls, and prevented from cultivating their territory. Teleutias at length marched with his whole forces, in order to invest, or, if he found an opportunity, to assault the place. His surprise and indignation were excited by the boldness of the Olynthian horse, who ventured to pass the Amnias in sight of such a superior army; and he ordered the targeteers, who were commanded by Tlemonidas, to repel their insolence. The cavalry made an artful retreat across the Amnias, and were fiercely pursued by the Lacedæmonians. When a considerable part of the latter had likewise passed the river, the Olynthians suddenly faced about and charged them. Tlemonidas, with above an hundred of his companions, fell in the action. The Spartan general beheld with grief and rage the successful bravery of the enemy. Grasping his shield and lance, he commanded the cavalry, and the remainder of the targeteers, to pursue without intermission; and, at the head of his heavy-armed men, advanced with less order than celerity. The Olynthians attempted not to stop their progress, till they arrived under the walls and battlements.

At that moment the townsmen mounted their ramparts, and assailed the enemy with a shower of darts and arrows, and every kind of missile weapon, which greatly heightened the confusion occasioned by the rapidity of their march. Meanwhile the flower of the Olynthian troops, who had been purposely drawn up behind the gates, sallied forth with resistless violence; Teleutias, attempting to rally his men, was slain in the first onset; the Spartans, who attended him, gave ground; the whole army was repelled, and pursued with great slaughter, while flying in scattered disorder towards the friendly towns of Acanthus, Apollonia, Spartolis, and Potidæa.¹⁹

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Teleutias
likewise
defeated
and slain.

This mortifying disaster did not cool the ardour of the Spartans for gaining possession of Olynthus. In the year three hundred and eighty-one before Christ, which was the third of the war, they sent Agesipolis, with a powerful reinforcement, into Macedon. The arrival of this prince, early in the spring, revived the hopes of the vanquished, and confirmed the attachment of the Lacedæmonian allies. He invaded and ravaged such parts of the Olynthian territory as had been spared in former incursions, and took by storm the strong city of Torona. But while he prepared to avail himself of these advantages for rendering his success complete, he was seized with a calenture, a disease incident to warm climates, and, as the name expresses, affecting the patient with a painful sensation of

Third
campaign
under
King
Agesipolis;
Olymp.
xcix. 4.
A. C. 331.

who dies
of a calen-
ture.

¹⁹ Xenoph. p. 561. et seq.

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burning heat, which he is eager to extinguish by the most violent and dangerous ²⁰ remedies. Agesipolis had lately visited the temple of Apollo at Aphytis, a maritime town on the Toronaic gulph. In the paroxysm of his disorder, he longed for the fanning breezes, the shady walks and groves, and the cool crystalline streams, of that delightful retreat. His attendants indulged his inclination, but could not save his life. He died on the seventh day of the disease, within the precincts of the consecrated ground. His remains, embalmed in honey, were conveyed to Sparta. ²¹ His brother Cleombrotus succeeded to the throne; and Polybiades, a general of experience and capacity, was invested with the command in Macedon.

Fourth
campaign
under
Polybi-
ades.
Olynth.
c. 1.
A. C. 380.

Polybiades, imitating the example of his predecessors, conducted a powerful reinforcement against Olynthus, which was completely surrounded by land, while a squadron of Lacedæmonian gallies blocked up the neighbouring harbour of Mecyberna. The events of the siege, which lasted eight or ten months, have not been thought worthy of record. It is probable that the Olynthians no longer ventured to sally forth against such a superior force: yet they must have been exceedingly distressed by famine before their obstinacy could be determined to ca-

²⁰ It is supposed, with great probability, that the sailors who suddenly disappear in the Mediterranean, during the heat of summer, have been attacked in the night by the calenture, and have thrown themselves into the sea. Cyclopæd. Par. ad voc. The disorder is examined by Dr. Shaw, Phil. Trans. Abridg. vol. iv.

²¹ Xenoph. p. 564.

pitulate. They formally relinquished all claim to the dominion of the Chalcidicé: they ceded the Macedonian cities to their ancient sovereign; and engaged, by solemn oaths, to obey, in peace and war, the commands of their Spartan confederates and masters.²² In consequence of this humiliating treaty, or rather of this absolute submission of the Olynthians, Polybiades led off his victorious army, and Amyntas forsook the royal residence of *Ægæ* or *Edessa*, and re-established his court at *Pella*, a place of great strength and beauty, situate on an eminence, which, with an adjoining plain of considerable extent, was defended by the rivers *Axius* and *Lydias*, and by impervious lakes and morasses. The city was distant only fifteen miles from the *Ægean* sea, with which it communicates by means of the above-mentioned rivers. It had been of old founded by Greeks, by whom it was recently conquered and peopled; but in consequence of the misfortunes and surrender of *Olynthus*, *Pella* became, and thenceforth continued, the capital of *Macedon*.

Olynthus
finally
submits.

Pella re-
stored to
Amyntas,
and con-
tinues
thence-
forth the
capital of
Macedon.

The commencement, and especially the conclusion of the *Olynthian* war, breathed the same spirit with the peace of *Antalcidas*, attesting the degenerate ambition of the Spartans, who were prepared to aggrandise the Barbarians on every side, in order to obtain their assistance towards extending their own dominion in Greece. The selfish and cruel system of policy deserved the indignation and resentment of the whole Grecian

Daring
enterprise
of the
Spartan
Phœbidas.

²² *Xenoph.* p. 565.

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name, who were at length excited against Sparta by a very extraordinary transaction, to which we already had occasion to allude. When Eudamidas undertook the expedition against Olynthus, it was intended that his brother Phœbidas should follow him at the head of eight thousand men. This powerful reinforcement marched from Peloponnesus, and, in their journey northward, encamped in the neighbourhood of Thebes, which was then torn by the inveterate hostility of contending factions. Ismenias, whose name has already occurred on a very dishonourable occasion, headed the democratical party; Leontiades supported the interest of Sparta and aristocracy; and both were invested with the *archonship*, the chief magistracy in the commonwealth. It is not absolutely certain that Phœbidas had previous orders to interfere in this dissension²³, when he was accosted by Leontiades, "who exhorted him to seize the opportunity, which fortune had thrown in his way, of performing a signal service to his country." He then explained to the Lacedæmonian the distracted state of Thebes, and the facility with which he might become master of the citadel; so that while his brother Eudamidas was carrying on the war against Olynthus, he himself would make conquest of a far greater city.²⁴

²³ Diodorus boldly asserts that Phœbidas acted by orders of his republic, and that the feigned complaints against him were nothing but a mask to disguise or to conceal the injustice of the community.

²⁴ Xenoph. p. 297. et seq. Plutarch. in Pelopid. Diodor. p. 457.

A contemporary historian, whose known partiality for the Lacedæmonians disposed him to regard this singular enterprise as an act of private audacity, represents Phœbidas as a man of a light and vain mind, who loved the fame of a splendid action more than life itself, and who embraced, with childish transports of joy²⁵, the proposal of Leontiades. The mode of executing their plan was soon settled between them. To elude suspicion, Phœbidas made the usual preparations for continuing his journey, when he was suddenly recalled by his associate. It was the month of July; the heat was intense; and, at mid-day, few or no passengers were to be seen in the roads or streets. The Theban matrons celebrated the festival of Ceres, and prayed that bountiful divinity to preserve the hope of a favourable harvest. The appropriated scene of their female worship was the Cadmæa, or citadel, of which the gates had been purposely thrown open, and which was left totally defenceless, as males were universally excluded from this venerable ceremony. Every circumstance conspired to facilitate the design of Leontiades, who conducted the Lacedæmonians to the fortress, without finding the smallest opposition. He immediately descended to the senate, which, though it usually assembled in the Cadmæa, was then sitting in the market-place; declared that the Lacedæmonians had acted by his advice,

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In time of peace he seizes the Theban citadel. Olymp. xcix. 2. A. C. 383.

²⁵ Ἀνεκφυγῶν is the expression used by Xenoph.

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and without any purpose of hostility; seized Ismenias with his own hand as a disturber of the public peace, and ordered the other leaders of the democratical faction to be taken into safe custody. Many were caught and imprisoned, and about four hundred escaped to Athens.²⁶

The measure approved by Agesilaus.

When the news of this event reached Sparta, the senate and assembly resounded with real or well-feigned complaints against the madness of Phœbidas, who, unprovoked by any injury, had violently seized a place in alliance and enmity with the republic. Agesilaus, however, undertook his defence; his ambitious mind had long fomented the domineering arrogance of his country; possibly he had prompted the enterprise of Phœbidas, which he warmly approved; and his influence being as extensive as his abilities, he easily persuaded his countrymen to justify the fortunate rashness²⁷ of that commander, by keeping possession of the Theban citadel.

The cruelties of Sparta drive the Thebans to despair.

During five years the Spartans maintained, in the Cadmæa, a garrison of fifteen hundred men. Protected by such a body of foreign troops, which might be reinforced on the shortest warning, the partisans of aristocracy acquired an absolute ascendant in affairs, which they conducted in such a manner as best suited their own interest, and the convenience of Sparta. Without pretending

²⁶ Xenoph. p. 557.

²⁷ To save appearances, however, Phœbidas was fined. Even his accusers were offended, not at his injustice, but at his acting without orders. Xenoph. *ibid.* and Plutarch. vol. ii. p. 336.

to describe the banishments, confiscations, and murders, of which they were guilty, it is sufficient for the purpose of general history to observe, that the miserable victims of their vengeance suffered similar calamities to those which afflicted Athens under the thirty tyrants. The severity of the government at length drove the Thebans to despair; and both the persecuted exiles abroad, and the oppressed subjects at home, prepared to embrace any measures, however daring and hazardous, which promised them a faint hope of relief.²⁸

Among the Theban fugitives, who had taken refuge in Athens, and whose persons were now loudly demanded by Sparta, was Pelopidas, the son of Hippocles, a youth whose distinguished advantages might have justly rendered him an object of envy, before he was involved in the misfortunes of his country. He yielded to none in birth; he surpassed all in fortune; he excelled in the manly exercises so much esteemed by the Greeks, and was unrivalled in qualities still more estimable, generosity and courage. He loved with hereditary attachment the democratic form of policy; and, previous to the late melancholy revolution, was marked out by his numerous friends and adherents as the person most worthy of administering the government. Pelopidas had often conferred with his fellow-sufferers

Conspiracy of the Theban exiles. Olymp. c. 3. A. C. 378.

²⁸ Xenoph. Hellen. l. v. c. iv. Plut. in Pelopid. idem de Genio Socratis, p. 522. & seq.

C H A P. at Athens about the means of returning to their
XXIX. country, and restoring the democracy ; encouraging them by the example of the patriotic Thrasybulus, who, with a handful of men, had issued from Thebes, and effected a similar, but still more difficult, enterprise. While they secretly deliberated on this important object, Mello, one of the exiles, introduced to their nocturnal assembly his friend Phyllidas, who had lately arrived from Thebes ; a man whose enterprising activity, singular address, and crafty boldness, justly entitle him to the regard of history.

Assisted by
 Phyllidas,
 secretary
 to the
 Theban
 council.

Phyllidas was strongly attached to the cause of the exiles ; yet, by his insinuating complaisance, and officious servility, he had acquired the entire confidence of Leontiades, Archias, and the other magistrates, or rather tyrants²⁹, of the republic. In business and in pleasure, he rendered himself alike necessary to his masters ; his diligence and abilities had procured him the important office of secretary to the council ; and he had lately promised to Archias and Philip, the two most licentious of the tyrants, that he would give them an entertainment, during which they might enjoy the conversation and the persons of the finest women in Thebes. The day was appointed for this infamous rendezvous, which these magisterial debauchees expected with the greatest impatience ; and, in the inter-

²⁹ Τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν τυραννίδας. Xenoph.

val, Phyllidas set out for Athens, on pretence of private business.³⁰ CHAP.
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In Athens, the time and the means were adjusted for executing the conspiracy. A body of Theban exiles assembled in the Thriasian plain, on the frontier of Attica, where seven³¹, or twelve³², of the youngest and most enterprising, voluntarily offered themselves to enter the capital, and to co-operate with Phyllidas in the destruction of the magistrates. The distance between Thebes and Athens was about thirty-five miles. The conspirators had thirteen miles to march through a hostile territory. They disguised themselves in the garb of peasants, arrived at the city towards evening with nets and hunting poles, and passed the gates without suspicion. During that night and the succeeding day, the house of Charon, a wealthy and respectable citizen, the friend of Phyllidas, and a determined enemy of the aristocracy, afforded them a secure refuge, till the favourable moment summoned them to action.

The time and means of execution adjusted.

The important evening approached, when the artful secretary had prepared his long-expected entertainment in the treasury. Nothing had been omitted that could flatter the senses, and lull the activity of the mind in a dream of pleasure. But a secret and obscure rumour, which had spread in the city, hung, like a drawn dagger, over the voluptuous joys of the festivity. It had been darkly reported, that some unknown stran-

Fidelity of the conspirators to each other.

³⁰ Xenoph. p. 366.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Plutarch. in Pelopid.

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gers, supposed to be a party of the exiles, had been received into the house of Charon. All the address of Phyllidas could not divert the terrors of his guests. They dispatched one of their lictors or attendants to demand the immediate presence of Charon. The conspirators were already buckling on their armour in hopes of being immediately summoned to execute their purpose. But what was their astonishment and terror, when their host and protector was sternly ordered to appear before the magistrates! The most sanguine were persuaded that their design had become public, and that they must all miserably perish, without effecting any thing worthy of their courage. After a moment of dreadful reflection, they exhorted Charon to obey the mandate without delay. But that firm and patriotic Theban first went to the apartment of his wife, took his infant son, an only child, and presented him to Pelopidas and Mello, requesting them to retain in their hands this dearest pledge of his fidelity. They unanimously declared their entire confidence in his honour, and entreated him to remove from danger an helpless infant, who might become, in some future time, the avenger of his country's wrongs. But Charon was inflexible, declaring, "That his son could never aspire at a happier fortune, than that of dying in a good cause with his father and friends."

Their dissimulation and address.

So saying, he addressed a short prayer to the gods, embraced his associates, and departed. Before he arrived at the treasury, he was met by

Archias and Phyllidas. The former asked him, in the presence of the other magistrates, whose anxiety had brought them from table, "Who are those strangers said to have arrived the other day, and to be now entertained in your family?" Charon had composed his countenance so artfully, and retorted the question with such well-dissembled surprise, as considerably quieted the solicitude of the tyrants, which was totally removed by a whisper of Phyllidas, "That the absurd rumour had doubtless been spread for no other purpose but that of disturbing their pleasures."

The Theban magistrates assassinated.

They had scarcely returned to the banquet, when Fortune, as if she had taken pleasure to confound the dexterity of Phyllidas, raised up a new and most alarming danger. A courier arrived from Athens with every mark of haste and trepidation, desiring to see Archias, to whom he delivered a letter from an Athenian magistrate of the same name, his ancient friend and guest. This letter revealed the conspiracy; a secret not entrusted to the messenger, who had orders, however, to request Archias to read the dispatch immediately, as containing matters of the utmost importance. But that careless voluptuary, whose thoughts were totally absorbed in the dream of expected pleasure, replied with a smile, "Business to-morrow;" deposited the letter under the pillow of the couch, on which, according to ancient custom, he lay at the entertainment; and resumed his conversation with Phyllidas concerning the ladies whom he had promised to intro-

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duce. Matters were now come to a crisis ; Phyllidas retired for a moment ; the conspirators were put in motion ; their weapons concealed under the flowing swell of female attire, and their countenances overshadowed and hid by a load of crowns and garlands. In this disguise they were presented to the magistrates intoxicated with wine and folly. At a given signal, they drew their daggers, and effected their purpose.³³ Charon and Mello were the principal actors in this bloody scene, which was entirely directed by Phyllidas. But a more difficult task remained. Leontiades, with other abettors of the tyranny, still lived, to avenge the murder of their associates. The conspirators, encouraged by their first success, and conducted by Phyllidas, gained admission into their houses successively, by means of the unsuspected secretary. On the appearance of disorder and tumult, Leontiades seized his sword, and boldly prepared for his defence. Pelopidas had the merit of destroying the principal author of the Theban servitude and disgrace. His associates perished without resistance ; men whose names may be consigned to just oblivion, since they were distinguished by nothing memorable but their cruel and oppressive tyranny.

The prisoners set at liberty.

The measures of the conspirators were equally vigorous and prudent. Before alarming the city, they proceeded to the different prisons, which were crowded with the unfortunate victims of arbitrary power. Every door was open to Phyl-

³³ Xenoph. p. 567. Plutarch. in Pelopid. Diodor. l. xv. p. 476.

lidas. The captives, transported with joy and gratitude, increased the strength of their deliverers. They broke open the arsenals, and provided themselves with arms. The streets of Thebes now resounded with alarm and terror; every house and family were filled with confusion and uproar; the inhabitants were universally in motion; some providing lights, others running in wild disorder to the public places, and all anxiously wishing the return of day, that they might discover the unknown cause of this nocturnal tumult.

During a moment of dreadful silence which interrupted the noise of sedition, a herald proclaimed, with a clear and loud voice, the death of the tyrants, and summoned to arms the friends of liberty and the republic. Among others who obeyed the welcome invitation was Epaminondas, the son of Polymnis, a youth of very extraordinary character; who united the wisdom of the sage, and the magnanimity of the hero, with the practice of every mild and gentle virtue; unrivalled in intellectual acquirements and in eloquence; in birth, valour, and patriotism, not inferior to Pelopidas, with whom he had contracted an early friendship. The principles of the Pythagorean philosophy³⁴, which he had diligently studied under Lysis of Tarentum, rendered Epaminondas averse to engage in the conspiracy, lest he might embroil his hands in civil blood.³⁵ But when the sword was once

Epami-
nondas
joins the
insurgents.

³⁴ See vol. ii. p. 18—42. & Aristot. Rhetoric, l. ii. c. 22.

³⁵ Plutarch. de Genio Socratis, p. 279. & passim.

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The Theban democracy restored. Olymp. c. 3. A. C. 378.

The revolution communicated to the Athenians, who assist in expelling the Lacedæmonian garrison.

drawn, he appeared with ardour in defence of his friends and country ; and his example was followed by many brave and generous youths who had reluctantly endured the double yoke of domestic and foreign tyranny.

The approach of morning had brought the Theban exiles, in arms, from the Thriasian plain. The partisans of the conspirators were continually increased by a confluence of new auxiliaries from every quarter of the city. Encompassed by such an invincible band of adherents, Pelopidas and his associates proceeded to the market-place ; summoned a general assembly of the people ; explained the necessity, the object, and the extent of the conspiracy ; and, with the universal approbation of their fellow-citizens, restored the democratic form of government.³⁶

Exploits of valour and intrepidity may be discovered in the history of every nation. But the revolution of Thebes displayed not less wisdom of design, than enterprising gallantry in execution. Amidst the tumult of action, and ardour of victory, the conspirators possessed sufficient coolness and foresight to reflect that the Cadmæa, or citadel, which was held by a Lacedæmonian garrison of fifteen hundred men, would be reinforced, on the first intelligence of danger, by the resentful activity of Sparta. To anticipate this alarming event, which must have rendered the consequences of the conspiracy incomplete and precarious, they commanded the

³⁶ Xenoph. Diodor. & Plutarch. *ibid.*

messenger, whom, immediately after the destruction of the tyrants, they had dispatched to their friends in the Thriasian plain, to proceed to Athens, in order to communicate the news of a revolution which could not fail to be highly agreeable to that state, and to solicit the immediate assistance of the Athenians, whose superior skill in the attack of fortified places was acknowledged by Greeks and Barbarians. This message was attended with the most salutary effects. The acute discernment of the Athenians eagerly seized the precious opportunity of weakening Sparta³⁷, which, if once neglected, might never return. Several thousand men were ordered to march; and no time was lost, either in the preparation, or in the journey, since they reached Thebes the day after Pelopidas had re-established the democracy.

The seasonable arrival of those auxiliaries, whose celerity exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the Thebans, increased the ardour of the latter to gain the citadel. The events of the siege are variously related.³⁸ According to the most probable account, the garrison made a very feeble resistance, being intimidated by the impetuous alacrity and enthusiasm, as well as the increasing numbers, of the assailants, who already amounted to fourteen thousand men, and received continual accessions of strength from the neighbouring cities of Bœotia. Only a few days

The Cad-
mæa sur-
renders.
Olymp.
c. 3.
A. C. 378.

³⁷ Dinarch. Orat. contra Demosth. p. 100.

³⁸ Diodorus differs entirely from Xenoph. and Plutarch, whom I have chiefly followed.

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had elapsed, when the Lacedæmonians desired to capitulate, on condition of being allowed to depart in safety with their arms. Their proposal was readily accepted : but they seem not to have demanded, or at least not to have obtained, any terms of advantage or security for those unfortunate Thebans, whose attachment to the Spartan interest strongly solicited their protection. At the first alarm of sedition, these unhappy men, with their wives and families, had taken refuge in the citadel. The greater part of them cruelly perished by the resentment of their countrymen ; a remnant only was saved by the humane interposition of the Athenians.* So justly had Epaminondas suspected, that the revolution could not be accomplished without the effusion of civil blood.

* Xenoph. & Plutarch. *ibid*

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The Boeotian War. — Unsuccessful Attempt of Sphodrias against the Piræus. — Doubts concerning Xenophon's Account of that Transaction. — Agesilaus invades Boeotia. — Military Success of the Thebans. — Naval Success of the Athenians. — Congress for Peace under the Mediation of Artaxerxes. — Epaminondas, Deputy from Thebes. — Cleombrotus invades Boeotia. — Battle of Leuctra. — State of Greece. — Jason of Thessaly. — His character and Views. — Assassinated in the midst of his Projects.

THE emancipation of Thebes gave a deep wound to the pride and tyranny of Sparta; and the magistrates of the latter republic prepared to punish, with due severity, what they affected to term the unprovoked rebellion of their subjects. The Thebans firmly resolved to maintain the freedom which they had resumed; and these dispositions on both sides occasioned a memorable war, which having lasted with little interruption during seven years, ended with the battle of Leuctra, which produced a total revolution in the affairs of Greece.

The ardent mind of Agesilaus had long inspired, or directed, the ambitious views of his

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The Boeotian war.
Olymp.
c. 3.
A. C. 378.

First campaign under Cleombrotus.

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Sphodrias
left with a
garrison in
Thespiæ.

Stratagem
of Thebes
for widen-
ing the
breach be-
tween
Athens
and Sparta.

country. He enjoyed the glory, but could not avoid the odium, attached to his exalted situation; and fearing to increase the latter, he allowed the conduct of the Theban war to be committed to the inexperience of his unequal colleague. In the heart of a severe winter, Cleombrotus, with a well-appointed army, entered Bœotia. His presence confirmed the obedience of Thespiæ, Platæa, and other inferior communities. He defeated some straggling parties of the Thebans, repelled their incursions, ravaged their territory, burned their villages, but attempted not to make any impression on the well-defended strength of their city. After a campaign of two months, he returned home, leaving a numerous garrison in Thespiæ, commanded by Sphodrias, a general of great enterprise, but little prudence.

Meanwhile the Athenians, alarmed by the nearer view of danger, publicly disavowed the assistance which they had given to Thebes; and having disgraced, banished, or put to death¹, the advisers of that daring measure, renewed their alliance with Sparta. The Thebans felt the full importance of this defection, and determined to prevent its fatal tendency, through a measure (could we believe tradition) in which they succeeded by a very singular stratagem. The light and rash character of Sphodrias was well known, we are told, to the Theban chiefs, who employed secret emissaries to persuade him,

¹ Xenoph. p. 334. I have endeavoured to reconcile Xenophon and Dinarchus, cited above.

by arguments most flattering to his passions, to attack by surprise the imperfectly repaired harbour of Athens. These artful ministers of deceit represented to Sphodrias, that it was unworthy of his dignity, and of his valour, to employ the arms of Sparta in a predatory war, while an object of far more importance and glory naturally solicited the activity of his enterprising mind. "The Thebans, indeed, were vigilant in guard; and, being animated by the enthusiasm of newly recovered freedom, were determined, rather than surrender, to bury themselves under the ruins of their country. But their secret and perfidious ally, whose assistance had recently enabled them to throw off the Spartan yoke, was lulled in security. The moment had arrived for crushing the implacable hatred of the Athenians, by surprising the Piræus, their principal ornament and defence; an action which would be celebrated by posterity above the kindred glory of Phœbidas, who, during the time also of an insidious peace, had seized the Theban citadel."²

The distance between Thebes and Thespiæ, which was not more than twenty miles, furnished an easy opportunity for carrying on these secret practices; but the distance, which exceeded forty miles, between Thespiæ and Athens, rendered the enterprise of Sphodrias abortive. He marched from Thespiæ with the flower of his garrison, early in the morning, expecting to reach the Piræus before the dawn of the suc-

Unsuccessful attempt of Sphodrias to seize the Piræus.

² Xenoph. p. 340. Diodorus, p. 472.

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ceeding day. But he was surprised, at the return of light, in the Thriasian plain. The borough of Eleusis was alarmed; the report flew to Athens, and the citizens, with their usual alacrity, seized their arms, and prepared for a vigorous defence. The mad design, and the still greater madness of Sphodrias, in ravaging the country during his retreat, provoked the fury of the Athenians. They immediately seized the persons of such Lacedæmonians as happened to reside in their city. They sent an embassy to Sparta, complaining, in the most indignant terms, of the insult of Sphodrias. The Spartans disavowed his conduct. He was recalled and tried, but saved from death by the authority of Agesilaus. This powerful protection was obtained through the intercession of his son Cleonymus, the beloved companion of Archidamus, the son and successor of the Spartan King. Archidamus pleaded, with the modest eloquence of tears, for the father of a friend, his equal in years and valour, with whom he had been long united in the most affectionate concord. Cleonymus declared on this occasion, that he should never disgrace the partial attachment of the royal youth; and illustrious as Archidamus afterwards became, Xenophon affirms, that his early and unalterable love of Cleonymus forms not the shade, but rather the fairest light, of his amiable and exalted character. ³

³ Xenoph. p. 570.

Such is the account of this transaction, given originally by Xenophon, and faithfully copied by other writers, ancient and modern. But there is some reason to suspect that Agesilaus was not totally unacquainted with the ambitious and unwarrantable design of Sphodrias; that the Spartans would have approved the measure, had it been crowned with success; and that even the philosophic Xenophon, a partial admirer of Agesilaus and the Lacedæmonians, employed the persuasive elegance of his pen, to varnish a very unjustifiable transaction. Such, at least, it appeared to the Athenian assembly, who, offended by the crime, were still more indignant at the acquittal, of Sphodrias. From that time they began to prepare their fleet, to enlist sailors, to collect and to employ all the materials of war with a resolution firmly to maintain the cause of Thebes and their own.

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Doubts concerning Xenophon's account of this transaction.

While they were busied in such preparations, Agesilaus repeatedly invaded Bœotia, without performing any thing worthy of his former renown. His army amounted to eighteen thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. The enemy were assisted by a considerable body of mercenaries, commanded by Chabrias the Athenian, who finally repelled the Spartan King from Thebes, by a stratagem not less simple than uncommon. The Theban army prepared to act on the defensive against a superior force, and occupied a rising ground in the neighbourhood of their city. Agesilaus detached a body of

Agesilaus repeatedly invades Bœotia. Olymp. c. 4. A. C. 377. & Olymp. ci. 1. A. C. 376.

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light-armed troops, to provoke them to quit this advantageous post ; but the Thebans cautiously maintained their ground, and obliged the enemy to draw out their whole forces in order to dislodge them. Chabrias, waiting their approach, commanded his troops to execute a new movement, which he had recently taught them for such an emergency. They supported their advanced bodies on their right knee, extended their shields and spears, and thus firmly maintained their ranks.⁴ Alarmed at the determined boldness of an unusual array, which seemed to bid him defiance, Agesilaus withdrew his army from the capital, and contented himself with committing farther ravages on the country.

⁴ The words of Nepos, in Chabria, are better explained by reading, "*Qui obnixo genu scuto, projectaque hasta, impetum excipere hostium docuit.*" This agrees with the statue of Chabrias in the Villa Borghese, whose singular attitude has given so much trouble to antiquaries. Winkelmann conjectures this master-piece of art to be the most ancient statue in Rome, from the form of the letters in the name *Agasias*, with which it is inscribed. He observes, that it is erroneously supposed to be a gladiator, since the Greeks never honoured gladiators with such monuments; and the style of the workmanship proves it more ancient than the introduction of that inhuman spectacle into Greece. The body of the statue is advanced, and rests on the right thigh; the right arm, retracted, grasps a javelin, or spear; around the left, which is projected, is seen the leather thong, or handle of a shield. It seems, says Winkelmann, the particular attitude of a warrior on some dangerous emergency. What this emergency was, the learned and ingenious Lessing fortunately discovered, by the words of Cornelius Nepos. "*Hoc (the stratagem of Chabrias) usque eò tota Græcia famâ celebratum est, ut illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quæ publicè ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est.*"

In the skirmishes which happened after his retreat, the Thebans proved repeatedly victorious. He returned home, and continued at Sparta during the following year, to be cured of his wounds; where he suffered the mortifying reproaches of his adversary Antalcidas, "for teaching the Thebans to conquer." The generals who succeeded him had not better success. Phœbidas, the original author of the war, who had been appointed governor of Thespiæ, was defeated and slain, with the greatest part of the garrison of that place. Pelopidas, with his own hand, killed the Spartan commander in the action at Tanagra; and in the pitched battle of Tegyra, the Lacedæmonians, though superior in number, were broken and put to flight; a disgrace which, they reflected with sorrow, had never befallen them in any former engagement.

While the war was thus carried on by land, the Athenians put to sea, and gained the most distinguished advantages on their favourite element. The Lacedæmonian fleet of sixty sail, commanded by Pollis, was shamefully defeated near the isle of Naxos, by the skilful bravery of Chabrias, who performed alternately, and with equal abilities, the duties of admiral and general.⁵ But the principal scene of action was the Ionian sea, where Timotheus⁶ and Iphicrates every where prevailed over the commanders who

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Success of
the The-
bans.
Olymp.
ci. 1.
A. C. 376.

Naval suc-
cess of the
Atheni-
ans.
Olymp.
ci. 1.
A. C. 376.

⁵ Xenoph. p. 577. Diodor. l. xv. ad Olymp. ci. 1.

⁶ Corn. Nep. in Vit. Timoth. & Dinarch. adv. Demosth. Such was the good fortune of Timotheus, that the satirical artists of the

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opposed them. The fleet of Sparta was totally ruined by the victors, who repeatedly ravaged the coasts of Laconia⁷, and laid under heavy contributions the islands of Corcyra, Zacynthus, Leucadia, and Cephalenia. Even the isles and cities more remote from the scene of this naval war, particularly the valuable island of Chios, and the important city of Byzantium, deserted their involuntary connection with the declining fortune of Sparta, and once more accepted the dangerous alliance of the Athenians.⁸

The
Greeks
assist Ar-
taxerxes
in the
Egyptian
war.

These hostile operations, which weakened, without subduing, the spirit of the vanquished, were interrupted by the solicitations and bribes of the King of Persia, who earnestly promoted the domestic tranquillity of Greece, that he might enjoy the assistance of its arms in crushing a new rebellion in Egypt. His emissaries met with equal success in Athens and Sparta, which were alike weary of the war, the former having little more to hope, and the latter having every thing to fear, from its continuance. Many of the inferior states, being implicitly governed by the resolves of these powerful republics, readily imitated their example: and so precarious and miserable was the condition of them all, in that disorderly period, that about twenty thousand men abandoned their homes and families, and

times painted him asleep, covered with a net, in which the cities and islands entangled and caught themselves. Plutarch. de invid. & odio.

⁷ Xenoph. p. 578.

⁸ Id. ibid.

followed the standard of the Persians. The merit of Iphicrates justly entitled him to the command of his countrymen, which was unanimously conferred on him. But the expedition produced nothing worthy of such a general, who in a few months returned to Athens, disgusted with the ignorant pride, and slothful timidity, of the Persian commanders, who durst not undertake any important enterprise, without receiving the slow instructions of a distant court.⁹

Meanwhile the Thebans, who, elated by a flow of unwonted prosperity, had proudly disregarded the representations of Artaxerxes, profited of the temporary diversion made by the Egyptian war, to reduce several inferior cities of Bœotia. The walls of Thespiæ were rased to the ground; Platæa met with the same fate; and its inhabitants, after suffering the cruellest indignities, were driven into banishment. It might be expected that the unfortunate exiles should have sought refuge in Sparta, whose authority they had uniformly acknowledged, since the dishonourable peace of Antalcidas. But so dissimilar were the fluctuating politics of Greece to the regular¹⁰ transactions of modern times, (governed by the lifeless but steady principle of interest,) that the Platæans had recourse to Athens, a city actually in alliance with the people by whom they had been so unjustly persecuted. Their eloquence, their tears, the memory

The Thebans raise Platæa. Olymp. ci. 3. A. C. 374.

⁹ Corn. Nepos in Iphicrat. Diodorus, l. xv. ad Olymp. c. iv.

¹⁰ This was written above 56 years ago.

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Congress
for peace
held un-
der the
mediation
of Arta-
xerxes.
Olymp.
cii. 1.
A. C. 372.

of past services, and the promise of future gratitude, prevailed on the Athenian assembly, who kindly received them into the bosom of their republic, and expressed the warmest indignation against their insolent oppressors.¹⁰

This affecting transaction threatened to deprive the Thebans of an ally to whom they were in a great measure indebted for their prosperity. Their subsequent conduct tended still farther to widen the breach. They marched troops into Phocis, with an intention to reduce that country. They heard with equal disdain, the remonstrances of their friends and the threats of their enemies. Their unusual arrogance totally alienated the Athenians, who seemed finally disposed to conclude a lasting peace with Sparta, in terms of the treaty of Antalcidas, "that their respective garrisons should be withdrawn from foreign parts, and the communities, small as well as great, be permitted to enjoy the independent government of their own equitable laws." The interest of the King of Persia, who still needed fresh supplies to carry on the Egyptian war, induced him to employ his good offices for promoting this specious purpose; and a convention of all the states was summoned to Sparta, whither the Thebans deigned indeed to send a representative; but a representative, whose firmness and magnanimity were well fitted to sustain and elevate the aspiring pretensions of his republic.

¹⁰ Diodor. l. xv. ad Olymp. & Isocrat. Orat. pro Plat.

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Epami-
nondas
appears as
deputy
from
Thebes.

In effecting this glorious revolution, which gave freedom to Thebes, as well as in the military operations which immediately followed that important event, the youthful merit of Pelopidas had acquired the fame of patriotism, valour, and conduct. The nobility of his birth, and the generous use of his riches, increased the ascendant due to his illustrious services. Every external advantage, the manly grace of his person, the winning affability of his deportment, his superior excellence in the martial exercises so highly prized by the Greeks, and especially by the Thebans, gained him the admiration of the multitude; or, in other words, of the legislative assembly of his country. He had been successively elected, during six years, to the first dignity of the republic; nor had the Thebans ever found reason to repent their choice.¹¹ Yet in the present emergency, when they were required to appoint a deputy for the convention at Sparta, (the most important charge with which any citizen could be entrusted,) Pelopidas, with all his merit, was not the minister whom they thought proper to employ.

Epaminondas, naturally his rival, but always his friend, had hitherto been contented with a subordinate station: yet every office which he exercised, whether in the civil or military department, derived new lustre from his personal dignity. His exterior accomplishments were not

His character.

¹¹ Plut. in Pelopid.

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inferior to those of Pelopidas : but he had learned from the philosophy of Lysis the Pythagorean, to prefer the mind to the body, merit to fame, and the rewards of labour to the gifts of fortune. He resisted the generous solicitations of his friends to deliver him from the honourable poverty in which he was born ; continuing poor from taste and choice, and justly delighting in a situation which is more favourable, especially in a democratical republic, to that freedom and independence of mind which wisdom recommends as the greatest good. Nor was he more careless of money than avaricious of time, which he continually dedicated to the study of learning and philosophy, or employed in the exercise of public and private virtue. Yet to become useful, he was not desirous to be great. The same solicitude which others felt to obtain, Epaminondas shewed to avoid, the dangerous honours of his country. His ambitious temper would have been better satisfied to direct, by a personal influence with the magistrates, the administration of government from the bosom of his beloved retirement¹², when the unanimous voice of the citizens, and still more the urgency of the times, called him to public life ; and such was his contempt for the glory of a name, that had he lived in a less turbulent period, his exalted qualities, however admired by select friends, would have

¹² The conduct of Epaminondas coincides with, and confirms, the account above given of the Pythagorean philosophy.

probably remained unknown to his contemporaries and posterity.

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Confer-
ence at
Sparta.
Olymp.
cii. 1.
A. C. 572.

Such was the man to whose abilities and eloquence the Thebans committed the defence of their most important interests in the general congress of the Grecian states. The Athenians sent Antocles and Callistratus; the first a subtile¹³, the second an impressive orator.¹⁴ Agesilaus himself appeared on the part of Sparta. Matters were easily adjusted between those leading republics, whose resentment had been strongly excited at the unhappy fate of Thespiæ and Plataea. They lamented their mutual jealousy, and unfortunate ambition, which had occasioned so many bloody and destructive wars; and commemorated the short but glorious intervals of moderation and concord, which had tended so evidently to their own and the public felicity. Instructed by fatal experience, it was time for them to lay down their arms, and to allow that tranquillity to themselves and to their neighbours, which was necessary to heal the wounds of their common country. The peace could not be useful or permanent, unless it were established on the liberal principles of equality and freedom, to which all the Grecian communities were alike entitled by the treaty of Antalcidas. It was proposed, therefore, to renew that salutary contract, which was accepted by the unanimous

¹³ *Επιστοφης πηταιρ*. Xenoph. l. vi.

¹⁴ The pathetic pleading of Callistratus, for the citizens of Oropus, first inspired Demosthenes with the ambition of eloquence. Plut. in Demosth.

C H A P. consent of Athens, of Sparta, and of their re-
XXX. spective confederates.

Demands
of Epa-
minondas.

Epaminondas¹⁵ then stood up, offering to sign the treaty in the name of the Bœotians. "The Athenians," he took notice, "had signed for all the inhabitants of Attica; the Spartans had signed not only for the cities of Laconia, but for their numerous allies in all the provinces of the Peloponnesus. Thebes was entitled to the same prerogatives over her dependent cities, which had anciently acknowledged the power of her kings, and had recently submitted to the arms of her citizens." Agesilaus, instead of answering directly a demand which could neither be granted with honour, nor denied with justice, asked in his turn, Whether it was the intention of the Thebans to admit, in terms of the treaty, the independence of Bœotia? Epaminondas demanded, Whether it was the intention of Sparta to admit the independence of Laconia? "Shall the Bœotians," said the king, with emotion, "be free?" — "Whenever," replied Epaminondas, with firmness, "you restore freedom to the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, and the oppressed communities of Peloponnesus, whom; under the name of allies, you retain in an involuntary and rigorous servitude."

¹⁵ The convention of Sparta is noticed by Xenophon, Diodorus, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos. The first writer is silent with regard to Epaminondas. Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos furnish the hints which I have made use of in the text. It is not impossible that there were two conventions, at different times, respecting the same object. In that case, Xenophon must have totally omitted one of them.

Then turning to the deputies of the allies, he represented to them the cruel mockery by which they were insulted. "Summoned to deliberate concerning the general freedom and independence, they were called to ratify a peace, which, instead of establishing these invaluable and sacred rights, confirmed the stern tyranny of an imperious master." That "the cities, small and great, should be free," was the verbal condition of the treaty; but its real drift and import was, that Thebes should give freedom to Bœotia, and thereby weaken her own strength, while Sparta kept in subjection the extensive territories of her confederates, in whose name she had signed that perfidious contract, and whose assistance she expected, and could demand, towards giving it immediate effect. If the allies persisted in their actual resolution, they would consent to destroy the power of Thebes, which was the only bulwark to defend them against Spartan usurpation; they consented to continue the payment of those intolerable contributions with which they had long been oppressed; and to obey every idle summons to war, of which *they* chiefly suffered the fatigues and dangers, while the advantage and glory redounded to the Spartans alone. If they felt any respect for the glorious name of their ancestors; if they entertained any sense of their own most precious interests, they would be so little disposed to promote the reduction of Thebes, that they would imitate the auspicious example of that ancient and noble city, which had acquired the

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He addresses the deputies of the allies.

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Per-
manent
effect of
his repre-
sentations.

dignity of independent government, not by *inscriptions*¹⁶ and treaties, but by arms and valour.

The just remonstrances of Epaminondas made a deep impression on the deputies. Agesilaus, alarmed at its effect, answered him in a strain very different from that despotic brevity¹⁷ which the Spartans usually affected. His speech was long and eloquent. He reasoned, prayed, threatened. The deputies were awed into submission, less perhaps by the force of his eloquence, than by the terror of the Spartan armies ready to take the field. But the words of Epaminondas sunk deep into their hearts. They communicated, at their return, the powerful impression to their constituents; and its influence was visible in the field of Leuctra, and in the events which followed that memorable engagement.

Reflec-
tions on
his con-
duct;

As the Grecian states were accustomed to grant more unreserved powers to their generals and ministers than are allowed by the practice of modern times, we must be contented to doubt, whether, in this important negotiation, Epaminondas acted merely by the extemporary impulse of his own mind, or only executed with boldness and dignity, the previous instructions of his republic. It is certain, that his refusal to acknowledge the freedom of Bœotia, not only excluded

¹⁶ The public deeds and transactions of the Greeks were *inscribed* on pillars of marble. Thucyd. & Xenoph. *passim*.

¹⁷ Epaminondas said, or more probably it was said for him, that he had compelled the Spartans to lengthen their monosyllables. Plut. in Agesil.

Thebes from the treaty, but exposed her to the immediate vengeance of the confederates; and according to the received principles of modern policy, there is reason to accuse both the prudence and the justice of the admired Theban; the prudence, in provoking the strength of a confederacy, with which the weakness of any single republic seemed totally unable to contend; and his justice in denying to *several* communities of Boeotia their hereditary laws and government. Yet the conduct of Epaminondas has never been exposed to such odious reproaches. Success justified his boldness; and the Greeks, animated by an ambitious enthusiasm to aggrandise their respective cities, were taught to dignify by the names of patriotism and magnanimity, qualities which, in the sober judgment of posterity, would be degraded by very different appellations. There are reasons, however, not merely specious, by which Epaminondas might extenuate his fault at an impartial bar. He could not be ignorant that Thebes, unassisted and alone, was unable to cope with the general confederacy of Greece; but he knew that this confederacy would never exist but in words, since the jealousy of several states, and particularly of Athens, would be disposed rather to lighten, than to increase, the calamities of a people at variance with Sparta.¹⁸ He perceived the effect of his spirited remonstrances on the most sted-

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¹⁸ Xenophon hints at this disposition, l. vi. p. 608.

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which is
justified by
the state of
Sparta.

fast adherents of that republic ; and contemplating the circumstances of his country, and of the enemy, he found several motives of encouragement to the seemingly unequal contest.

The Spartans had been weakened by the defection and loss of their dominions, and dejected by their unfortunate attempts to recover them. They had been deprived of their prescriptive honours, and had forsaken their hereditary maxims. Their ancient and venerable laws had in a great measure ceased to govern them ; and the seeds of those corruptions were already sown, which have been censured by philosophers and statesmen with equal justice and severity.¹⁹ Nor were they exposed to the *usual* misfortunes, only, of a degenerate people ; the institutions of Lycurgus formed one consistent plan of legislation, which could not be partially observed and partially neglected. While the submissive disciples of that extraordinary lawgiver remained satisfied with their simplicity of manners, their poverty, and their virtue, and had scarcely any other object in view, but to resist the solicitations of pleasure, and to repel the encroachments of enemies, the law, which discouraged a commercial intercourse with foreign nations, and which excluded strangers, whatever merit they might possess, from aspiring to the rank of citizens, was an establishment strictly conformable to the peculiar spirit of the Lacedæmonian

¹⁹ Aristot. Politic. l. ii. c. 9.

constitution. But when Sparta abandoned the simplicity of her primitive maxims, became ambitious, wealthy, triumphant, and almost continually engaged in war, not as the means of defence, but as the instrument of power and conquest, consistency required that she should have laid aside her pretensions to those exclusive honours which she no longer deserved. When she relinquished the virtuous pre-eminence of her ancestors, the warlike inhabitants of Peloponnesus were not unworthy to be ranked with her citizens; and by admitting them to this honour, she would have given them an interest in her victories, and rendered them willing partners of her danger. But, instead of adopting this generous policy, which possibly might have rendered her what Rome, with more wisdom indeed, but not with more virtue or more valour, afterwards became, the mistress of the world, she increased her pretensions in proportion to the decline of her merit; spurned the equality of a federal union, to which the Peloponnesians were entitled; deprived even the Lacedæmonians of their just share in the government, and concentrated all power and authority within the senate and assembly of Sparta. A long course of almost uninterrupted hostilities had deprived her of the best half of her citizens, whose numbers were continually diminishing, without the possibility of ever being repaired; nor could it be difficult to overthrow an empire which depended on the address and bravery of about four thousand warriors, the splendour of a great name,

CHAP. and the reluctant assistance of insulted allies
 XXX. and oppressed subjects.²⁰

The consideration of these circumstances, which could not fail to present themselves to the sagacity of Epaminondas, might have encouraged him to set the threats of his adversaries at defiance, especially when he reflected on the actual condition of Thebes, whose civil and military institutions had recently acquired new spirit and fresh vigour.

Compared
 with that
 of Thebes.

The Thebans, with their subjects or neighbours in Bœotia, had been long regarded as an unworthy and faithless race, with strong bodies but ignoble souls, and infamous among the Greeks, on account of their ancient alliance with Xerxes and the Barbarians. The divine genius of Pindar had not redeemed them from the character of a sluggish and heavy people, noted even to a proverb for stupidity.²¹ From the age of that inimitable writer, they appear, indeed, to have been little addicted to the pursuit of mental excellence; but they uniformly continued to cultivate, with peculiar care, the gymnastic exercises, which gave the address and dexterity of art to the ponderous strength of their gigantic members. To acquire renown in

²⁰ The condition of Sparta, represented in the text, is taken from the history of the times in Xenophon and Diodorus, from Aristotle's *Politics*, l. ii. c. 9. the oration of Archidamus, and the Panathanæan Oration of Isocrates. The last writer reduces the number of Spartan citizens to two thousand; a diminution principally occasioned by the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, which preceded the composition of that discourse.

²¹ Bœotum in crasso jurares aëre natum. Hor. *Epist.* i. l. 11.

war, such people only wanted that spark of ethereal fire which is kindled by a generous emulation. The tyranny of Sparta first animated their inactive languor. Having spurned an oppressive yoke, they boldly maintained their freedom ; and, in the exercise of defensive war, gained many honourable trophies over enemies who had long despised them. Success enlivened their hopes, inflamed their ambition, and gave a certain elevation to their national character, which rendered them as ambitious of war and victory, as they had formerly been anxious for peace and preservation. They had introduced a severe system of military discipline ; they had considerably improved the arms and exercise of cavalry ; they had adopted various modes of arranging their forces in order of battle, superior to those practised by their neighbours. Emulation, ardour, mutual esteem, and that spirit of combination, which often prevails in turbulent and distracted times, had united a considerable number of their citizens in the closest engagements, and inspired them with the generous resolution of braving every danger in defence of each other. This association originally consisted of about three hundred men, in the prime of life, and of tried fidelity, and commanded by Pelopidas, the glorious restorer of his country's freedom. From the inviolable sanctity of their friendship, they were called the Sacred Band, and their valour was as permanent as their friendship. During a long succession of years, they proved victorious wherever they fought ; and at

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length fell together, with immortal glory, in the field of Chæronæa, with the fall of Thebes, of Athens, and of Greece. Such, in general, were the circumstances and condition of those rival republics²², when they were encouraged by their respective chiefs to decide their pretensions by the event of a battle.

Cleombrotus invades
Bœotia.
Olymp.
cii. 2.
A. C. 371.

In the interval of several months, between the congress at Sparta and the invasion of Bœotia, Agesilaus and his son Archidamus collected the domestic strength of their republic, and summoned the tardy aid of their confederates. Sickness prevented the Spartan King from taking the field in person; but his advice prevailed with the Ephori and senate, to command his colleague Cleombrotus (who in the former year had conducted a considerable body of troops into Phocis, in order to repel the Thebans from that country) to march without delay into the hostile territory, with assurance of being speedily joined by a powerful reinforcement. The rendezvous was appointed in the plain of Leuctra, which surrounded an obscure village of the same name, situate on the Bœotian frontier, almost at the equal distance of ten miles from the sea and from Platæa. The plain was encompassed on all sides by the lofty ridges of Helicon, Cithæron, and Cynocephalæ; and the village was hitherto remarkable only for the tomb of two Theban damsels, the daughters of Scedasus, who had been violated by the brutality of three Spartan youths. The dishonoured females had

The Spartans and their confederates assemble in the plain of Leuctra.

²² Plut. in Pelopid. v. ii. p. 355—366.

ended their disgrace by a voluntary death ; and the afflicted father had imitated the example of their despair, after imploring vengeance in vain from gods and men.²³

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The Spartans and their confederates joined forces in this neighbourhood, after repelling a few Theban detachments which guarded the defiles of Mount Helicon. Their army amounted to twenty-four thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse. The Thebans could not muster half that strength, after assembling all their troops, which had been scattered over the frontier in order to oppose the desultory irruptions of the enemy. Their cavalry, however, nearly equalled those of the Spartans in number, and far excelled them in discipline and in valour. Epaminondas exhorted them to march, and repel the invaders, if they would prevent the defection of Bœotia, and avoid the dangers and disgrace of a siege. They readily obeyed, and proceeded to the neighbouring mountains, on which having encamped, they obtained a commanding view of the forces in the plain.

The Thebans encamp on the neighbouring mountain.

Having heard an account of the superior numbers of the enemy, the Thebans still determined to give them battle. But they were seized with terror and consternation when they beheld the massy extent of the Spartan camp. Several of the colleagues of Epaminondas (for he had no fewer than six) were averse to an engagement, strongly dissuading the general from

Proceedings of Epaminondas before the battle.

²³ Xenoph. p. 595.

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this dangerous measure, and artfully increased the panic of the troops, by recounting many sinister omens and threatening prodigies. The magnanimous chief opposed the dangerous torrent of superstitious terror, by a verse of Homer²⁴, importing, that to men engaged in the pious duty of defending their country, no particular indication was necessary of the favourable will of Heaven, since they were immediately employed in a service peculiarly agreeable to the gods. At the same time, he counteracted the dejection of their imaginary fears, by encouragements equally chimerical. It was circulated, by his contrivance, that the Theban temples had opened of their own accord, in consequence of which the priestesses had announced a victory; that the armour of Hercules, reposed in the Cadmæa, had suddenly disappeared, as if that invincible hero in person had gone to battle in defence of his Theban countrymen: above all, an ancient oracle was carefully handed about, denouncing defeat and ruin to the Spartans near the indignant tomb of the daughters of Scedasus. These artifices gained the multitude, while arguments more rational prevailed with their leaders, of whom the majority at length ranged themselves on the side of the General.

His magnanimity seconded by fortune.

Before conducting them to battle, Epaminondas displayed his confidence of victory, by permitting all those to retire, who either disapproved his cause, or were averse to share his

²⁴ Εἰς οἶκον ἀπὸς ἀμυνεῖσθαι περὶ πατρὸς. Il. xii. v. 243.

danger ; a permission which the Thespians first thought proper to embrace. The unwarlike crowd of attendants, whose services were useless in time of action, gradually seized the same opportunity to leave the camp. The swelling multitude appeared as a second army to the Spartans, who sent a powerful detachment to oppose them. The fear of being cut off by the enemy threw them back on the Thebans, whose hopes were enlivened by the unexpected return of such a considerable reinforcement. Thus encouraged, they determined unanimously to stand by their admired chief, and either to defend their country, or to perish in the attempt ; and the ardour of the troops equalling the skill of the General, the union of such advantages rendered them invincible.

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Cleombrotus had disposed his forces in the form of a crescent, according to an ancient and favourite practice of the Spartans. His cavalry were posted in squadrons along the front of the right wing, where he commanded in person. The allies composed the left wing, conducted by Archidamus. The Theban general, perceiving this disposition, and sensible that the issue of the battle would chiefly depend on the domestic troops of Sparta, determined to charge vigorously with his left, in order to seize or destroy the person of Cleombrotus ; thinking that should this design succeed, the Spartans must be discouraged and repelled ; and that even the attempt must occasion great disorder in their ranks, as the bravest would hasten, from every

Disposition of the
forces on
both sides.

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quarter, to defend the sacred person of their king. Having resolved, therefore, to commit the fortune of the day to the bravery of the left division of his forces, he strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed men, whom he drew up fifty deep. The cavalry were placed in the van, to oppose the Spartan horse, whom they excelled in experience and valour. Pelopidas flanked the whole on the left with the Sacred Band; who, deeming no particular station worthy of their prowess, were prepared to appear in every tumult of the field, whither they might be called, either by an opportunity of success, or by the prospect of distinguished danger. The principal inconvenience to which the Thebans were exposed, in advancing to the charge, was that of being surrounded by the wide-extended arms of the Spartan crescent. This danger the General foresaw; and in order to prevent it, he spread out his right wing, of which the files had only six men in depth, and the ranks proceeding in an oblique line, diverged the farther from the enemy, in proportion as they extended in length.

Battle of
Leuctra.
Olymp.
cii. 2.
A. C. 371.

The action began with the cavalry, which, on the Spartan side, consisted chiefly of such horses as were kept for pleasure by the richer citizens in time of peace; and which, proving an unequal match for the disciplined valour of the Thebans, were speedily broken, and thrown back on the infantry. Their repulse and rout occasioned considerable disorder in the Lacedæmonian ranks, which was greatly heightened by the impetuous onset of the Sacred Band. Epa-

minondas availed himself of this momentary confusion, to perform one of those rapid evolutions which commonly decide the issue of battles. He formed his strongest, but least numerous division, into a compact wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks; expecting that the Lacedæmonians, as soon as they had recovered their ranks, would attack the weaker and more extended part of his army, which from the oblique arrangement in which it had been originally drawn up seemed prepared for a retreat. The event answered his expectation. While the Lacedæmonians advanced against his right wing, where they found little or no resistance, he rushed forward with his left; and darting like the beak of a galley²⁵ on the flank of the enemy, bore down every thing before him, until he arrived near the post occupied by Cleombrotus. The urgency of the danger recalled to their ancient loyalty the degenerate disciples of Lyncurgus. The bravest warriors flew from every quarter to the assistance of their prince, covered him with their shields, and defended him with their swords and lances. Their impetuous valour resisted the intrepid progress of the Thebans, till the Spartan horsemen, who attended the person of Cleombrotus, were totally cut off, and the King himself, pierced with many wounds, fell on the breathless bodies of his generous defenders. The fall of the chief gave new rage to

²⁵ Xenophon employs this expression on a similar occasion, in relating the battle of Mantinea.

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the battle. Anger, resentment, and despair, by turns agitated the Spartans. According to the superstitious ideas of paganism, the death of their king appeared to them a slight misfortune, compared with the disgraceful impiety of committing his mangled remains to the insults of an enemy. To prevent this abomination, they exerted their utmost valour; and their strenuous efforts were successful. But they could not obtain any further advantage. Epaminondas was careful to fortify his ranks, and to maintain his order of battle; and the firmness and rapidity of his regular assault gained a complete and decisive victory over the desperate resistance of broken troops. The principal strength of the allies had hitherto remained inactive, unwilling rashly to engage in a battle, the motives to which they had never heartily approved. The defeat of the Lacedæmonians, and the death of Cleombrotus, decided their wavering irresolution. They determined, almost with one accord, to decline the engagement; their retreat was effected with the loss of about two thousand men; and the Thebans remained sole masters of the field.²⁶

The Spartans crave permission to bury their dead.

The care of burying the dead, and the fear of reducing the enemy to despair, seem to have prevented Epaminondas from pursuing the vanquished to their camp; which, as it was strongly fortified, could not be taken without great slaughter of the assailants. When the Lacedæmonians had assembled within the defence of their ditch

²⁶ Xenoph. p. 596. et seq. et Plut. vol. ii. p. 366. et seq.

and rampart, their security from immediate danger allowed them time to reflect with astonishment and sorrow on the battle and its humiliating consequences. Whether they considered the number of the slain, or reflected on the mortifying loss of national honour, it was easy for them to perceive, that, on no former occasion, the glory of their country had ever received such a fatal wound. Many Spartans declared their disgrace too heavy to be borne ; that they never would permit their ancient laurels to be buried under a Theban trophy ; and that, instead of craving their dead under the protection of a treaty, (which would be to confess their defeat,) they were determined to return into the field, and to recover them by force of arms. This manly, but dangerous resolution, was condemned in the council of war, by the officers of most experience and authority. They observed, that of seven hundred Spartans who fought in the engagement, four hundred had fallen ; that the Lacedæmonians had lost one thousand, and the allies two thousand six hundred. Their army indeed still outnumbered that of the enemy ; but their domestic forces formed scarcely the tenth part of their strength, nor could they repose any confidence in the forced assistance of their reluctant confederates, who, emboldened by the misfortunes of Sparta, declared their unwillingness to renew the battle, and scarcely concealed their satisfaction at the humiliation and disgrace of that haughty and tyrannical re-

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News of
the defeat
at Leuctra
brought to
Sparta.

public. Yielding, therefore, to the necessity of this miserable juncture, the Spartans sent a herald to crave their dead, and to acknowledge the victory of the Thebans.²⁷

Before they found it convenient to return home, the fatal tidings had reached their capital; and, on this memorable occasion, the Spartans exhibited that striking peculiarity of behaviour, which naturally resulted from the institutions of Lycurgus. Availing himself of the extraordinary respect which uncultivated nations bestow on military courage, in preference to all other virtues and accomplishments, that legislator allowed to the man who had lost his defensive armour, or who had fled in the day of battle, but one melancholy alternative, more dreadful than death to a generous mind: The unfortunate soldier was either driven into perpetual banishment, and subjected to every indignity which, in a rude age, would naturally be inflicted by the resentment of neighbouring and hostile tribes; or, if he submitted to remain at home, he was excluded from the public assemblies, from every office of power or honour, from the protection of the laws, and almost from the society of men, without the shadow of a hope ever to amend his condition. The influence of this stern law, which had feebly operated in the field of Leuctra, was illustrated in a very striking manner, after that unfortunate battle.

²⁷ Xenoph. p. 596. et seq. & Plut. vol. ii. p. 366. et seq.

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Singular
behaviour
of the
Spartans
on that
occasion.

The messenger of bad news arrived, while the Spartans, according to annual custom, were celebrating in the month of July, gymnastic and musical entertainments, and invoking Heaven to preserve the fruits of the approaching autumn. Being introduced to the Ephori, he informed them of the public disaster. These magistrates commanded the festival to proceed; sending, however, to each family a list of the warriors whom it had lost, and enjoining the women to abstain from unavailing lamentations. Next day, the fathers and other relations of such as had perished in the field of battle, appeared in the public places, dressed in their gayest attire, saluting and congratulating each other on the bravery of their brethren or children. But the kinsmen of those who had saved themselves by a shameful flight, either remained at home, brooding in silence over their domestic affliction, or, if they ventured abroad, discovered every symptom of unutterable anguish. Their persons were shamefully neglected, their garments rent, their arms folded, their eyes fixed immoveably on the ground; expecting, in humble resignation, the sentence of eternal ignominy ready to be denounced by the magistrates against the unworthy causes of their sorrow.²⁸ But on this critical emergency, the rigour of the Spartan discipline was mitigated by Agesilaus, whom the number and rank of the criminals deterred from inflicting on them the merited punishment. He

²⁸ Xenoph. p. 596.

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Decision
of Agesi-
laus re-
specting
the van-
quished in
the field of
Leuctra.

endeavoured to atone for abandoning the spirit of the laws, by what may appear a very puerile expedient; "Let us suppose," said he, "the sacred institutions of Lycurgus to have slept during one unfortunate day, but henceforth let them resume their wonted vigour and activity:" a sentence extravagantly praised by many writers, as preserving the authority of the laws, while it spared the lives of the citizens. But as, on the one hand, we cannot discover the admired sagacity of Agesilaus in dispensing this act of lenity; so, on the other, we cannot condemn as imprudent the act itself, which the present circumstances of his country rendered not only expedient, but necessary. If Sparta had been the populous capital of an extensive territory, the lives of three hundred citizens might, perhaps, have been usefully sacrificed to the honour of military discipline. But a community exceedingly small, and actually weakened by the loss of four hundred members, could scarcely have survived another blow equally destructive. No distant prospect of advantage, therefore, could have justified such an unseasonable severity.

State of
Greece
after the
battle of
Leuctra.
Olymp.
cii. 2.
A. C. 371.

When the intelligence was diffused over Greece, that the Thebans, with the loss of only three hundred men, had raised an immortal trophy over the strength and renown of Sparta, the importance of this event became every-where conspicuous. The desire, and hope, of a revolution in public affairs, filled the Peloponnesus with agitation and tumult. Elians, Arcadians,

and Argives, every people who had been influenced by Spartan counsels, or intimidated by Spartan power, openly aspired at independence. The less considerable states expected to remain thenceforth unmolested, no longer paying contributions, nor obeying every idle summons to war. The more powerful republics breathed hatred and revenge, and gloried in an opportunity of taking vengeance on the proud senators of Sparta, for the calamities which they had so often inflicted on their neighbours.

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But amidst this general ferment, and while every other people were guided, rather by their passions and animosities, than by the principles of justice or sound policy, the Athenians exhibited an illustrious example of political moderation.* Immediately after the battle of Leuctra, a Theban herald, adorned with the emblems of peace and victory, had been dispatched to Athens, in order to relate the particulars of the engagement, and to invite the Athenians to an offensive alliance against a republic, which had ever proved the most dangerous, as well as the most inveterate enemy of their country. But the assembly of Athens, governed by the magnanimity, or rather by the prudence, of Timotheus and Iphicrates, determined to humble their rivals, not to destroy them.

Affected
moderation
of
Athens.

The ancient and illustrious merit of the Spartans, their important services during the Persian war, and the fame of their laws and discipline, which still rendered them a respectable branch

Views of
that re-
public.

* Xenoph. p. 598.

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of the Grecian confederacy, might have a considerable influence in producing this resolution. But it chiefly proceeded from a jealousy of the growing power of Thebes, the situation of whose territories might soon render her a more formidable adversary to Athens, than even Sparta herself. This political consideration for once prevailed over a deep-rooted national antipathy. The Theban herald was not received with respect, nor even with decency. He was not entertained in public, according to the established hospitality of the Greeks; and although the senate of the Five Hundred (which usually answered foreign ambassadors) was then assembled in the citadel, he was allowed to return home without receiving the smallest satisfaction on the subject of his demand. But the Athenians, though unwilling to second the resentment, and promote the prosperity of Thebes, prepared to derive every possible advantage from the misfortunes and distress of Sparta. Convinced that the inhabitants of Peloponnesus would no longer be inclined to follow her standard, and share her danger and adversity, they eagerly seized the opportunity of delivering them for ever from her yoke; and, lest any other people might attain the rank which the Spartans once held, and raise their own importance on the ruins of public freedom, ambassadors were sent successively to the several cities, requiring their respective compliance with the treaty of Antalcidas. Against such as rejected this overture, war was denounced in the name of Athens and her allies;

which was declaring to all Greece, that the battle of Leuctra had put the balance of power in her hands, and that she had determined to check the ambition of every republic whose views were too aspiring.³⁰

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Disappointed of assistance from Athens, the Thebans had recourse to an ally not less powerful. The extensive and fertile territory of Thessaly, which had been so long weakened by division, was fortunately united under the government of Jason of Pheræ, a man whose abilities and enterprising ambition seemed destined to change the face of the ancient world.³¹ To the native virtues of hospitality and magnificence, which peculiarly distinguished his country, Jason added indefatigable labour and invincible courage, with a mind capable to conceive the loftiest designs, and a character ready to promote them by the meanest artifices.³² His family descended from the ancient kings of the heroic ages, and formed the wealthiest house in Pheræ, which had already attained considerable pre-eminence over the neighbouring cities of Thessaly. By contrivances extremely unworthy of that greatness to which they frequently conducted, Jason deceived his brothers and kinsmen; and appropriated almost the sole use of his domestic opulence. With this, he hired a well-appointed body of mercenaries, by whose assistance he acquired greater authority in Pheræ; than any former general or king had ever en-

The Thebans court the alliance of Jason of Thessaly.

His character, and fortunes.

³⁰ Xenoph. p. 602.

³¹ Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. i. et seq.

³² Polyæn. Stratagem.

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joyed.³³ But the government of a single city could not satisfy his aspiring mind. By stratagem, by surprise, or by force, he extended his dominion over the richest parts of Thessaly, and was ready to grasp the whole, when his designs were obstructed by the powerful opposition of Polydamas the Pharsalian.³⁴

His ambition
opposed by
Polydamas.

Next to Pheræ and Larissa, Pharsalus was the largest and most flourishing city in that northern division of Greece. But the inhabitants, distracted by factions, exhausted their strength in civil discord and sedition, until a ray of wisdom illuminating both parties, they committed their differences, and themselves, to the probity and patriotism of Polydamas, which were equally respected at home and abroad. For several years, Polydamas commanded the citadel, and administered justice and the finances with such diligence and fidelity, as might reasonably have entitled him to the glorious appellation of Father of his country. He firmly opposed and counteracted the secret practices, as well as the open designs of Jason, who eagerly solicited his friendship by every motive that could actuate a mind of less determined integrity.

Conference
between
them.

At a conference which was held between them at Pharsalus, where Jason had come alone and unattended, the better to gain the confidence of a generous adversary, the Pheræan displayed the magnitude of his power and resources, which it

³³ Plut. Polit. & san tuend.

³⁴ Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. i. et seq.

seemed impossible for the weakness of Pharsalus to resist; and promised, that on surrendering the citadel of that place, which must otherwise soon yield to force, Polydamas should enjoy in Thessaly the second rank after himself; that he would regard him as a friend and colleague; nor could there remain a doubt that their united labours might raise their common country to that station in Greece which it had been long entitled to hold. That the subjugation of the neighbouring states opened vaster prospects, which forced themselves irresistibly on his mind when he considered the natural advantages of Thessaly, the fertility of the soil, the swiftness of the horses, the disciplined bravery and martial ardour of the inhabitants, with whom no nation in Europe, or in Asia, was able to contend.

Polydamas heard with pleasure the praises of his native land, and admired the magnanimity of Jason. But he observed, that his fellow-citizens had honoured him with a trust which it was impossible for him ever to betray; and that their community still enjoyed the alliance of Sparta, from which the neighbouring cities had revolted. That he was determined to demand the protection of that republic; and if the Lacedæmonians were willing and able to afford him any effectual assistance, he would defend to the last extremity the walls of Pharsalus. Jason commended his integrity and patriotism, which, he declared, inspired him with the warmer desire to obtain the friendship of such an illustrious character.

Deter-
mined in-
tegrity of
Polyda-
mas.

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Jason declared
leader of
the Thes-
salians.
Olymp.
cii. 3.
A. C. 370.

Soon afterwards Polydamas went to Sparta; and proposed his demand in the council; exhorting the magistrates not only to undertake the expedition, but to undertake it with vigour; for if they expected to oppose the forces of Jason by their undisciplined peasants, or half-armed slaves, they would infallibly bring disgrace on themselves and ruin on their confederates. The Lacedæmonians were deeply engaged in the Theban war, which had been hitherto carried on unsuccessfully. They prudently declined, therefore, the invitation of Polydamas; who, returning to Thessaly, held a second conference with Jason. He still refused to surrender the citadel, but promised to use his best endeavours for making the Pharsalians submit of their own accord; and offered his only son as a pledge of his fidelity. Jason accepted the offer, and, by the influence of Polydamas, was soon afterwards declared captain-general of Pharsalus and all Thessaly; a modest appellation, under which he enjoyed the full extent of royal power.²⁵

His admirable discipline;

He began his reign by adjusting, with equity and precision, the proportion of taxes, and the contingent of troops, to be raised by the several cities in his dominions. The new levies, added to his standing army of mercenaries, amounted to eight thousand horse, twenty thousand heavy-armed foot, and such a body of targeteers, as no

²⁵ Xenoph. Hellen. l. vi. c. 1. et seq. & Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. p. 488.

nation of antiquity could match.³⁶ But numbers formed the least advantageous distinction of the army of Jason. Every day he exercised his troops in person; dispensed rewards and punishments; cashiered the slothful and effeminate; honoured the brave and diligent with double, and sometimes treble pay, with large donatives in money, and with such other presents as peculiarly suited their respective tastes. By this judicious plan of military administration, the soldiers of Jason became alike attached to their duty, and to the person of their general, whose standard they were ready to follow into any part of the world.³⁷

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He began his military operations by subduing the Dryopes³⁸, the Dolopians, and the other small but warlike tribes, inhabiting the long and intricate chain of mounts Oeta and Pindus, which form the southern frontier of Thessaly. Then turning northwards, he struck terror into Macedonia, and compelled Amyntas to become his ally, and most probably his tributary. Thus fortified on both sides, he retaliated the inroads of the Phocians, who had long profited of the divisions, and insulted the weakness, of his country; and by conquering the small and uncultivated district of Epirus, which then formed a barbarous principality under Alcetas³⁹, an ancestor of the re-

and rapid
success

³⁶ Xenophon expresses it more strongly; *μελυστικον γε μιν ικανον προς παντας ανθρωπους αντιπαχθηναι*, p. 600.

³⁷ Xenoph. p. 600.

³⁸ Strabo, l. viii. p. 299.

³⁹ In speaking of Arrybas (the son of Alcetas, and the grand-father

CHAP. XXX. known Pyrrhus, he extended the dominion of Thessaly from the Ægæan to the Ionian sea, and encompassed, as with a belt, the utmost breadth of the Grecian republics.

on Greece. It cannot be doubted that the subjugation, or at least the command, of those immortal commonwealths, was the aim of the Thessalian prince, who declared to his friends, that he expected, by the assistance of Greece, to imitate the glorious examples of Cyrus and Agesilaus, and to effect, by the united strength of the confederacy, what these generals had nearly accomplished by a body of ten or twelve thousand soldiers.⁴⁰ While the Spartans, however, preserved their long-boasted pre-eminence, and regarded it as their hereditary and unalienable right to conduct their confederates to war, Jason could not hope to obtain the principal command in an Asiatic expedition. As the natural enemy of that haughty people, he rejoiced in their unprosperous hostilities with the Thebans; nor could he receive small satisfaction from beholding the southern states of Greece engaged in perpetual warfare, while he himself maintained a respected neutrality, and watched the first favourable occasion

of Pyrrhus), who received his education at Athens, Justin says, "*Quanto doctior majoribus suis, tanto et gratior populo fuit. Primus itaque leges et senatum annuosque magistratûs et reipublicæ formam composuit. Et ut a Pyrrho sedes, sic vita cultior populo ab Arryba statuta.*"

⁴⁰ Xenoph. p. 600.

of interfering, with decisive effect, in the final settlement of that country.

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His alli-
ance with
Thebes.

He seldom ventured indeed into the Peloponnesus; but, in order to examine matters more nearly, he undertook, upon very extraordinary pretences, several journeys to Athens and Thebes. From policy, and perhaps from inclination, he had formed an intimate connection with the most distinguished characters of those republics, and particularly with Pelopidas and Timotheus. The latter, after serving his country with equal glory and success, was, according to the usual fortune of Athenian commanders, exposed to cruel persecution from his rivals and enemies, which endangered his honour and his life. On the day of trial, the admirers and friends of that great man appeared in the Athenian assembly, in order to intercede with his judges; and, among the rest, Jason, habited in the robe of a suppliant, humbly soliciting the release of Timotheus, from a people who would not probably have denied a much greater favour to the simple recommendation of so powerful a prince.⁴¹ In a visit to Thebes, he endeavoured to gain or secure the attachment of Epaminondas, by large presents and promises; but the illustrious Theban, whose independent and honourable poverty had rejected the assistance of his friends and fellow-citizens, spurned with disdain the insolent generosity of a⁴² stranger. Yet, by the intervention of Pelopidas, Jason contracted an engagement of hospitality with the

⁴¹ Demosthenes, et Cornel. Nepos in Timoth.

⁴² Plut. Apophtheg.

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XXX.Rapidly
of his
move-
ments.

Thebans, in consequence of which he was invited to join their arms, after their memorable victory at Leuctra.

The Thessalian prince accepted the invitation, though his designs respecting Greece were not yet ripe for execution. He was actually engaged in war with the Phocians, of which whatever might be the pretence, the real object was to obtain the superintendence of the Delphic oracle, and the administration of the sacred treasure. To avoid marching through a hostile territory, he ordered his galleys to be equipped, as if he had intended to proceed by sea to the coast of Bœotia. His naval preparations amused the attention of the Phocians, while Jason entered their country with a body of two thousand light horse, and advanced with such rapidity that he was every where the first messenger of his own hostile approach.

His views
in medi-
ating a truce
between
Thebes
and Spar-
ta.

By this unusual celerity, he joined, without encountering any obstacle, the army of the Thebans who were encamped in the neighbourhood of Leuctra, at no great distance from the enemy. Instead of an auxiliary, Jason thought it more suitable to his interest to act the part of a mediator. He exhorted the Thebans to rest satisfied with the advantages which they had already obtained, without driving their adversaries to despair; that the recent history of their own republic and of Sparta, should teach them to remember the vicissitudes of fortune. The Lacedæmonians, on the other hand, he reminded of the difference between a victorious and van-

quished army. That the present crisis seemed totally adverse to the re-establishment of their greatness; that they should yield to the fatality of circumstances, and watch a more favourable opportunity to restore the tarnished lustre of their arms. His arguments prevailed; hostilities were suspended; the terms of a peace were proposed and accepted: but it is remarkable, that the Spartans and their allies had so little confidence in this sudden negociation, that they decamped the night following, and continued to march homeward, with the diligence of distrust and fear, until they got entirely beyond reach of the Thebans.⁴³

Jason had not, probably, more confidence in a treaty hastily concluded between enemies, whose resentments were irritated and inflamed by so many mutual injuries offered and retorted. Nothing could have been more contrary to his views than a sincere and lasting peace between these powerful republics; but, as this was not to be apprehended, he wished to obtain the reputation of appeasing the dissensions of Greece; a circumstance of great importance to the accomplishment of his own lofty designs.

In his return home, he demolished the walls of Heraclea, a town situate near the straits of Thermopylæ; not fearing, says his historian⁴⁴, that any of the Greek states should invade his dominions from that side, but unwilling to leave a place of such strength on his frontier, which, if

He is assassinated in the midst of his projects. Olymp. cii. 3. A. C. 370.

⁴³ Xenoph. p. 600.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 599.

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seized by a powerful neighbour, might obstruct his passage into Greece. Thither he determined to return at the celebration of the Pythian games, at which he meant to claim the right of presiding, as an honour due both to his piety and to his power. He commanded, therefore, the cities and villages of Thessaly to fatten sheep, goats, swine, and oxen, and proposed honourable rewards to such districts as furnished the best victims for the altars of Apollo. Without any burthensome imposition on his subjects, he collected a thousand oxen, and, of smaller cattle, to the number of ten thousand. At the same time he prepared the whole military strength of his kingdom by whose assistance, still more effectually than by the merit of his sacrifice, he might maintain his pretensions to the superintendence of the games, the direction of the oracle, and the administration of the sacred treasure, which he regarded as so many previous steps to the conquest of Greece and Asia. But, amidst these ambitious dreams, Jason, while reviewing the Pheræan cavalry, was stabbed by seven youths, who approached him, on pretence of demanding justice against each other. Two of the assassins were dispatched by his guards. Five mounted fleet horses, which had been prepared for their use, and escaped to the Grecian republics, in which they were received with universal acclamations of joy, and honoured as the saviours of their country from the formidable power of an enterprising and magnanimous tyrant.⁴⁵ The projects and the

⁴⁵ Xenoph. & Diodor. *ibid.* & Valerius Maximus, l. ix.

empire of Jason perished with himself; Thessaly, as we shall have occasion to explain, relapsed into its former state of division and weakness: but it is the business of history to relate not only great actions but great designs; and even the designs of Jason announce the approaching downfall of Grecian freedom.

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CHAP. XXXI.

Tumults in the Peloponnesus. — Invasion of Laconia. — Epaminondas rebuilds Messenê. — Foundation of Megalopolis. — Archidamus restores the Fortune of Sparta. — Affairs of Thessaly and Macedon. — Negotiations for Peace. — The Pretensions of Thebes rejected. — Epaminondas invades the Peloponnesus. — Revolutions in Achaia. — Speech of Archidamus in the Spartan Council. — Designs of Thebes. — Disconcerted by Athens. — Pelopidas's Expedition into Thessaly. — The Arcadians seize the Olympic Treasure. — Battle of Mantinæa. — Agesilaus's Expedition into Egypt.

CHAP.
XXXI.

History of
the last
stage of
Greeian
freedom.

THE death of Jason removed the terror of Greece; but of a country which owed its safety to the arms of an assassin, the condition may justly be regarded as extremely unstable and precarious. There elapsed, however, thirty-three years of discord and calamity, before the Greeks finally experienced, in Philip of Macedon, such ambition and abilities as enabled him fully to accomplish the lofty designs of the Thesalian. The history of this last stage of tumultuous liberty comprehends the bloody, but indecisive wars, which exhausted Greece during eleven years that intervened between the battle of Leuctra and the accession of Philip to the Macedonian throne, together with the active reign of that prince; a memorable period of

twenty-two years, illuminated by the success and glory of Macedon, and clouded by the disgrace and ruin of the Grecian republics.

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The unexpected issue of the battle of Leuctra was doubly prejudicial to the Spartans, by weakening their own confederacy, and strengthening that of their enemies. In less than two years after that important event, the alliance in Peloponnesus, over which Sparta had so long maintained an ascendant, was totally dissolved, and most cities had changed not only their foreign connections but their domestic laws and government. During the same period, the confederacy, of which Thebes was the head, had, on the contrary, been very widely extended. Many communities of the Peloponnesus courted her protection; and, in the north of Greece, the Acarnanians, Locrians, Phocians, the whole breadth of the continent, from the Ionian to the Ægæan sea, and even the isle of Eubœa, increased the power, and in some measure acknowledged the dominion of Thebes. The history of these revolutions is very imperfectly related by ancient writers; but their consequences were too remarkable not to be attended to and explained. The Peloponnesians, after being delivered from the oppression of the Spartan yoke, were subjected to the more destructive tyranny of their own ungovernable passions.¹ Every state and every city was torn by factions, which frequently blazed forth into furious seditions.

Tumults and seditions in the Peloponnesus after the battle of Leuctra. Olymp. cii. 3. A. C. 370.

¹ Diodorus, l. xv. p. 371. et seq. Isocrat. in Archidam: & de Pace.

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The exiles from several republics were nearly as numerous as those who had expelled them. Fourteen hundred were banished from Tegea; two thousand² were slain in Argos; in many places the contending factions alternately prevailed; and those who, in the first encounter, had got possession of the government and the capital, were sometimes attacked³ and conquered by the numerous fugitives, who formed a camp in the adjoining territory. The Mantinæans, alone, seemed to have acted wisely. With one accord, and with equal diligence, they laboured to rebuild their walls, which the insolence of Sparta had demolished. The work was soon brought to a conclusion; and the Mantinæans, united in one democracy, fully determined thenceforth to preserve the strength of their city, which appeared necessary to maintain their political independence.

The exiles
fly to
Sparta.

Neither the Thebans nor the Spartans immediately interfered in this scene of disorder. The former found sufficient employment for their arms and negotiations in the northern parts of Greece; and the latter were so much humbled by their defeat at Leuctra, that they contented themselves with preparing to defend the banks of the Eurotas, and to repel the expected assault of their capital. For this purpose they had

² This number is made out, by comparing different authors, and uniting in one view the different scenes of the sedition, which is called the Scytalism by Diodorus (*ubi supra*), and Pausanias (Corinth), from the Greek word *σκυταλη*, signifying a club, which, it seems, was the principal instrument of destruction.

³ Diodorus, l. xv. p. 371. *et seq.*

armed the aged and infirm, who were legally exempted from military service.⁴ They had commanded into the field even those citizens who were employed in such sacred and civil offices as are deemed most useful in society; and, as their last resource, they talked of giving arms to the Helots. But the convulsions of Peloponnesus soon supplied them with less dangerous auxiliaries.⁵ The incensed partisans of aristocracy, who had been expelled from Argolis, Achaia, and Arcadia, had recourse to the most ancient and distinguished patrons of their political principles. Encouraged by this seasonable reinforcement, the Spartans set at defiance the Theban invasion, by which they had been so long threatened, and sent a considerable detachment to recover their lost authority in Arcadia. But it was the fate of Sparta to regain neither in that, nor in any other state of the Peloponnesus, the influence which she had lost in the field of Leuctra. Polytropos, who commanded her allies in this expedition, was defeated and slain in the first rencounter with the Arcadians, and Lycomedes, their intrepid and magnanimous leader. Nor did Agesilaus perform any thing decisive against the enemy. He was contented with ravaging the villages and delightful vallies of Arcadia, in which he met with little resistance from the inhabitants, who declined an engagement, until they should be joined by the Theban confederacy, whose assistance they had sent to solicit, and had just reason to expect.⁶

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That republic attempts in vain to recover her authority in Arcadia.

⁴ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 597.

⁵ Id. p. 603.

⁶ Id. p. 605.

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XXXI.

The The-
bans take
the field at
the head
of their
allies.
Olymp.
cil. 4.
A. C. 369.

At length the far-renowned Thebans took the field, having carefully pondered their own strength, and collected into one body the flower and vigour of their numerous allies. They were accompanied by the warlike youth of the towns and villages of Bœotia, by the Acarnanians, Phocians, Locrians, and Eubœans, and by a promiscuous crowd of needy fugitives, who were attracted to their camp by the allurements of plunder. They had no sooner arrived on the frontier of Arcadia than they were joined by the inhabitants of that country, as well as by the Elians and Argives. This united mass of war, exceeding any numbers that either before or afterwards ever assembled in Greece under one standard, amounted to fifty, some say, to seventy thousand men.⁷ The Thebans, and the rest of the Bœotians, were commanded by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to whom the generous admiration of their colleagues had voluntarily resigned their authority. Apprised of the march of such a formidable army, conducted by generals of such unquestionable merit, Agesilaus prepared to evacuate Arcadia, a measure which he fortunately effected, before his soldiers beheld the fires kindled in the hostile camp, and thus avoided the disgrace of retiring before the enemy.⁸ His unresisted devastation of the territory which he had invaded, as well as his successful retreat, gave fresh spirits to his followers, and made them return with better hopes

The Spar-
tans eva-
cuate Ar-
cadia.

⁷ The numbers differ in Xenophon. *Hellen.* l. vi. Pausan. *Bœotic.* Diodorus, l. xv. & Plut. in Pelopid.

⁸ Xenoph. p. 606.

to defend their own country, which was now threatened with invasion. CHAP.
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The Thebans, though they had no longer any occasion to protect the Arcadians from insult, were determined⁹, by many powerful motives, to employ the vast preparations which they had collected. Their particular resentment against Sparta was heightened by the general voice of their allies, who exhorted them to embrace an opportunity which, perhaps, might never return, utterly to destroy a people who neither could enjoy tranquillity, nor allow their neighbours to enjoy it. The inhabitants of Carya, and of several other towns in Laconia, declared their resolution to revolt from Sparta as soon as the enemy should enter their boundaries. In a council of war summoned by the Theban generals, it was therefore resolved to march without further delay into the Lacedæmonian territories, to lay waste the country, and, if possible, to take possession of the capital.

That this resolution might be executed with the greater celerity and effect, the army was thrown into four divisions, destined, by separate roads, to break into the devoted province, to join forces at Sallasia, and thence to march in one body to Sparta. The Bœotians, Eleans, and Argives, penetrated, without opposition, by

Brave defence of the district Sciritia.

⁹ They at first opposed the eagerness of the Arcadians, Elians, and Argives, for invading Laconia, considering *ὅτι δυσμεβαλωτατή μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλεγέτο εἶναι, φρουρὰς δὲ καθίσταται ἐνομιζόν ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσόδωταίς*. "That it would be difficult to penetrate into a country defended by the natural strength of its frontier, or by vigilant garrisons." Xenoph. p. 607.

C H A P. the particular routes which had been assigned
 XXXI. them. But when the Arcadians, who formed the fourth division of the army, attempted to traverse the district Sciritis, the brave Ischilas, who guarded that important pass, determined to repel them, or to perish. The example of Leonidas at Thermopylæ kindled a generous enthusiasm in the breast of this gallant Spartan. The numbers of the Arcadian levies so far exceeded his own, that death seemed the sure reward of his courage. Yet he exhorted all those to decline danger who were not ambitious to share it. He even *commanded* the youth to leave his camp before the engagement, deeming their lives too precious to be risked in so desperate an enterprise. He, with the old soldiers who followed him, chose the present opportunity to meet a glorious death in defence of their country. But their lives were sold dearly. The action was long doubtful; the loss of the Arcadians great, nor did the battle cease till the last of the Spartans had fallen.¹⁰

Devastation of
 Laconia.

The confederates having soon after assembled at Sellasia, the place of rendezvous, marched forward to Sparta, burning and destroying all before them. During five hundred years Laconia had not experienced a similar calamity. The guards who defended the city were thrown into consternation. The women were terrified by the smoke and tumult raised by the invaders; a

¹⁰ Xenoph. l. vi. p. 607. & Diodor. l. xv. p. 376. The former indeed adds, *εἰ μὴ τις ἀμφεργνηθεὶς διεφυγε*, "Unless, perhaps, some one escaped unknown through the enemy."

spectacle, concerning which it had been their usual boast, that they alone of all the Grecian females, had never beheld it in their native land. Alarmed by the danger which threatened them, and, which they were sensible of their own inability to repel, the Spartans embraced the doubtful expedient of giving arms to their peasants and slaves, whom they commonly treated with such an excess of cruelty. Not less than six thousand of these unhappy men were engaged, by threats or promises, to undertake the reluctant defence of the proud tyrants, whom they detested. Their formidable numbers increased the general panic, which had seized the magistrates and citizens, and which did not finally cease until the arrival of a powerful body of men from Corinth, Phlius, Epidaurus, and Pallené; cities which, though they had ever opposed the *despotism*, were unwilling to permit the *destruction* of Sparta.

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This seasonable reinforcement not only removed the consternation of the Spartans, but made them pass with rapidity from the depths of despondency to the triumphs of hoped success. The kings and magistrates could scarcely restrain their impetuosity from rushing into the field; and this martial enthusiasm, guided by the consummate prudence of Agesilaus, enabled them to repel the first assaults of the enemy, and to convince them that every succeeding attempt to get possession of the city, must be attended with such fatigue, and danger, and loss of men, as could not be compensated by

Vigilant
intrepidity
of Agesi-
laus.

CHAP. the attainment of that object. The conduct of
 XXXI. Agesilaus, during this critical emergency, has
 been highly extolled by all writers¹¹, and never
 beyond its merit. By a well contrived ambush
 in the temple of the Tyndaridæ¹², he defeated
 the designs of the assailants : with singular pre-
 sence of mind¹³, he quelled a dangerous insur-
 rection ; and while, by force or stratagem, he
 overcame the united efforts of domestic and
 foreign enemies, he negotiated the most pow-
 erful assistance for the relief of his country.

The Spar-
 tans and
 their allies
 negotiate
 at Athens
 a treaty of
 defence.

Immediately after the battle of Leuctra, the
 Athenians had declared their resolution to renew
 and confirm the treaty of Antalcidas, which,
 though it diminished the grandeur, yet secured
 the tranquillity of Greece, and prevented the
 weakness of any one republic from falling a prey
 to the ambition of another. But notwithstand-
 ing this declaration, which was universally ap-
 proved by their neighbours, they had, either
 from resentment or from policy, remained above
 two years spectators of the decline of the Lace-

¹¹ Xenoph. & Plut. in Agesilao. Diodorus, l. xv. & Pausanias
 Lacon.

¹² Castor and Pollux, so called from their mother Tyndaris, or
 Leda.

¹³ The mutineers had entered into a conspiracy to seize an import-
 ant post in the city. Agesilaus observed them as they marched thi-
 ther, and immediately suspecting their design, called out, that they
 had mistaken his orders ; declaring it to be his meaning, that they
 should separate into different divisions, and repair to the several
 posts which he named. The conspirators naturally concluded that
 he knew nothing of their purpose, and separating as he commanded,
 could never afterwards find an opportunity to unite in such numbers
 as rendered them dangerous.

dæmonian, and the growth of the Theban league. C H A P.
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 Whatever uneasiness might be occasioned by the increasing strength of their new rival, was sufficiently balanced by the decay and downfall of their ancient and inveterate enemy. But though, doubtless, they ardently desired the ruin of the Spartan power, they could not sincerely approve the cruel destruction of their persons and of their city. When informed of the terrible devastation of Laconia, they naturally felt a return of compassion for a people, whose exploits, on many memorable occasions, had done such signal honour to the Grecian name.

The emissaries of Agesilaus, whose superior mind had assumed dictatorial power amidst the distress of his country, seized the favourable opportunity to urge, with the Athenians, many motives of action, which seldom operate amidst the cold lifeless politics of modern times. They took notice that the Athenians and Lacedæmonians had often mutually assisted each other in seasons of distress, and that the most glorious æra of their story was that in which the two republics had united their councils and measures against a common enemy. That, when the spirit of rivalry and ambition had unhappily divided Greece, and the Athenians were exposed to the calamities of a long and unfortunate war, they had been protected by the humanity of Sparta against the implacable rage of the Thebans, who wished to demolish the city of Athens, and to reduce its territory to the barren solitude of the Crissean plain. That, by the moderation of Sparta, the Athenians had not only been

Arguments
which they
employed
for this
purpose.

C H A P. saved from the vengeance of foreign enemies, **XXXI.** but delivered from the yoke of domestic tyrants, and the cruel tyranny of the Pisistratidæ. The merit of these services deserved the reward of gratitude; the hereditary renown of Athens urged her to protect the miserable; and justice demanded that she should assert, and maintain, the conditions of a recent treaty, which she herself had proposed, and which the Thebans, after accepting, had so manifestly violated.

How received by the Athenians.

A loud and discordant murmur ran through the assembly. Some approved the demand, others observed that the Spartans changed their language with their fortune; that they had formerly, and probably would again, whenever they became powerful, assume a very different tone, and, instead of colouring by false disguises, display in its native force their inveterate enmity to Athens. That the late treaty of peace could not entitle them to any assistance, since they themselves had begun the war by the invasion of Arcadia; a war undertaken from the unjust motive of supporting the tyrannical usurpation of the nobles of Tegea over the rights of their fellow-citizens.

Speech of Cleiteles the Corinthian.

Together with the Lacedæmonian ambassadors, had come those of Corinth and Phlius, cities eminently distinguished by an unshaken fidelity to their ancient confederate and protector. Cleiteles the Corinthian, observing what turn the debate was likely to take, stood up and said, "Were it a matter of doubt, Athenians! who are the aggressors, the melancholy experience of *our* state would remove the difficulty.

Since the renovation of the peace of Antalcidas, the Corinthians, surely, have not committed hostilities against any power in Greece. Yet the Thebans have entered our territory, cut down our trees, burned our houses, plundered our cattle and effects. How, then, can you refuse your assistance to those who have been so manifestly injured, in direct violation of the treaty, to which, at your express desire, they acceded and swore?" The assembly loudly approved the discourse of Cleiteles, which was supported and confirmed by the arguments and eloquence of Patrocles the Phliasian.

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"It is manifest, I think, to all of you, Athenians! that should Sparta be destroyed, Athens must be the next object of the hostility of Thebes, since that city alone would then stand in the way of her ambition. The cause of the Lacedæmonians therefore is, in fact, your own. You must embrace it with ardour, as the last opportunity which the gods perhaps will afford you, of defending the general freedom at the head of your allies, and of preventing the dangerous domination of the Thebans; the effects of which, you, who are their neighbours, would feel with peculiar severity. By taking this resolution, which is equally generous and salutary, you will acquire a fund of merit, not only with the Spartans, than whom none were ever more mindful of favours, or more ambitious of honest fame, but also with us their allies, who, since we have continued faithful to our friends in their adversity, cannot be suspected of ingratitude to our prosperous benefactors. I have heard with

Of Patrocles the Phliasian.

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admiration how, in ancient times, the injured and afflicted always had recourse to Athens, and were never disappointed of relief. I now no longer hear, but see, the Lacedæmonians, with their faithful allies, soliciting your protection against the Thebans, whose unrelenting cruelty could not persuade Sparta, in the height of her resentment and of her power, to desolate your country, and to reduce you into servitude. Your ancestors acquired just renown by saving the dead bodies of the Argives, to whom the impiety of Thebes denied the sacred rites of burial.¹⁴ How much greater renown will redound to you, when the Lacedæmonians, by your generous assistance, shall be saved from death. It was deemed meritorious in *them* to have defended the children of Hercules against the unnatural persecution of Eurystheus; but it will be far more glorious for *you* to have defended not only the descendants of that hero, the hereditary kings of Lacedæmon, but, along with them, the senate, the magistrates, the people; in one word, to have delivered the whole nation from a danger dreadful in itself, and otherwise inevitable. During the prosperity of their empire, the Lacedæmonians prevented your destruction by a decree, which displayed their humanity, without exposing their safety. You are called to defend the Lacedæmonians, not by inactive decrees, but by arms and courage. Arm then in their behalf; and, forgetful of re-

¹⁴ See vol. i. c. i. p. 26. The facts alluded to in the text are related in all the panegyrics of Athens, by Plato, Lysiad, Isocrates, and Thucydides.

cent animosities, repay the important services which, in the Barbarian war, the valour of Sparta rendered to Athens and to all Greece."

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The assembly was so deeply affected by the persuasive discourse of the Phliasian, that they refused to hear any thing in opposition to it, and determined, almost unanimously, to take the field. Iphicrates was named general; twelve thousand men were ordered to repair to his standard; the sacrifices were propitious; the troops made a short repast; and such was their ardour to meet the enemy, that many of them marched forth without waiting the orders of their commander.¹⁵

Iphicrates, with twelve thousand men, sent to defend Laconia.

Epaminondas, meanwhile, had committed dreadful devastation in Laconia. His repulse from the capital had exasperated his hostilities against the country. He had desolated the fertile banks of the Eurotas, which were thick planted with houses, and abounding in all the conveniencies of life known to the austere simplicity of Sparta. He had assaulted Helos and Gythium; and, traversing the whole province, had destroyed the villages by fire, and the inhabitants by the sword. Even these terrible ravages did not satisfy his resentment; he determined that the invasion of Laconia should not be a temporary evil, which the labour of years might repair; and for this purpose employed an expedient, which, even after he might evacuate their country, must leave the Lacedæmonians exposed to the rage of an implacable enemy.

Epaminondas continues his ravages in that province.

We have had occasion to relate the various

Rebuilds Messéné.

¹⁵ This whole transaction is explained in Xenoph. p. 609—613.

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Olymp.

cii. 2.

A. C. 369.

fortunes of the Messenians. About three centuries before the period now under review, their city had been demolished by the Spartans; their territory had been seized, and divided among that people; the ancient inhabitants had been reduced into servitude, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of cruel masters; or dispersed in miserable banishment over Greece, Italy, and Sicily. After two centuries of humiliation and calamity, the humanity, concurring with the policy of Athens, took compassion on this unfortunate race, and settled them in the territory of Naupactus, and the neighbouring island of Cephallenia. The Messenians displayed their gratitude by important services during the Peloponnesian war; but their most vigorous exertions could not long retard the declining fortune of Athens. The event of that war rendered Sparta the arbiter of Greece; and the Messenians were the first objects of her memorable tyranny, being universally enslaved, banished, or put to death. It is probable that the scattered remains of this miserable community would flock from every quarter to the standard of Epaminondas, rejoicing in an opportunity to retaliate the unrelenting persecution of a people who now suffered the calamities which they had so often inflicted. But the general voice of history ascribes to Epaminondas the merit of assembling the Messenians.¹⁶ It is certain that he rebuilt their city, and put them in possession of their territory; an act of kind beneficence which

¹⁶ Plutarch. in Pelopid. Diodor. l. xv. p. 491. Pausan. Messen. p. 265.

inflicted a most unexpected and cruel punishment on the Spartans, who beheld the ashes of a nation, which they had twice endeavoured to extinguish, revive and flourish in their neighbourhood ; continually increase by the accession of Spartan subjects and slaves ; and, encouraged by a Theban garrison, and their own inveterate hostility, watch every favourable occasion to exert the full force of their vengeance.¹⁷

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Epaminondas had accomplished this extraordinary enterprise, when he received intelligence of the motions of the Athenian army commanded by Iphicrates. That illustrious general had allowed the ardour of his troops to evaporate, by pursuing a conduct which it is impossible, at this distance of time, to explain, but which the military historian¹⁸ condemns, as highly unworthy of his former renown. When celerity was of the utmost importance, he wasted several precious days at Corinth, without any necessity, or even pretence, for this unseasonable delay. His soldiers loudly demanded to meet the enemy, or even to assault the walls of Argos, the strongest and most populous city in Peloponnesus, and not inferior to Thebes itself in active animosity against their common foe. Iphicrates, however, embraced none of those measures, but led his army towards Arcadia ; expecting, perhaps, what actually happened, that the news of his arrival there would deliver Laconia from the hostile invader.

The Athenians take the field.

It cannot be imagined, indeed, that Epami-

The Thebans evacuate Laconia.

¹⁷ Diodor. l. xv. c. 16.

¹⁸ Xenoph. l. vi. versus finem.

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nondas feared the issue of an engagement with the Athenians. But he was justly alarmed with the interest which even that people had taken in the danger of Sparta. The indignation and resentment which they, the rivals and enemies of the injured, discovered on this occasion, taught him what sentiments his conduct must excite in more impartial states, should he persist in his original plan, destroy the Lacedæmonian capital, and, as the orator Leptines expressed it, "pluck out an eye of ¹⁹ Greece." Many concurring causes tended also to accelerate his departure. The Arcadians were called home to defend their houses and families. The Elians and Argives were anxious to secure their booty by an expeditious retreat. Even the Thebans were weary of an expedition which had consumed several winter months, a season in which they were not accustomed to keep the field. Provisions likewise grew scarce; and Epaminondas, pressed by difficulties on every side, prepared to evacuate the Lacedæmonian territories; but not (in the words of Xenophon) until "every thing of value had been consumed or plundered, poured out, or burned down."²⁰

The Thebans and Athenians respectively accuse their commanders.

At the same time that the Thebans left Laconia, Iphicrates withdrew the Athenians from the country which they had invaded. The two armies filed off, as by mutual consent, and returned to their respective cities by separate roads, without any attempt to interrupt the progress of each other. Iphicrates was blamed for

¹⁹ Aristot., Rhetor. l. iii, c. 10.

²⁰ Xenoph. p. 612.

allowing an enemy, heavy with plunder, and exhausted by the fatigue of a winter's campaign, to pass unmolested through the Isthmus of Corinth. Pelopidas and Epaminondas were accused and tried before the Theban assembly, for protracting the term of their command beyond the time limited by law. The former discovered less courage than might have been expected from his impetuous and daring character. He, who had never feared the sword of an enemy, trembled at the angry voice of his insolent accusers. But Epaminondas displayed, on this occasion, the superiority of philosophical firmness, seated in the mind, to that constitutional courage which is the result of blood and spirits. The latter is sufficient for a day of battle; but the former alone can yield support in every vicissitude of fortune.

Instead of observing the formality of a regular defence, the illustrious Theban undertook the invidious task of pronouncing his own panegyric.²¹ After relating his exploits, without amplification, and without diminution, he concluded by observing, "that he could submit to death without reluctance, secure of immortal fame, earned in the service of his country." The seditious demagogues were awed by his magnanimity; the anger of the assembly against himself and his colleague dissolved in admiration; and Epaminondas was conducted from the tribunal with as much glory as from the field of Leuctra.

Epami-
nondas de-
fends his
conduct.

²¹ Plutarch. de sui Laude, p. 540.

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Intricacy
of the sub-
sequent
events.

From the invasion of Laconia to the general engagement at Mantinæa, there elapsed six years of indecisive war and tumultuous activity; battles lost and gained, conquests made and abandoned, alliances concluded and broken; treaties of peace proposed, accepted, and violated by those who felt the unhappy effects of dissensions which their rancorous animosity was unwilling to terminate. In examining the history of this period, we may perceive the same confusion in the relation, which appears at first sight to have been in the events themselves. It is necessary, however, to reduce them into the form of a regular narrative. In important concerns, numerous bodies of men, however they may act without effect, cannot be supposed to act *entirely* without design: their motives, unsteady and capricious as they often are, form the invisible chain which it is the business of the historian to investigate and to follow; since it is otherwise impossible that the transactions which he describes, should afford either solid instruction, or any rational entertainment.

The alliance
between
Athens
and Sparta
confirmed
and ex-
tended.
Olymp.
ciii. 1.
A. C. 368.

Early in the ensuing spring, the Lacedæmonians, with the few allies who still adhered to their cause, dispatched an embassy to Athens, in order to strengthen the bands of amity and union with that republic. In the conference held for that purpose, it appeared that the Spartans were either very deeply affected by the recent obligations conferred on them, or that they very earnestly desired the continuance of similar favours. They acknowledged that the experience, the bravery, the naval victories and fortune of Athens, justly

entitled her to the sovereignty of the Grecian seas; and when this concession, which had hitherto been withheld with such disdain, could not satisfy the more patriotic, or rather the less generous, members of the assembly, they condescended to grant another acknowledgment still more inconsistent with the pride of their hereditary pretensions; that in such military expeditions as were undertaken by the joint forces of both republics, the command should be equal and alternate; so that an army of Lacedæmonians (a thing hitherto unexampled) would be commanded during half the campaign by Athenian generals. Patrocles the Phliasian, whose eloquence and address had been distinguished in the former negociation, was not less active in the present; chiefly by *his* intervention matters were finally adjusted; an alliance of the most intimate kind was concluded between the two republics; and, by the assistance of the generous Phliasian, the Spartans obtained this important advantage, without the disgrace of many ineffectual overtures, or the mortification of long supplicatory speeches, which they deemed of all things the most grievous.²²

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The Spartan negociations, so fortunate in Athens, were equally successful with Dionysius tyrant of Sicily and Artaxerxes King of Persia. The former, himself a Dorian, naturally lamented the humiliation and distress of a people who, during seven hundred years, had formed the principal ornament and defence of the Dorian

The Spartans negotiate treaties with Dionysius and Artaxerxes.

²² Xenoph. p. 613—616.

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race; and the latter pursued his ordinary system of politics, of assisting the weaker party, in order to balance the contending powers, and to perpetuate the hostilities of Greece.

Military
opera-
tions.

While the Lacedæmonians gained strength by these important alliances, their enemies took the field. The Arcadians began the campaign by entering the territory of Pallené, an Achæan republic, which still remained faithful to Sparta. The country was laid waste, the villages burned, the city taken by storm, and the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, partly Lacedæmonians, were put to the sword. Soon after this success, the Arcadians were joined by the Elians and Argives. Epaminondas likewise marched southward at the head of the Thebans, their foot amounting to seven thousand, and their cavalry to five hundred. Before he reached the Isthmus, the Lacedæmonians had been reinforced by a body of two thousand Sicilian troops, agreeably to their treaty with Dionysius: and the Athenians had taken the field, under the command of Chabrias, actually the most respected, or at least the most popular, of their generals. It was naturally the object of the Spartan and Athenian commanders, to prevent the junction of Epaminondas with his southern allies. For this purpose they strongly guarded, and even fortified the Isthmus; an expedient which had not been put in practice since the invasion of Xerxes. The Thebans, however, broke through, took Sicyon, and assaulted Corinth. But Chabrias, who happened

at this time to enjoy the alternate command, repulsed them with such loss, that Epaminondas judged proper to retire homeward; on which account he was blamed and disgraced by his countrymen, who, insolent with prosperity, thought themselves entitled to perpetual good fortune.

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Retreat
of the
Thebans.

The unexpected retreat of the Thebans, of which it was not easy to conjecture the real²³ cause, occasioned much dissatisfaction among their confederates, particularly the Arcadians. This simple, but warlike people, had obtained distinguished honour in several recent expeditions. They were usually conducted by the Mantinæan Lycomedes, a man gallant in enterprise, and persevering in execution; rich, noble, eloquent, and generous. Under a commander equally respected and beloved, the Arcadians found nothing too arduous for their courage. In regular engagements, they commonly proved victorious wherever they fought. But their principal merit was displayed in ambushes and surprise, and all the dangerous stratagems of desultory war. When a favourable occasion summoned their activity, neither length of way, nor difficult mountains, nor storms, nor darkness, could interrupt their course, or prevent their unforeseen assault.²⁴ Unassisted and alone, they had often defeated superior strength and

Pretension
of the Ar-
cadians.

²³ The Theban demagogues, as we learn from Diodorus and Plutarch, accused Epaminondas of treacherous correspondence with the enemy, or at least of secretly favouring their cause; but this is altogether improbable.

²⁴ Vid. Xenoph. 618. et seq.

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Encouraged by
Lycomedes.

numbers; and when, together with their Peloponnesian allies, they served under the Theban standard, their prowess had been acknowledged and admired by the united army.

The repulse and retreat of Epaminondas gave relief and splendour to the recent glory of Arcadia, and inspired Lycomedes with an ambition which he easily communicated to his countrymen. He told them, "That they were the most ancient, the most populous, and surely not the least warlike community in Peloponnesus; but that they had hitherto neglected to profit of the advantages which they enjoyed. In the memorable war of twenty-seven years, they had joined with the Lacedæmonians, whom they had raised to an authority, of which the Arcadians, as well as the rest of Greece, felt the intolerable oppression. That of late years they had acted with the Thebans, who, by *their* assistance chiefly, had attained a very alarming degree of power, which they occasionally exerted or remitted, as suited their own convenience, without the smallest regard to the interest of their confederates. If this power should be increased, might not the yoke of Thebes become as grievous as that of Sparta? It was time for the Arcadians to know their own worth; to disdain following the standard of any foreign state; and not only to vindicate their freedom, but to claim their just pre-eminence." The assembly applauded the manly²⁵ resolution of Lycomedes;

²⁵ Xenophon's expression is lively; *καὶ μόνον ἀνδρὰ ἡγούμενος*, "thinking him the only man." L. vii. p. 618.

and, in order to render it effectual, determined to keep possession of such places as they had taken from the Lacedæmonians or their allies in Elis and Achaia, and to complete their conquests in these and the neighbouring provinces of Peloponnesus.

For several months they met with little interruption in this design, the Spartans, after the departure of their auxiliaries, not venturing to take the field until the approach of the ensuing year, when they received a new supply of troops from Dionysius, and both troops²⁵ and money from Artaxerxes. The Theban arms were actually employed in Thessaly and Macedon, as we shall have occasion hereafter to relate; so that every circumstance conspired to hasten the march of Agesilaus and the Lacedæmonians. But the infirmities incident to old age made him decline the command, which was entrusted to his son Archidamus; his colleague Agesipolis not possessing great abilities either for war or government.

The rapid success of Archidamus, who seemed destined to restore the declining fortune of Sparta, justified the prudent choice of the magistrates and people. He expelled the hostile garrisons from the inferior cities of Laconia, stormed Caryæ, and put the rebellious inhabitants to the sword. From thence he hastened to Arcadia, laid waste the southern frontier of that province, and prepared to attack the populous city of Parrhasia, when the united strength of the Arcadians, commanded by Lycomedes, and reinforced by the

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The Spartans take the field to oppose the designs of the Arcadians. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

Glorious campaign of the Spartans under Archidamus.

²⁵ These were not Persians, but *ξερικοι*, "Greek mercenaries." Xenoph. l. vii. p. 619.

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Argives, approached to its relief. Their arrival made Archidamus withdraw to the hills that overhang the obscure village of Midea. While he encamped there, Cissidas, who commanded the Sicilians, declared that the time limited for his absence was expired, and, without waiting an answer, ordered his forces to prepare their baggage, and to march towards Laconia. But the nearest passage into that country had been seized by the Messenians. In this difficulty Cissidas applied to Archidamus, who hastened to his support. The Arcadians and Argives at the same time decamped. The hostile armies encountered near the joining of the two roads which led towards Sparta, from Midea and Eutresios. As soon as Archidamus beheld the enemy prepared for an engagement, he commanded the Spartans to form, and when they were ready to advance, addressed them as follows: "Fellow-citizens and friends! if we are still brave, we may look forward with confidence; we may yet retrieve our affairs, and deliver down the republic to posterity as we received it from our ancestors. Let us strive, then, by one glorious effort, to recover our hereditary renown; and let us cease being the reproach (instead of what the Spartans once were, the ornament and defence) of our friends, our parents, our families, and our country."

Battle of
Midea
won by the
Spartans
without
the loss of
a man.

While he yet spoke, it thundered on the right, though the day was clear and serene. The soldiers, roused by the noise, looked towards the direction from which it came, and beheld, in a

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consecrated grove at no great distance, an altar and statue of Hercules, the great progenitor of Archidamus and the Spartan kings. Animated by the wonderful concurrence of such auspicious circumstances, they were transported with an enthusiasm of valour, and impetuously rushed against their opponents, in full confidence of victory. The enemy, who thought that they had to do with a vanquished and spiritless people, were astonished at their mien and aspect as they advanced to the attack. The few who waited their approach were totally destroyed; many thousands perished in the pursuit; it is said by ancient historians²⁷, that the Spartans lost not a man. Archidamus erected a trophy, and dispatched a messenger to Sparta. The people were assembled, when he communicated his extraordinary intelligence. The aged Agesilaus shed tears of joy. The Ephori and senators sympathised with the emotions of their king. The patriotic weakness was communicated from breast to breast; the amiable contagion spread; the sternest members of this numerous assembly softened into tenderness, and melted in sensibility.²⁸

The Spartans were prevented from reaping the full fruits of this victory, through the considerable reinforcement which the Arcadians soon afterwards received from Thebes. By the assistance of these troops, the Menalians and

Founda-
tion of
Megalopoli.

²⁷ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 630. Diodor. & Plut. ubi supra.

²⁸ Xenoph. ibid. He observes, οὕτω κοινὸν τι ἀπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ λυγρῆς, δακρυὰ εἰσιν. "So common are tears to joy and sorrow."

CHAP. Parrhasians, who, from their situation on the southern frontier of Arcadia, were most exposed to the incursions of the enemy, found means to execute a design said to have been formerly suggested by Epaminondas. They abandoned twenty straggling and defenceless villages; and choosing an advantageous situation in the centre of their territory, erected a fortress there, which they surrounded with a strong wall. The benefit of security attracted new inhabitants; the walls were extended; the place acquired the magnificent name of Megalopolis²⁹, the last city built by the Greeks, while they preserved the dignity of independent government.³⁰

Revolu-
tions in
Thessaly.

The temporary success of the Spartans under Archidamus, which is generally ascribed to the valour of that commander, was principally occasioned by the withdrawing from Peloponnesus, at a very critical juncture, the numerous army of Thebes, which was at that time called northward, in order to take an important and honourable part in the affairs of Macedon and Thessaly. Since the atrocious murder of the heroic Jason, the latter kingdom had been afflicted by a continual train of crimes and disorders. Just gratitude and respect towards the memory of their generous and warlike chief, engaged the Thessalians to perpetuate the honours of his family. He was succeeded by his brothers Polydore and Polyphron; of whom the latter, not

²⁹ "The great city."

³⁰ I have melted together Pausanias in Bœotic. and Diodorus, l. xv. p. 384. but followed the chronology of the latter.

being able to endure the restraint of a limited, much less of a divided rule, attained, by the assassination of his colleague, the sole dominion of Thessaly. His stern despotism was abolished by the hand of Alexander, who avenged the blood of his kinsman²¹ Polydore, the only meritorious action of his life. For Alexander (as his character is represented to us) exceeded the cruelties of Polyphron, and of all the detested tyrants that have ever been condemned to the infamy of history. The Thessalians were delivered from such a monster by the domestic conspiracy of his wife Thebé, the daughter of Jason, and her brothers Tisiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron; who governed with precarious sway, till the power and address of Philip destroyed their usurpation, and rendered their distracted country, which seemed incapable of freedom, a province of Macedonia. Such, in few words, were the revolutions of Thessaly; but the bloody reign of Alexander demands more particular attention, being connected with the general revolutions of Greece.

A cautious reader will always receive, with some distrust, the accounts transmitted by ancient republicans of the lives and actions of²² tyrants.

Tyranny
of Alex-
ander.

²¹ His brother, uncle, or father, according to different authors.

²² The acceptation of the word tyrant in Greek history is well known. The Greeks called τυραννοι, "tyrants," those who had acquired sovereignty in states formerly republican. Thessaly, Sicily, Corinth, &c. were governed, not by βασιλεῖς, but τυραννοι, "not by kings, but tyrants;" whereas Macedonia, which had never been subject to any species of popular government was ruled, not by τυραννοι, but βασιλεῖς, "not by tyrants, but kings."

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The popular histories of Alexander remind us of the fanciful descriptions of Busiris or Pygmalion. Yet it cannot be doubted, that the tyrant of Thessaly was cruel to his subjects, perfidious to his allies, implacable to his enemies, a robber by land, and a pirate by sea³³; but that it was his usual diversion to bury men alive, to inclose them in the skins of wild beasts, as a prey to ravenous dogs, to mutilate and torture children in the presence of their parents³⁴, can scarcely be reconciled with his shedding tears for the imaginary sufferings of Hecuba and Andromaché, during the representation of the Troades.³⁵ It is true, that he is said to have been ashamed of this weakness, and to have left the theatre with confusion; but what could have engaged a monster, such as Alexander is described, to listen to the pathetic strains of the tender Euripides? What pleasure, or what pain, could a tyger, thirsting for human blood, receive from such an entertainment? Although we abstract from his story many incredible fictions, Alexander might well deserve the resentment of the Thessalians. His injured subjects took arms, and solicited the protection of Thebes, whose justice or ambition readily embraced their cause. As Epaminondas still continued under the displeasure of his country, the Theban army was conducted by Pelopidas and Ismenias. Their arrival struck terror into the conscious breast of the tyrant,

The affairs
of Thes-
saly settled
by Pello-
pidas.

³³ These are the words of Xenophon, p. 601.

³⁴ Plut. in Pelopid,

³⁵ Id. de Fort. Alexand,

who, without daring to trust his defence to the numerous guards and mercenaries by whom his usurpation was supported, implored the clemency of the Theban generals, submitting to the most humiliating conditions which their wisdom might judge proper to exact for the future security of his subjects.³⁶

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This transaction was scarcely ended, when the Thebans, whose reputation and success rendered them the most proper mediators in the affairs of their neighbours, were invited into Macedon, which, since the death of Amyntas II. had been a prey, during six years, to all the calamities of a disputed succession. Amyntas left three legitimate sons, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and a natural son, Ptolemy, whose intrigues had occasioned all the disorders of the kingdom. He could not prevent the accession of Alexander to the throne, as that prince had attained the age of manhood at the time of his father's death. But he embittered and shortened his reign, which lasted only one year; after which Ptolemy assumed the reins of government, as guardian to the minority of Perdiccas, and protector of Macedon. It soon appeared, however, that his ambition would not rest satisfied with the borrowed power of a regent. He gained a considerable party to his interest, baffled the opposition of Perdiccas's partisans, and boldly usurped the sovereignty. The friends of that unfortunate prince had recourse to the justice

Pelopidas establishes Perdiccas on the throne of Macedon, and receives Philip as an hostage. Olymp. ciii. 2. A. C. 367.

³⁶ Diodor. l. xv. c. xvii. & Plut. in Pelopid.

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and power of Thebes. Pelopidas entered Macedon at the head of his army; restored the numerous exiles whom Ptolemy had banished; asserted the just rights of Perdiccas to the throne; and, after receiving hostages from the contending factions, among whom was Philip, the younger brother of Perdiccas, afterwards King of Macedon, and conqueror of Greece, returned towards Thessaly, having finally re-established the tranquillity of the neighbouring kingdom.³⁷

Is treacherously seized and imprisoned by Alexander, in his journey through Thessaly. Olymp. ciii. 2.
A. C. 367.

In his journey through a country where he had so lately acted the part of a judge and master, it seemed as if little danger could reasonably be apprehended. Pelopidas had sent before him a considerable detachment of his army, to conduct the Macedonian hostages towards Thebes. With the remainder, he marched securely through the territory of his Thessalian confederates, when he was informed that Alexander had come to meet him at the head of his mercenaries. Even this suspicious circumstance could not undeceive the credulous confidence of the Theban chief. He imagined that the tyrant had taken this measure in order to shew him respect, and to justify himself against some recent complaints of his injured subjects. With an imprudence which all historians agree to condemn³⁸, both Pelopidas and

³⁷ Diodor. l. xv. c. xvii. & Plut. in Pelopid.

³⁸ Besides Diodorus and Plutarch, the sage Polybius severely arraigns the incautious trust of Pelopidas. Polyb. Casaub. t. ii. p. 98. Polybius in that passage speaks of the expedition as an embassy. I have carefully compared the different writers, and adopted the account that seemed most probable and consistent.

Ismenias threw themselves into the hands of a traitor, who gloried in despising laws human and divine. They were instantly seized by his order, carried to Pheræ, bound, imprisoned, and exposed to the insulting eyes of an invidious multitude.

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It might be expected that the Theban soldiers should have been animated with indignation and rage at the unexampled treatment of their beloved chiefs. But their numbers were too small to contend with the Thessalian mercenaries; and, when a powerful reinforcement arrived from Bœotia, they fatally experienced, in the first encounters with the enemy, the absence of Pelopidas, and the degradation of his magnanimous friend. The army was reduced to the utmost difficulties, encompassed on every side, unwilling to fight, and unable to fly. The troops justly accused the inexperience of their commanders, remembering their glorious campaigns in the Peloponnesus, where they contended with far more formidable enemies. Epaminondas, who had commanded them on those memorable occasions, actually served in the ranks. The soldiers with one accord saluted him general. The singular abilities of this extraordinary man speedily changed the posture of affairs; the tyrant was defeated in his turn, and compelled to retire. Epaminondas, instead of pushing him to extremity, which might have turned his desperate fury against the valuable lives of the Theban prisoners, hovered round with a victorious army, ostentatiously displayed the advantages of mi-

Delivered
by Epami-
nondas.

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litary skill and conduct; and, while he kept Alexander in continual respect and fear, yet left him sufficient time for repentance and submission. This judicious plan of operations was attended with success. The tyrant implored peace: but he only received a truce of thirty days, on condition of restoring the persons of Pelopidas and Ismenias.³⁰

Interview
of Pelopi-
das, during
his con-
finement,
with
Thebé,
Queen of
Thessaly.

Those who love to find in history events extraordinary and romantic, would not easily excuse my omitting to mention the interview of Pelopidas, during his imprisonment, with the Thessalian Queen. The daughter of the heroic Jason united the beauty of the one sex with the courage of the other, and was beloved by her husband with such love as a tyrant can feel, which is always corrupted by suspicion. At her earnest and repeated entreaties, Thebé was permitted to see, and converse with the Theban general, whose merit and fame she had long admired. But his appearance did not answer her expectation. At beholding his neglected and squalid figure, she was seized with an emotion of pity, and exclaimed, "How much, Pelopidas, do I lament your wife and family." "You, Thebé, are more to be lamented," replied the Theban hero, "who, without being a prisoner, continue the voluntary slave of a perfidious and cruel tyrant." The expression is said to have sunk deep into the heart of the Queen, who remembered the reproach of Pelopidas, when, ten years afterwards, she supported the courage, and

³⁰ Plut. in Pelopid. & Diodorus, *ibid.*

urged the hand, of the assassins of * Alexander. But this moral narrative, however strongly authenticated, cannot be attentively read without occasioning some degree of scepticism concerning the history of Alexander. Had he been the monster which resentment or credulity have taken pleasure to delineate, who never entered the apartment of his wife without an armed attendant, who slept in a lofty inaccessible tower, to which he mounted by a ladder, and which was guarded by a fierce dog †, it is incredible that he should have permitted an interview between a secret and an open enemy.

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Nor would it be easy to reconcile with the fierceness of the Thessalian, another anecdote, which has probably been invented to display the magnanimity of Pelopidas, but which displays still more strongly the patience of Alexander. During the confinement of the former at Pheræ, the latter is said to have exceeded his usual cruelties towards the inhabitants of that city. Pelopidas consoled their affliction, and encouraged them to hope for vengeance. He even sent to reproach the absurdity of the tyrant, in destroying daily so many innocent men, from whom he had nothing to fear, while he allowed an enemy to live, who would employ the first moment of freedom to punish his manifold en-

Anecdote
of Pelopi-
das and
Alexan-
der.

* Xenoph. p. 601.

† Cicero de Offic. l. 2. Plut. in Pelopid. But the story, as related by Xenophon, is divested of such improbable fictions; and Xenophon seems hardly to believe all that he relates. He says, *λεγεται ὑπο τινων*,—and repeats that it was a hearsay, a few sentences below.

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ormities. "And is Pelopidas so desirous to die?" was the answer of the Thessalian. "Yes," replied the prisoner, "that *you* may the sooner perish, having rendered yourself still more obnoxious to gods and men."³⁴ The resentment of Pelopidas, if ever it was expressed, proved an empty boast; for, immediately after his deliverance, the Theban army was, for very urgent reasons, withdrawn from Thessaly.

Congress
of Grecian
deputies
in Persia.
Olymp.
ciii. 2.
A. C. 367.

The Theban expedition in the north had allowed the Spartans, in some degree, to recover their influence in the south of Greece. Archidamus had obtained a complete victory over the Arcadians, the bravest and most powerful of the confederates. The crafty³⁵ Antalcidas, with Euthycles³⁶, a Spartan of abilities and intrigue, had been sent as ambassadors to Persia, in order to hasten the supplies of troops, or money, expected from that country. It was time for Thebes to assert her interest in the Peloponnesus, and to counteract the dangerous negotiations of her enemies with Artaxerxes. Epaminondas, whose recent and illustrious merit had silenced the unjust clamours of faction, was confirmed in his military command; and Pelopidas, whose unfortunate adventure in Thessaly was ascribed less to his own imprudence than to the treachery of Alexander, was dispatched to the East, as the person best qualified to conduct a negociation with the ministers of the Great King. He was accompanied by the ambassadors of Elis, Argos, and Arcadia; those of Athens followed soon

³⁴ Plutarch. in Pelopid.

³⁵ Plut. in Artaxerx.

³⁶ Xenoph. Hellen.

afterwards ; so that there appeared, for the first time, a general congress of the Grecian states, to settle and adjust their interests at the court of a foreign prince. It might be expected, that a scene so new and interesting should have excited the attention of historians ; yet they have left us ignorant in what city of his dominions Artaxerxes received the Greeks. At their arrival, the King treated Antalcidas with that partial kindness due to an ancient guest and favourite ; but at their public audience, the appearance, the fame, and the eloquence of Pelopidas, more majestic than that of Athens, more nervous than that of Sparta⁴⁵, entitled him to a just preference, which the King, whose rank and temper alike disdained restraint, was at no pains to conceal.

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The Theban represented that in the battle of Plataea, fought above a century ago, and ever since that memorable engagement, his countrymen had uniformly adhered to the interest of Persia, at the risk of losing whatever men hold most precious. That the dangerous war in which they were actually engaged, had been occasioned by their open and steady opposition to the measures of the Spartans, previous to their destructive invasions of Asia. The imperious pride of Agesilaus could never forget the affront offered him at Aulis, when, in imitation of Agamemnon, he intended to offer sacrifice before his embarkation. He had begun hostilities without justice, and carried them on without success.

Representations
of Pelopidas to the
Persian
monarch.

⁴⁵ Plut. in Pelopid.

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Behaviour
of the
other de-
puties.

The field of Leuctra had been alike fatal to the strength and glory of Sparta; nor would that ambitious republic have reason to boast of its recent success in Arcadia, if, at that unfortunate juncture, the Thebans had not been prevented by reasons equally important and honourable, from assisting their Peloponnesian confederates. Timagoras the Athenian, guided by motives which ancient history has not particularly explained⁴⁶, seconded, with vigour and address, the arguments of the illustrious Theban. In vain did Leon, the colleague of Timagoras, remonstrate against his breach of trust. The other deputies were confounded by his impudence; -and, before they had time to express

⁴⁶ The extraordinary behaviour of Timagoras deserves attention. He co-operated with the enemy of his country, and the ambassador of a state actually at war with it. We may guess his motives by his reward. He received from the King of Persia, at his departure, gold and silver, and other valuable presents, particularly a bed of curious construction, with Persian slaves to make it; and he was carried in a sedan to the sea-shore at the King's expence. Yet this man had the effrontery to return to Athens, and to appear in the public assembly. He knew the force of eloquence and intrigue over the capricious minds of his countrymen; he knew that the practice of receiving bribes was so usual, that the Athenians had lost the proper sense of its baseness. He perhaps remembered the pleasant proposal of Epicrates, that instead of nine Archons, the Athenians should annually elect nine ambassadors, chosen from the poorest citizens, who might return rich from Persia. Epicrates had acquired a very undue proportion of wealth by this infamous means, as we learn from an oration of Lysias. Yet the Athenians were less indignant at his guilt, than delighted with his humour. Timagoras, however, was not so fortunate; he was accused by his colleague Leon, and condemned to death, not, if we may credit Plutarch, because he had betrayed his trust, and accepted bribes, but because the Athenians were extremely displeased that Pelopidas had effected the object of his commission at the Persian court. Plut. in Pelopid.

their astonishment and indignation, the King desired Pelopidas to explain the object of his commission, and the demand of his countrymen. The Theban. replied, that he had been sent to propose and ratify a treaty between his republic and Persia, on conditions equally advantageous to both, since the carrying of them into execution would destroy the power of those states which had hitherto occasioned so much disturbance and danger to all their neighbours. His proposals were, that the Athenians should be commanded to lay up their fleet, and that the fertile country of Messenia should be declared totally independent of Sparta. If any opposition to the treaty were made by these powers, that war should be levied against them by Persia, Thebes, and their allies; and if the inferior cities of Greece declined to engage in so just a cause, that their obstinacy should be punished with an exemplary severity. The King approved these articles, which were immediately consigned to writing, confirmed by the royal seal, and read aloud to the ambassadors. On hearing the clause which related to Athens, León exclaimed, with the freedom peculiar to his country, "The Athenians, it seems, must look out for some other ally, instead of the King of Persia." After this daring threat, the ambassadors took leave, and returned to Greece with all possible expedition. ⁴⁷

Pelopidas was accompanied by a Persian of distinction, intrusted with the instrument containing the treaty. On his arrival in Thebes, the

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Overtures
of the Persians and
Thebans
rejected in

⁴⁷ Xenoph. p. 621. et seq.

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a conven-
tion of the
Grecian
states;

people were immediately assembled, and being informed of the happy fruits of his embassy, they commended his diligence and dexterity. Without losing a day, messengers were dispatched to demand the attendance of representatives from the Grecian states, whose interests were all alike concerned in the late important negotiation. It does not appear that either Athens or Sparta condescended to obey the summons. The convention, however, was very numerous. The Persian read the treaty, showed the King's seal, and, in the name of his master, required the agreement to be ratified with the formality of oaths usually employed on such occasions. The representatives almost unanimously declared that they had been sent to hear, not to swear; and that, before the treaty could be ratified by general consent, its conditions must be previously discussed in the particular assembly of each independent republic. Such was the firm, but moderate answer of the other deputies; but the high-spirited Lycomedes went farther than his colleagues. His friend and countryman, Antiochus, who had lately acted as the ambassador of Arcadia at the Persian court, returned disgusted by the contempt shown towards his country by the Great King, who hesitated not to prefer Elis to Arcadia. In giving an account of his embassy to the Ten Thousand (the name usually bestowed on the assembled Arcadians since the re-union of their tribes in Mantinæa and Megalopolis), he indulged himself in many contumelious expressions against Artaxerxes and his subjects, which were greedily listened to by the resentment and envy of his hearers.

“Neither the wealth nor the power of the Great King were so great in reality as flattery and falsehood represented them. The golden plane-tree, which had often been so ostentatiously described, could scarce afford shade to a grasshopper. He himself had been an attentive observer; yet all he could find in Persia was the idle retinue of vice and luxury; bakers, butlers, and cooks, a useless and servile train: but men fit to contend with the Greeks, he neither himself saw, nor thought it possible for others to discover.” The proud disdain of Antiochus had been communicated entire to the breast of Lycomedes. He declared, that Arcadia needed not any alliance with the Great King; and that were such a matter in agitation, Thebes would not be the proper place to determine it, since every convention tending to a general peace ought to be held in that country which had been the principal scene of warfare.

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The Theban magistrates breathed the mingled sentiments of disappointment, indignation, grief, and rage. They accused Lycomedes as a traitor to Thebes, and an enemy to his country; but he despised their empty clamours, and, without deigning an answer, walked from the assembly, and was followed by all the deputies of Arcadia. Notwithstanding this severe mortification, the Thebans did not abandon the ambitious project at which they had long aimed. Nothing favourable, they perceived, could be expected in the general congress of the states, so that they allowed the assembly to break up, without insisting farther

and by
each re-
public in
particular.

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on their demands. But at a short distance of time, they renewed the same proposal to the several republics, beginning with Corinth, one of the weakest, but most wealthy, in hopes that whatever opposition the overtures of the King of Persia, and their own, had found in the united strength and confidence of the assembled confederacy, few single states at least would venture to provoke the indignation of such powerful adversaries. But in this, too, they were disappointed. The Corinthians declined entering into any alliance with the King of Persia, and set his power at defiance. The magnanimous example was imitated by their neighbours; the secret practices of the Thebans were equally fruitless with their open declarations and demands.

Epami-
nondas in-
vades the
Pelopon-
nesus.
Olymp.
ciii. 5.
A. C. 366.

Epaminondas encouraged his countrymen to acquire, by arms, that pre-eminence which they had vainly expected to obtain by negotiation. His renown, justly increased by the recent transactions in Thessaly, rendered his influence irresistible. He was again intrusted with the command of a powerful army, with which, for the third time, he invaded the Peloponnesus. The Elians and Arcadians, though hostile to each other, were alike disposed for rebellion against Thebes; but, instead of marching into their territories, a measure which might have engaged them to settle their private differences, and to unite against the common enemy, Epaminondas endeavoured to quash their disaffection, by the rapid conquest of Achaia, which, stretching along the Corinthian gulph, skirted the northern frontiers of Elis and

Arcadia. From the nature of their government, the Achæans usually enjoyed more tranquillity than their neighbours. They possessed not any great town, whose needy and turbulent inhabitants, seduced by popular demagogues, could rouse the whole province to arms and ambition. Towards the east and the isthmus of Corinth, the cities of Sicyon and Phlius had long been regarded as separate republics, unconnected with the general body of the Achæan nation. Ægium enjoyed the prerogative of constituting the usual place of convention for the states of Achaia; but Dymé, Tirtæa, and Pellené, scarcely yielded to Ægium in populousness and power, and seem, with several places of inferior note, to have formed so many separate and independent communities, all alike subject to the same equitable system of Achæan laws. Immediately before the Theban invasion, the aristocracy had acquired an undue weight in the constitution of Achaia, so that the principal nobles and magistrates were no sooner informed of the approach of an enemy, than they flocked from all quarters of the province to meet Epaminondas, soliciting his favour and friendship, and little anxious about the independence of their country, provided they might preserve their personal privileges and private fortunes. The people perceiving themselves betrayed by those who ought to have been their protectors, abandoned all thoughts of resistance. Epaminondas accepted the submission of the magistrates, and received pledges of their engagement, that Achaia should

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Compels
the Achæ-
ans to ac-
cept the
Theban
alliance.

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Revolu-
tions in
Achaia.

thenceforth adhere to the interest of Thebes, and follow the standard of that republic.⁴⁸

This conquest, which was effected without striking a blow, and without producing any internal revolution of government, was destructive and bloody in its consequences. Epaminondas, for reasons not sufficiently explained, returned with his army to Thebes; but before he arrived there, various complaints against his conduct had been made in the Theban assembly. The Arcadians and Argives complained that a people, who knew by their own recent experience the inconveniencies of aristocracy, should have confirmed that severe form of government in a dependent province. The democratic faction in Achaia secretly sent emissaries to second the complaint. The enemies of Epaminondas seized the favourable opportunity of accusing and calumniating that illustrious commander, and the capricious multitude were persuaded to condemn his proceedings, and to send commissioners into Achaia, who, with the assistance of the populace, as well as of a considerable body of mercenaries, dissolved the aristocracy, banished or put to death the nobles, and instituted a democratic form of policy. The foreign troops had scarcely left that country, when the exiles, who were extremely numerous and powerful, returned with common consent, and, after a bloody and desperate struggle, recovered their ancient influence in their respective cities. The

⁴⁸ Xenoph. p. 662.

leaders of the populace were now, in their turn, put to death or expelled; the aristocracy was re-established; and the magistrates, knowing that it was dangerous to depend on the unsteady politics of Thebes, craved the protection of Sparta, which was readily granted them. The Achæans approved their gratitude by ravaging the northern, while the Lacedæmonians infested the southern frontier of Arcadia; and that unhappy province felt and regretted the inconvenience of its situation between two implacable enemies. ⁴⁰

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Sicyon, though governed by the Achæan laws, did not follow, on this occasion, the example of its neighbours. That unfortunate city, which had long been the seat of elegance and the arts, was reserved for peculiar calamities. Euphron, a bold, crafty, and ambitious demagogue, having already acquired great credit with the Lacedæmonians, was desirous of obtaining equal consideration among the enemies of that people, hoping, by so many foreign connections, to render himself absolute master of his little republic. For this purpose, he secretly reminded the Arcadians and Argives, that "Sicyon, having the same laws and government, would naturally embrace the same alliance with the neighbouring cities; but the danger of this event he would undertake to remove, with very slender assistance from Argos and Arcadia." The admonition was not lost; a body of armed men arrived at Sicyon; Euphron assembled the people; the government was changed; new magis-

Euphron
usurps the
govern-
ment of
Sicyon.
Olymp.
ciii. 5.
A. C. 366.

* Xenoph. p. 635.

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trates were appointed; and Euphron was entrusted with the command of the national force, consisting chiefly of mercenaries. Having obtained this, he obtained all. By caresses, bribes, and flattery, the troops were gained over to his party, and became attached to his person. His colleagues in the government were removed by secret treachery or open violence. His private enemies were held the enemies of the state, accused, condemned, and banished; and their confiscated estates augmented the wealth of Euphron, whose rapacity knew no bounds, sparing neither the property of individuals, nor the public treasury, nor the consecrated gold and silver which adorned the temples of Sicyon. The sums, amassed by such impious means, enabled him to confirm his usurpation. He augmented the number of his mercenary guards, who, while they oppressed the republic, were useful auxiliaries to the Argives and Arcadians. Whatever these nations thought proper to command, the soldiers of Euphron were ready to obey; and partly by such alacrity in their service, partly by bribing⁵⁰ the principal men in Argos and Arcadia, the crafty tyrant expected to prevent those neighbouring communities from interfering in the domestic affairs of Sicyon.

His usurpation overturned by Æneas the Stymphalian.

Such was the venality and corruption of the Greeks, that his detestable policy was attended with success, until Æneas, the Stymphalian, obtained the command of the Arcadians. This man, availing himself of the vicinity of Sicyon to Stymphalus, the place of his birth and residence,

⁵⁰ Τα μὲν τοὶ καὶ χρημασί διαπραττετο. Xenoph. p. 624.

had formed a connection with the oppressed citizens of the former. Æneas, perhaps, had not sufficiently shared the largesses of Euphron; perhaps the humanity of his nature⁵¹ lamented the sufferings of the Sicyonians. Whatever was his motive, it is certain that he endeavoured to expel their tyrant, and to restore their liberty.

Euphron, however, had the dexterity to engage successively in his favour the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Thebans. He spared neither pains, nor promises, nor bribes. He was commonly his own ambassador; and his activity and abilities must have risen far above the ordinary pitch, to engage the principal states of Greece, one after another, to support, in direct opposition to their principles, the tyranny of a single man. Insurrections at home, and hostilities from abroad, at length occasioned his downfall. He escaped to Thebes with the greatest part of his treasure. His enemies sent proper persons to counteract his intrigues there. The money, however, and the address of Euphron, prevailed with the Theban magistrates, and he expected to be restored in triumph by the Thebans, as he had already been by the Athenians. But the Sicyonians, who followed him to Thebes, perceiving his familiarity⁵² with the principal men of that city, had recourse to the only expedient that seemed capable of frustrating his designs, and assassinated Euphron in

Euphron
is assassi-
nated at
Thebes.

⁵¹ Xenophon seems to approve this reason. He says, Æneas the Stymphalian, νομισας ουκ ανεκτως εχειν τα εν Σικυωνι. "Thinking the grievances of the Sicyonians intolerable."

⁵² Ως δε ελπον αυτον οικειως τοις αρχουσι συνοντα. Xenoph. p. 630.

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This ac-
tion pub-
licly justi-
fied.

The allies
of Sparta
ask per-
mission of
that re-
public to
negociate
a peace
with
Thebes.
Olymp.
ciii. 8.
A. C. 366.

the Cadmæa, while the Theban archons and senators were assembled within the walls of that edifice.⁵³

The murderers were seized ; and the atrocity, as well as the indignity of their crime, was strongly represented to the senate by one of the archons, who probably regretted the death of Euphron, as the loss of a wealthy client. The criminals denied the fact, till one, bolder than the rest, not only avowed, but justified the assassination, as equally lawful, advantageous, and honourable : and so little horror do men feel at the perpetration of crimes which prevail in their own age, and with which their fancies are familiar, that the assassins were unanimously acquitted by the Theban senate, whose award was approved by the assembly.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the war languished on both sides, and the hostile confederacies were on the point of being dissolved. The Athenians and Arcadians, equally disgusted with their respective allies, concluded a treaty of peace and mutual defence, through the intervention of Lycomedes the Mantinæan, who was slain in his return from Athens by a party of Arcadian exiles. This negociation gave general alarm : the Arcadians, who had entered into treaty with Athens, were the allies of Thebes ; and the united strength of these three republics was at that time sufficient to subdue and enslave the rest of Greece. The terror was increased when it appeared that the Athenians had little inclination to evacuate several places in the Corinthian territory, which

⁵³ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 630.

⁵⁴ Id. *ibid.* p. 631. et seq.

they had undertaken to defend against the Arcadians and Thebans. By seasonable vigilance, the Corinthians anticipated a design too unjust to be publicly avowed; they cautiously dissembled their fears; graciously thanked Chares, who had arrived with an Athenian fleet on pretence of offering them his service, but took care not to admit him within their harbours; and by extreme kindness and condescension, accompanied with warm professions of gratitude for the protection hitherto afforded them, they got rid of the foreign garrisons without coming to an open rupture with the Athenians. But the narrow escape which they had made, and the dread of being exposed in future to any similar danger, made them extremely solicitous to promote a general peace on the terms proposed by Artaxerxes and the Thebans. Motives of the same kind influenced the cities of Achaia, and the little republic of Phlius, which, together with Corinth, were the only allies that remained faithful to Sparta. A similarity of interests occasioned a close communication of views and measures among the leaders of all those communities; who agreed, by common consent, to dispatch an embassy to Sparta, requesting that she would accept the conditions of peace lately offered by Thebes, or if she thought it inconsistent with honour to cede her just pretensions to Messené, that she would allow her faithful, but helpless allies, to enter into a separate negotiation with the Theban republic.

The reasonableness, and even modesty, of this request, must have been apparent to the Spar-

Reason-
ableness of
this de-
mand.

C H A P. tans, when they reflected on the useful services
XXXI. of the allies, and considered how much they had
 already suffered in their cause. The Phliasians, in particular, had, during five years, given such illustrious proofs of their unshaken adherence to Sparta, as stand unrivalled in the history of national honour and fidelity. Situated in the midst of enemies, they had continually, since the battle of Leuctra, suffered the invasions and assaults of the Thebans, Arcadians, and Argives. Their territory was totally wasted; their city closely besieged; their citadel more than once surprised and taken; their wealth, public and private, was exhausted, and they subsisted precariously on provisions brought from Corinth, for the payment of which they had pledged their beasts of burden and instruments of agriculture. Yet, under the pressure of these multiplied calamities, they had preserved their fidelity inviolate: they had disdained to accept the peace which the Thebans offered them on condition of their forsaking Sparta; even, at last, they were determined to negotiate with Thebes for neutrality alone; nor had they humbly solicited permission to embrace this measure, until Corinth, the only source of their subsistence, seemed ready to forsake³³ them.

The Spartans deliberate on that subject.

The strength of such arguments, urged by the eloquence of Patrocles the Phliasian, might have softened, if any thing could have softened, the inflexible temper of the Spartan senate, and disposed that assembly to prefer the interest of their allies, and their own immediate safety, to

³³ Xenoph. 624. & 634.

the doubtful prospect of recovering Messen^é. C H A P.
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But the pretensions of this extraordinary people seem to have become more lofty, in proportion to their inability to support them; and, on that particular occasion, the proud obstinacy, natural to the Spartans, was increased by an animated speech of Archidamus, full of the most confident hopes, and glowing with all the zeal of his age, his situation, and his character.

He spoke with contempt concerning the defection of the confederates. “The Phliasians, the inhabitants of Corinth and Achaia, may, without exciting surprise, express an anxiety for peace; safety, not glory, is their aim. But the Spartans have a character to sustain, which it would be infamy to relinquish. They expect, not barely to exist, but to enjoy glory and renown, the true sweeteners of existence; and, if that be impossible, they must perish! Yet is not their situation desperate: a nation can never be reduced to any condition of distress, in which a warlike genius, and a well-regulated government, may not afford relief. But in military experience and abilities, we are still unrivalled; and such a system of policy as we enjoy, no other people can boast. We enjoy, besides, temperate and laborious habits, the contempt of pleasure and wealth, an ardour for martial glory, and an ambition for honest fame. These are powerful auxiliaries, when protected by the immortal gods, whose oracles anciently approved our just conquest of Messen^é. Nor, though the Corinthians and Achæans forsake us, shall we be

Speech of
Archida-
mus.

CHAP.

XXXI.

destitute of warlike allies. The Athenians, ever jealous of Thebes, their most formidable neighbour, will again take arms in our cause. Dionysius, the tyrant of Sicily, gives us hope of farther assistance; the King of Egypt, and many princes of Asia, declared enemies to Artaxerxes, are all naturally our friends. We possess, besides, though not the persons and actual service, the hearts and affections at least, of whatever is most eminent in Greece. In all the republics, whoever is distinguished by his fame, his wealth, or his virtues, though he may not accompany our standard, secretly wishes success to our arms. I am of opinion too, that the crowd⁵⁶ of Peloponnesus, that mob on which we at first too vainly relied, will at length return to their duty. They have obtained none of those advantages, the vain prospect of which urged them to revolt. Instead of acquiring the independent government of their own laws, they have fallen a prey to lawless anarchy, or been subjected to the inhuman cruelty of tyrants. The bloody seditions, of which they once knew the nature by report only, they have long experienced; and there are actually more exiles from particular cities, than were formerly from all Peloponnesus. But even banishment is happiness to those who, while they remained at home, butchered each other at the altars; and who, instead of that peaceful abundance which they enjoyed under the Spartan

⁵⁶ Οχλος. Isocrat. in Archid. He means the Arcadians, Elians, &c. formerly allies of Sparta.

government, perished for want of bread. Such is the condition of the Peloponnesians, whose lands have been laid waste, their cities desolated, and that constitution and those laws, under which they once lived the happiest of men, overturned from the foundation. We might subdue them by force; but *that* is not necessary; they will voluntarily return to their allegiance, and solicit our protection, as alone calculated to alleviate their misery, and prevent their total ruin.

“ But had we nothing of this kind to expect, and were the one half of Greece not more disposed to injure us, than the other to abet their injustice, I have still one resolution to propose, harsh indeed and severe, but becoming those sentiments which have ever animated the Spartans. Prosperity, that conceals the infamy of cowardice, robs fortitude of half its glory. It is adversity alone that can display the full lustre of a firm and manly character. I propose, therefore, that rather than cede a territory, which your ancestors acquired by the blood and labour of twenty victorious campaigns, you should remove from Sparta your wives, children, and parents, who will be received with kindness in Italy, Sicily, Cyrené, and many parts of Asia. Those who are fit to bear arms must also leave the city, and carry nothing from thence that may not easily be transported. They must, then, fix on some post well fortified by nature, and which art may render secure against every hostile assault. This, henceforth, must be their

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The Spartans determine to persevere in the war.

city and country; and from this, as a centre, they must on all sides infest the enemy, until either the Thebans remit their arrogance, or the last of the Spartans perish.”⁵⁷

The speech of Archidamus expressed the general sense of his country. The allies were dismissed with permission to act as best suited their convenience, but with assurance that Sparta would never listen to any terms of accommodation while deprived of Messené. With this answer the ambassadors returned to their respective cities. Soon afterwards, they were dispatched to Thebes, where, having proposed their demands, they were offered admission into the Theban confederacy. They answered, that this was not peace, but only a change of the war; and at length, after various propositions and reasonings, they obtained the much-desired neutrality.⁵⁸

Ambitious views of Epaminondas and the Thebans. Olymp. civ. 1. A. C. 364.

The Spartans, thus deserted on every side, would probably have been the victims of their pride and obstinacy, if circumstances, unforeseen by Archidamus, had not prevented the Thebans and Arcadians from carrying on the war with their usual animosity. Projects of glory and ambition had disarmed the resentment of Epaminondas. That active and enterprising leader, who thought that nothing was done, while any thing was neglected, had concerted measures for making Thebes mistress of the sea. The attention and labour of the republic were directed to

⁵⁷ Isocrat. in Archidam.

⁵⁸ Xenoph. ubi supra.

this important object : preparations were made at Aulis with silence and celerity ; and, when the design seemed ripe for execution, Epaminondas sailed to Rhodes, Chios, and Byzantium, to co-operate with those maritime states, which had already begun to feel the severe yoke of the Athenians, and become eager to shake it off. But the vigilance of the latter, who had sent out a strong fleet under Laches, a commander of reputation and ability, prevented the dangerous consequences of this defection ; and the Theban arms were, at the same time, summoned to a service which more immediately concerned their interest and honour.

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XXXI.

Disconcerted by the activity of Athens.

Alexander, the tyrant of Pheræ, began once more to display the resources of his fertile genius, and the inhuman cruelty of his temper. His numerous mercenaries, whom he collected and kept together with singular address, and the secret assistance of Athens, enabled him to overrun the whole territory, and to gain possession of all the principal cities of Thessaly.* The oppressed Thessalians had recourse to Thebes, whose powerful protection they had so happily experienced on former occasions, and whose standard they had uniformly followed, with an alacrity which afforded a sufficient pledge of their gratitude. The Thebans decreed to assist them with ten thousand men, and the command was entrusted to Pelopidas, the personal enemy of

Last expedition of Pelopidas into Thessaly. Olymp. civ. 1. A. C. 364.

* Plutarch. in Pelopid.

CHAP. XXXI. Alexander. But the day appointed for the march was darkened by an eclipse of the sun, which greatly diminished the army, as Pelopidas was unwilling to exact the reluctant services of men dispirited by the imaginary terrors of superstition. Such only as, despising vain omens, desired to follow their beloved general, were conducted into Thessaly; and being joined by their allies in that country near the town of Pharsalus, they encamped at the foot of the mountains of Cynoscephalæ.

He is slain
in the bat-
tle of Cy-
noscepha-
læ.

The tyrant approached with an army twenty thousand strong, boldly offering them battle. Nor did Pelopidas decline the engagement, though his foot were, in number, inferior to the enemy. The action began with the cavalry, and was favourable to the Thebans; but the mercenaries of Alexander having gained the advantage of the ground, pressed with vigour the Theban and Thessalian infantry. In this emergency, Pelopidas rode up, and encouraging the retiring troops with his voice and action, gave them such fresh spirits, that Alexander supposed them to have received a considerable reinforcement. The mercenaries were pressed in their turn, and thrown into disorder. Pelopidas, darting his eye through their broken ranks, espied Alexander in the right wing, rallying his men, and preparing to advance with his usual intrepidity. At this sight, the Theban was no longer master of his passion. Naturally a foe to tyrants, he beheld a personal foe in the tyrant Alexander. Accompanied by

a few horsemen, he impetuously rushed forward, calling aloud to his adversary, and challenging him to single combat. Alexander, fearing to meet the man whom he had injured, retired behind his guards, who received, first with a shower of javelins, and then with their spears, the little band of Pelopidas; who, after producing such carnage⁶⁰ as Homer ascribes to the rage of Diomed or Achilles, fell a victim to the blindness of his own ungovernable fury. Meanwhile, his troops advancing to the relief of their general, the guards of the tyrant were repelled; the Thebans, with their allies, proved victorious in every part of the battle; the enemy were dispersed in flight, and pursued with the loss of three thousand men.

But the death of Pelopidas threw a gloom over the victory. He was lamented by the Thebans and Thessalians with immoderate demonstrations of sorrow. Accompanied by an innumerable crowd of real mourners, his body was carried in procession to Thebes. The Thessalians, in whose service he had fallen, requested the honour of supplying the expences of his funeral, which was celebrated with every circumstance of sad magnificence. The multitude recollected the eclipse which preceded his departure, and which, as they believed, announced his misfortune; and, in al-

Honours
paid to his
memory.

⁶⁰ Diodorus says, that the bodies of those whom he slew covered a long tract of ground. Plutarch is equally hyperbolic. The battles of Homer rendered the marvellous in military description too familiar to the Greek historians, I mean Diodorus, Plutarch, Pausanias; Thucydides and Xenophon knew their duty better.

C H A P.
XXXI.

The tyrant
stripped of
all his con-
quests.

The The-
bans de-
molish Or-
chomenus.

lusion to that fatal omen, exclaimed, "That the sun of Thebes was for ever set." The Thebans appointed Malcitas and Diogeiton to the command in Thessaly. The tyrant was again defeated, and stripped of all his conquests. But what appears extraordinary, he was allowed to live and reign in Pheræ^a, while the neighbouring cities entered into a close alliance with Thebes.

The foreign expeditions which have been described, were not the only causes that diverted the attention of the Thebans from the affairs of Peloponnesus. While Epaminondas was employed abroad in the fleet, and Pelopidas in Thessaly, the government of Thebes was on the point of being overturned by an aristocratical faction. The inhabitants of Orchomenus, the second city in Bœotia, and anciently the rival of Thebes^a, entered into this conspiracy, which was to be executed at the annual review of the Orchomenian troops. But the plot was discovered by the fears or the repentance of some accomplices, who became informers. The cavalry of Orchomenus, to the number of three hundred, were surrounded and cut to pieces in the Theban market-place. Nor did this vengeance satisfy the enraged multitude, who marched in a body to Orchomenus, besieged and took the city, rased it to the ground, put the men of full age to the sword, and dragged their wives and children into captivity.^a

^a Diodor. l. xv. c. 29.

^a Diodor. l. xv. c. 20.

^a Pausanias Bœotic.

While operations, destructive or fruitless, employed the activity of Thebes, her allies in Arcadia were occupied with designs still more blameable. Their own strength and numbers, together with a confidence in Athens, their new confederate, encouraged the Arcadians to give full scope to that ambition, by which they had been long animated. To pave the way for the total conquest of the Peloponnesus, in which they had already obtained a dangerous ascendant, they began by wresting several places from the Elians, the least warlike, and most wealthy, of their neighbours. The Elians, worsted in every encounter with the enemy, craved the assistance of Sparta, which being reinforced by the Achæans, (notwithstanding the neutrality so recently stipulated,) made several vigorous but unsuccessful efforts, for the defence of the Elian territory. The Arcadians still pushed their conquests in that country, gaining one town after another, and at length Olympia itself, the most precious jewel of the Elians, and the greatest ornament of the Peloponnesus. As possessors of the sacred city, and by virtue of a pretended right derived from the inhabitants of Pisa, an ancient but decayed place in the neighbourhood of Olympia, the Arcadians prepared to celebrate the hundred and fourth Olympiad, the time of which was at hand. At the approach of this august festival, the concourse, as usual, was great from every part of Greece; hostilities were suspended; and all parties united in common amusements, and common religious solemnities.

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The Arcadians seize Olympia, and prepare to celebrate the games; Olymp. civ. 1.
A. C. 364.

C H A P.
XXXI.

which are interrupted by the arrival of the Elians in arms.

The prayers and sacrifices were performed, and the military games had begun, when the performers and spectators were alarmed by the sudden clashing of armour, and the sight of a *real* battle. The Elians had marched forth with their whole force, and surprised the Arcadians, who, with two thousand Argives, and a body of Athenian cavalry amounting to four hundred, guarded the sacred groves and temples of Olympia. The vigour of their unexpected assault successively repelled these intruders, who fled in disorder through the streets, and were pursued by the Elians with an *inspired* valour, "since," says Xenophon, "Heaven alone can do, in one day, what no other power can accomplish but in great length of time—make cowards courageous."⁶⁴ The Arcadians, however, recovering from their consternation, began to rally. The assailants were resisted with obstinacy; but did not retire, till having lost Stratolas their commander, with other brave men, they retreated in good order, after giving a conspicuous proof of their courage and intrepidity to those who had long despised the softness of their unwarlike character. The Arcadians renewed the guard with double vigilance; fortified the avenues that led to the Stadium and Hippodrome; and having taken these necessary precautions against a second surprise, proceeded with the remaining ceremonies of the festival, which,

⁶⁴ Ταῦτοιοι γαστριμαύροι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἀρετὴν ὅσως μὲν ἐν ἐμπνεύσει δύναντο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδείξαι· ἀνθρώποι οὐδε πῶς ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκιμοὺς ποιήσκειαν. P. 639.

though brought to an undisturbed conclusion, was never acknowledged in the records of the Elians. ⁶⁵ C H A P.
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After celebrating the Olympic games, the mixed concourse of people returned to their respective homes, and the Arcadians found themselves sole masters of the city and temple of Jupiter, containing the collected treasures of many centuries, the rich gifts of vanity and superstition. Opportunity, joined to want, is naturally the mother of injustice. The Arcadians, who, to promote their ambitious designs, had raised a body of standing troops called Eparittoi, laid hold of the sacred treasure, in order to pay those mercenaries, whose demands they were otherwise incapable of satisfying, without great inconvenience. The Mantineans first protested against this unwarrantable rapacity. Instead of accepting their proportion of the plunder, they imposed, for the payment of the mercenaries, a tax on themselves, of which they transmitted the produce to the archons, or magistrates, appointed by the Ten Thousand to administer the general concerns of the Arcadian nation. The archons, who had themselves freely handled the sacred money, represented to their constituents the affected delicacy of the Mantineans, as an obstinacy extremely dangerous to the states of Arcadia, and insinuated that this unseasonable regard for justice and piety most probably concealed some very criminal design.

The Arcadians seize the Olympic treasure.

The Mantineans protest against this impiety.

⁶⁵ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 638. et seq. & Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.

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XXXI.

The
States-
General of
Arcadia
approve
the resolu-
tion of the
Manti-
næans ;

The Ten Thousand, or, as we should say, the States-General, listened to this insidious accusation; and summoned the municipal magistrates of Mantinæa to appear and answer for their conduct. They refused to obey; a detachment of the Eparittoi was sent to bring them by force; the Mantinæans shut their gates; this firmness roused the attention of the States; and many members of weight in that assembly began to suspect that the Mantinæans must possess some secret ground of confidence, that encouraged them to set at defiance an authority which they were bound to revere. They reflected, first, on the alarming consequences to which Arcadia might be exposed by plundering the shrines of Jupiter; and then on the injustice and impiety of the deed itself. These sentiments, enforced by the superstition of the age, spread with rapidity in the assembly: it was determined thenceforth to abstain from a consecrated fund, the violation of which might prove dangerous to themselves, and entail a curse on their posterity; and, to prevent the bad consequences of the desertion of the Eparittoi, whose pay must thereby be diminished, many wealthy Arcadians, who could subsist on their private incomes, enrolled themselves in their stead.

and re-
store
Olympia
to the
Elians.

These measures, though approved by the States, gave great uneasiness to the archons, to the mercenaries, and to all who had shared the Olympic spoil, lest they might be called to account for their rapacity, and compelled to refund the sums which they had embezzled. To pre-

vent this danger, they had recourse to the Thebans, from whom they requested immediate assistance, on pretence that the States of Arcadia were ready to revolt to Sparta. The States, on the other hand, sent an embassy requesting the Thebans not to pass the Isthmus, until they should receive farther invitation. Nor were they satisfied with barely counteracting the negotiations of their enemies. Having determined not to derive any benefit from the wealth of Olympia, they thought proper to restore that city, as well as the direction of the games to those who had, from time immemorial, enjoyed both, and to conclude a peace with the Elians, who solicited it with much earnestness, as a measure highly conducive to the general interest of the Peloponnesus.

The congress, assembled for this beneficial purpose, was held at Tegea, and consisted of deputies from Elis, and from many cities of Arcadia. When matters were seemingly adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, entertainments, as usual, were prepared; and the deputies, except those of Mantinæa, most of whom were invited home by the vicinity of their city, remained at Tegea to celebrate the feast of Peace. While they were employed in drinking and merriment, the archons, and such others as dreaded the consequences of this hasty accommodation, addressed themselves to a Theban general, who commanded a considerable body of Bœotian troops that had long garrisoned Tegea, in order to secure the fidelity of that place and the adjacent territory. The Theban

Those who had embezzled the Olympic treasure seize their opponents through aid of the Thebans.

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had himself made free with the sacred treasure; and was therefore easily prevailed on to embrace any measure that might prevent an inquiry into that sacrilege. Nothing appeared so proper for this purpose as to seize and detain the unsuspecting deputies, who consisted of the leading men from most cities of Arcadia. This scheme was no sooner proposed, than carried into execution. The gates of Tegea were secured; a body of armed men surrounded the place of entertainment; the deputies, who had prolonged to a late hour the joys of festivity, were taken unprepared, and conducted to various places of confinement, their number being too great for one prison to contain.⁶⁶

The prisoners set at liberty.

Next day, the Mantinæans, being apprised of this unexpected event, dispatched messengers, demanding some few of their citizens who happened to remain at Tegea, after the departure of their companions; and at the same time acquainting the magistrates of that place, the archons, and the Theban general, that no Arcadian could be put to death without a fair and open trial. They likewise, without loss of time, despatched an embassy to the several cities of Arcadia, rousing them to arms in their own defence, and exhorting them to rescue their imprisoned citizens, and to avenge the insult offered to the general body of the nation. When those who had committed the outrage, and especially the Theban general, were acquainted with the vigour of these proceedings, they began

⁶⁶ Xenoph. p. 640.

to be more alarmed than before. As they had seized but few Mantinæans, they could derive little advantage from the hostages of that city whose resentment they had most reason to fear. They were sensible of deserving the indignation of Arcadia, and that the general voice of Greece must condemn the irregularity and violence of their measures. Intimidated by such reflections, the Theban commander at once set the prisoners at liberty; and, appearing next day before an assembly as numerous as could be collected in such troublesome times, endeavoured to excuse his conduct, by saying, that he had heard of the march of the Lacedæmonian army towards the frontier, and that several of the deputies, whom he had seized, were prepared to betray Tegea to the public enemy. The Arcadians were not the dupes of this shallow artifice: yet they abstained from avenging their own wrongs, and sent ambassadors to Thebes, who might explain the injury that had been committed, and arraign the guilty.⁶⁷

Upon hearing the accusation, Epaminondas, who was then general of the Bœotians, declared, that his countrymen had done better in seizing, than in discharging the Arcadians, whose conduct was highly blameable in making peace without the advice of their confederates. "Be assured," continued he to the ambassadors, "that the Thebans will march into Arcadia, and support their friends in that province." This resolution, which expressed the general sense of the republic, was

Epami-
nondas
prepares to
march into
the Pello-
ponnesus,
at the head
of the
Bœotians
and their
confede-
rates.
Olymp.
civ. 2.
A. C. 363.

⁶⁷ Xenoph. p. 641.

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XXXI.

heard with great indignation by the Arcadian states, and their allies of Elis and Achaia. They observed, that the Thebans could not have felt, much less have expressed, any displeasure at the peace of Peloponnesus, if they had not deemed it their interest to perpetuate the divisions and hostilities of a country which they wished to weaken and to subdue. They entered into a stricter alliance with each other, and prepared for a vigorous defence; sending ambassadors to Athens and Sparta, that the former might be ready to thwart the measures of a neighbouring and rival state, and that the latter might take arms to maintain the independence of that portion of Greece, of which the valour of Sparta had long formed the strength and bulwark.

His last
expedition
into that
country.
Olymp.
civ. 2.
A. C. 363.

During these hostile preparations, Epaminondas took the field with *all* the Bœotians, with the Eubœans, and with a strong body of Thessalians, partly supplied by Alexander, and partly raised by the cities which Pelopidas had recently delivered from the yoke of that cruel tyrant. Upon his arrival in the Peloponnesus, he expected to be joined by the Argives, the Messenians, and several communities of Arcadia, particularly the inhabitants of Tegea and Megalopolis. With these hopes, he proceeded southward to Nemea, an ancient city in the Argive territory, distinguished by the games celebrated in honour of Hercules. There he encamped for several days, with an intention to intercept the Athenians, whose nearest route into Peloponnesus lay through the district

of Nemea; convinced that nothing could more contribute than an advantage over that people in the beginning of the campaign, to animate the courage, as well as to increase the number of the Theban partisans in every part of Greece. But this scheme was defeated by the prudence of the Athenians, who, instead of marching through the Isthmus, sailed to the coast of Laconia, and proceeded from thence to join their confederates at Mantinæa. Apprised of this design, Epaminondas moved his camp, and marched forward to Tegea, which being strongly fortified, and enjoying a lofty and central situation, was judiciously chosen as the place of rendezvous for his Peloponnesian confederates. Having continued several weeks at Tegea, he was much disappointed that none of the neighbouring towns sent to offer their submission, and to solicit the protection of the Theban arms. This waste of time gave him the more uneasiness, as his command was limited to a short term. The strength of the enemy at Mantinæa was continually increasing. Agesilaus had already conducted the Lacedæmonians to the frontier of Arcadia. If *they* likewise should join, the combined forces would prove superior to the army of Epaminondas, which amounted to thirty thousand in number, and of which the cavalry alone exceeded three thousand. Considering these circumstances, he suddenly determined on an enterprise, which, if crowned with success, would render the present hitherto fruitless expedition not unworthy of his former fame.

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XXXI.

Fails in his
attempt to
surprise
Sparta ;

Having decamped with his whole army in the night, he performed a hasty march of thirty miles, in order to surprise Sparta ; and had not the extraordinary swiftness of a Cretan deserter apprised Agesilaus of the danger, that city would have been taken unprepared, and totally incapable of resistance. ⁶⁸ The bulk of the Lacedæmonian army had proceeded too far on the road to Mantinæa, to anticipate the design of the enemy ; but the aged King, with his son Archidamus, returned, with a small but valiant band, to the defence of Sparta. The engagement which followed, as related by Xenophon, appears one of the most extraordinary that history records. Epaminondas had employed every precaution which his peculiar sagacity could suggest ; he did not approach Sparta by those narrow roads, where a superiority of numbers would afford him small advantage ; he did not draw up his forces in the plain, in which, while entering the town, they might have been annoyed with missile weapons ; nor did he allow an opportunity of surprising him by stratagem or ambuscade, in the management of which the Spartans were at all times so dexterous. Seizing an eminence which commanded the town, he determined to descend into it with every advantage on his side, and without the seeming possibility of being exposed to any inconvenience. But

⁶⁸ Xenophon says, ὥσπερ νεοττιαν πανταπασιν ερημον των αμυνουμένων. Xenophon, p. 644. "As a nest quite destitute of its defenders."

the issue of so well-concerted an enterprise, the historian hesitates whether to refer to a particular providence of the gods, or to ascribe to the invincible courage of men actuated by despair. Archidamus, with scarcely an hundred men, opposed the progress of the enemy, cut down the first ranks, and advanced to assault the remainder. Then, strange to relate! those Thebans, says Xenophon, who breathed fire, who had so often conquered, who were far superior in number, and who possessed the advantage of the ground, shamefully gave way. The Spartans pursued them with impetuosity, but were soon repelled with loss; for the divinity, whose assistance had produced this extraordinary victory, seems also to have prescribed the limits beyond which it was not to extend. ⁶⁹

Epaminondas, foiled in an attempt which promised such a fair prospect of success, did not sink under his disappointment. As he had reason to believe that the whole forces at Mantinæa would be withdrawn from that place to the defence of Sparta, he immediately sounded a retreat, returned to Tegea with the utmost expe-

and in that
against
Mantinæa;

⁶⁹ Plutarch tells a story on this occasion, of a young Spartan, named Isadas, who stripped naked, anointed himself with oil, sallied forth with a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, and traced his path in blood through the thickest of the enemy. He returned unhurt, was crowned for his valour, but fined for fighting without his shield. Plut. in Agesil. To a modern reader, Xenophon's account of the battle will appear too pompous a description of the effect of panic terror with which the Thebans were inspired, by finding, instead of *νεστιάαν ἐρημὸν*, "a defenceless nest," the vigorous opposition of men in arms.

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which is
saved by
the Athe-
nian ca-
valry.

dition, and allowing his infantry to take time for rest and refreshment, he, with admirable presence of mind, ordered the horse to advance forward to Mantinæa, (which was distant only twelve miles,) and to maintain their ground until his arrival with the rest of the army. He expected to find the Mantinæans totally unprepared for such a visit; and, as it was then autumn, he doubted not that most of the townsmen would be employed in the country, in reaping and bringing in the corn. His plan was wise, and well executed. The situation of the Mantinæans corresponded to his hopes. But it seemed as if fortune had delighted to baffle his sagacity. Before the Theban forces arrived at Mantinæa, a numerous and powerful squadron of Athenian cavalry entered that place, commanded by Hegelochus, who then first learned the departure of the allies to protect the Lacedæmonian capital. He had scarcely received this intelligence, when the Thebans appeared, and, advancing with great rapidity, prepared to effect the purpose of their expedition. The Athenians had not time to refresh themselves; they had ate nothing that day; they were inferior in number; they knew the bravery of the Theban and Thessalian cavalry, with whom they must contend; yet, regardless of every consideration but the safety of their allies, they rushed into the field, stopped the progress of the assailants, and, after a fierce and bloody engagement, which displayed great courage on both sides, obtained an acknowledged

victory. The enemy craved the bodies of their dead; the victors erected a trophy of their useful valour, which had saved the corn, cattle, slaves, women, and children ⁷⁰ of Mantinæa from falling a prey to the invaders.

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The repeated misfortunes, which would have broken the spirit of an ordinary commander, only determined Epaminondas to a general engagement, in which he might either wipe off the memory of his late disgrace, or obtain an honourable death, fighting to render his country the sovereign of Greece. The confederates had re-assembled at Mantinæa, strengthened by considerable reinforcements. Fresh succours had likewise arrived to the Thebans. Never had such numerous armies ⁷¹ taken the field during the perpetual wars in which these unhappy republics were engaged. But battles become really interesting, not so much from the number of the troops, as by the conduct of the generals. It is worth while, says the military historian ⁷², to observe the operations of Epaminondas on this memorable occasion. Having ranged his men in battalions, he led them, not along the plain, which was the nearest road to Mantinæa, but turning to the left, conducted them by a chain of hills which joined that city and Tegea, and skirted the eastern extremity of both. The enemy, apprised of his march, drew up their forces before the walls of Mantinæa; the Lacedæmonians, and such Arcadians as had embraced

Epaminondas determines to risk a general engagement.

His movements preceding the battle of Mantinæa.

⁷⁰ Xenoph. l. vii. p. 644.

⁷¹ Diodorus, l. xv. c. 21.

⁷² Xenoph. p. 645.

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the more honourable cause, in the right wing; the Athenians in the left, the Achæans and Elians forming the main body. Meanwhile Epaminondas marched slowly along, extending his circuit, as if he wished to decline the engagement. Having approached that part of the mountain which faced the hostile army, he ordered his men to halt, and to lay down their arms. His former movements had occasioned great doubt and perplexity; but now he seemed evidently to have laid aside all thoughts of fighting that day, and to be preparing to encamp. This opinion, too lightly conceived, proved fatal to the enemy. They abandoned their arms and their ranks, dispersed in their tents, and lost not only that external arrangement, but that inward preparation⁷³, that martial ardour of mind, which ought to animate soldiers at the near prospect of an engagement. Epaminondas seized the decisive moment of attack. Facing to the right, he converted the column of march into an order of battle. His troops were thus disposed instantaneously in the same order in which he meant to fight. At the head of his left wing, which consisted of the flower of the Bœotians, and which, as at the battle of Leuctra, he formed into a firm wedge, with a sharp point, and with spreading flanks, he advanced against the Spartans and Mantinæans; and trusting the event of the battle to the rapid impulse of this unexpected onset, he commanded the centre and right wing, in which

⁷³ ἔλυσε μὲν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρασκευὴν· ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. Xenoph. p. 645.

he placed less confidence, to proceed with a slow
 pace, that they might not come up and grapple
 with the opposing divisions of the enemy, until
 the victory of his left wing had taught them to
 conquer.

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This judicious design was crowned with merit-
 ed success. The enemy, perceiving the dreadful
 shock to which they were exposed, flew to their
 arms, put on their bucklers and helmets, bridled
 their horses, and suddenly resumed their ranks ;
 but these different operations were performed
 with the trepidation of surprise and haste, rather
 than with the ardour of hope and courage ; and
 the whole army had the appearance of men pre-
 pared rather to suffer, than to inflict any thing
 terrible.⁷⁴ The Spartans and Mantinæans, drawn
 up in firm order, sternly waited the first brunt of
 the assailants. The battle was fierce and bloody,
 and after their spears were broken, both parties
 had recourse to their swords. The wedge of
 Epaminondas at length penetrated the Spartan
 line, and this advantage encouraged his centre
 and right wing to attack and repel the corre-
 sponding divisions of the enemy. The Theban
 and Thessalian cavalry were equally successful.
 In the intervals of their ranks Epaminondas had
 placed a body of light infantry, whose missile
 weapons greatly annoyed the enemy's horse, who
 were drawn up too deep. He had likewise taken
 the precaution to occupy a rising ground on his

Battle of
 Manti-
 nœa.
 Olymp.
 civ. 2.
 A. C. 363.

⁷⁴ Παντας δε πεισομενοις τι μαλλον η ποιησουσιν εφκεσαν. Xenoph.
 p. 646.

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right with a considerable detachment, which might take the Athenians in flank and rear, should they advance from their posts. These prudent dispositions produced a victory, which Epaminondas did not live to complete or improve. In the heat of the battle he received a mortal wound⁷⁵, and was carried to an eminence, which was afterwards called the Watch-tower⁷⁶, probably that he might the better observe the subsequent operations of the field. But with the departure of their leader was withdrawn the spirit which animated the Theban army. Having impetuously broke through the hostile ranks, they knew not how to profit of this advantage. The enemy rallied in different parts of the field, and prevailed in several partial encounters. All was confusion and terror. The light infantry, which had been posted amidst the Theban and

⁷⁵ Pausanias, in Arcad. says, that Epaminondas was killed by Gryllus, the son of Xenophon the Athenian; and, as a proof of this assertion, mentions a beautiful picture of the battle of Mantinæa in the Ceramicus of Athens, as well as the monument of Gryllus, erected by the Mantinæans on the field itself; both subsisting in the time of Pausanias, and both ascribing to this Athenian the honour of killing Epaminondas. Plutarch. in Agesilao, says, that Anticrates, a Spartan, killed Epaminondas with a sword; that his posterity were thence called Machairionides; and that, as late as the days of Plutarch, they enjoyed certain immunities and honours as a recompence for the merit of their ancestor Anticrates in destroying the worst enemy of Sparta. Gryllus the son of Xenophon fell in the battle of Mantinæa; and the words, or rather the silence of his father, are very remarkable concerning the death of Epaminondas: "The Theban column broke the Spartans, *but when Epaminondas fell*, the rest knew not how to use the victory." What noble modesty in this passage, if Gryllus really slew Epaminondas!

⁷⁶ Pausan. ubi supra.

Thessalian horse being left behind in the pursuit, were received and cut to pieces by the Athenian cavalry, commanded by Hegelochus. Elated by this success, the Athenians turned their arms against the detachment placed on the heights, consisting chiefly of Eubœans, whom they routed and put to flight, after a terrible slaughter. With such alternations of victory and defeat ended this memorable engagement. Both armies, as conquerors, erected a trophy; both craved their dead, as conquered⁷⁷; and this battle, which being certainly the greatest, was expected to prove the most decisive, ever fought among the Greeks, produced no other consequence, but that general languor and debility long remarkable in the subsequent operations of those hostile republics.

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When the tumult of the action ceased, the most distinguished Thebans assembled around their dying general. His body had been pierced with a javelin; and the surgeons declared that it was impossible for him to survive the extraction of the weapon. He asked whether his shield was safe? which being presented to him, he viewed it with a smile of languid joy. He then demanded, whether the Thebans had obtained the victory? Being answered in the affirmative (for the Lacedæmonians indeed had first sent to demand the bodies of their slain), he declared himself ready to quit life without regret, since he left his country triumphant.

Death of
Epami-
nondas.

⁷⁷ Xenoph. l. vii. ad fin.

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The spectators lamented, among other objects of sorrow, that he should die without children, who might inherit the glory of his name, and the fame of his virtues. "You mistake," said he with a cheerful presence of mind, "I leave two fair daughters, the battles of Leuctra and Mantinæa, who will transmit my renown to the latest ages." So saying, he ordered the weapon to be extracted, and immediately expired. The awful solemnity of his death corresponded with the dignified splendour of an active and useful life. He is usually described as a perfect character⁷⁸; nor does the truth of history oblige us to detract any thing from this description, except that in some instances, and particularly in his last fatal invasion of the Peloponnesus, he allowed the blaze of patriotism to eclipse the mild light of justice and benevolence. He was buried in the field of battle, where his monument still existed, after four centuries, in the time of Pausanias, with an inscription in elegiac verse, enumerating his exploits. Hadrian, then master of the Roman world, added a second column, with a new inscription⁷⁹, in honour of a character, whom that unsteady Emperor had genius to admire, but wanted firmness to imitate.

An elegiac Roman writer gives a brief but comprehensive panegyric of Epaminondas, that during his lifetime Thebes was the arbiter of

⁷⁸ Cicero Acad. Quæst. l. i. & passim. Plutarch. Corn. Nepos, Pausan.

⁷⁹ Vid. Pausan. in Arcad. & Bæotic.

Greece; whereas both before and afterwards, that republic continually languished in servitude or dependence.⁸⁰ But this observation betrays the inaccurate partiality of a biographer, who often exalts the glory of a favourite hero, at the expence of historic truth. By the death of Epaminondas, Thebes was deprived of her principal ornament and defence, the source of her confidence, and the spring of her activity; and her councils were thenceforth less ambitious, and her arms less enterprising.⁸¹ But six years after that event, she controuled the decisions of the Amphictyonic council, and, instead of being reduced to a condition of dependence, her power was still formidable to the most warlike of her neighbours.

Soon after the battle of Mantinæa, a general peace was proposed under the mediation of Artaxerxes, who wanted Grecian auxiliaries to check the insurrections in Egypt and Lesser Asia, which disturbed the two last years of his reign. The only condition annexed to this treaty was, that each republic should retain its respective possessions. The Spartans determined to reject every accommodation until they had recovered Messenia; and as Artaxerxes had uniformly opposed this demand, they transported

Agessilaus's expedition into Egypt. Olymp. civ. 3. A. C. 362.

⁸⁰ Hujus de virtutibus vitæque satis erit dictum, si hoc unum adjunxero, *quod nemo eat inficiat*; Thebas et ante Epaminondam natum, et post ejus interitum, perpetuo alieno paruisse imperio; contra ea, quamdiu ille præfuerit reipublicæ, caput fuisse totius Græciæ. Corn. Nepos, in Epam. Cona. Aristot. Rhetoric. l. ii. c. 22.

⁸¹ Vid. Polyb. Hist. l. vi. c. 41.

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His death.
Olymp.
civ. 4.
A. C. 361.

forces into Egypt, to foment the defection of that province. At the head of a thousand heavy-armed Lacedæmonians, and ten thousand mercenaries, Agesilaus supported one rebel after another, having successively set on the throne Taches and Nectanebus.⁸² In this dishonourable war he amassed considerable wealth, by means of which he probably expected to retrieve the affairs of his country. But returning home by Cyrenaica, he died on that coast, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-first of his reign.⁸³ His character has been sufficiently illustrated in the course of this work. He was the greatest, and the most unfortunate of the Spartan kings. He had seen the highest grandeur of Sparta, and he beheld her humiliation and downfall. During the time that he governed the republic, his country suffered more calamities and disgrace than in seven centuries preceding his reign. His ambition and his obstinacy, doubtless, contributed to her disasters: yet so natural were the principles from which he acted, so probable his hopes of success, and so firm and manly his struggles for victory, that a contemporary writer, who could see true greatness through the cloud of fortune, ventured to bestow on Agesilaus a panegyric⁸⁴, which exalts him beyond the renown of his most illustrious predecessors.

⁸² Plut. in Agesilao. Diodorus, l. xv. c. 22.

⁸³ Diodor. l. xv. c. 22.

⁸⁴ Ὁ λόγος εἰς Ἀγέσιλαον, by Xenophon.

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State of Greece after the Battle of Mantinæa. — The Amphictyonic Council. — Returning Prosperity of Athens. — Vices resulting from its Government. — Abuses of the judiciary Power. — Of the Theatre. — Degeneracy of Grecian Music. — Extreme Profligacy of the Athenians. — The Vices of Chares render him the Idol of the Multitude. — The Social War. — Banishment of Timotheus and Iphicrates. — Disgraceful Issue of the War. — Philosophy. — Statuary. — Praxiteles. — The Cnidian Venus. — Painting. — Pamphilus, Nicias, Zeuxis. — Literature. — Xenophon. — His Military Expeditions. — Religious and Literary Retreat. — Lysias. — Isocrates. — Plato. — His Travels. — He settles in the Academy. — His great Views. — Theology. — Cosmogony. — Doctrine of Ideas. — Of the Human Understanding. — The Passions. — Virtues. — State of Retribution. — Genius, and Character.

WITH the battle of Mantinæa ended¹ the bloody struggle for dominion, which had long exhausted Thebes and Sparta. In that, or in the preceding engagements, they had lost their

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State of
Greece
after the
battle of
Mantinæa.

¹ Xenophon's Greek history likewise ends with that battle. Henceforth we follow Plutarch and Diodorus, from whom we learn the principal circumstances of great events, which the orators iso-

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ablest generals, and the flower of their troops. No Theban arose to emulate the magnanimity of Epaminondas, and to complete the designs of that illustrious patriot. Archidamus, who succeeded to the Spartan throne, imperfectly justified the high opinion conceived of his early wisdom and valour. Weakened by their wounds, and fatigued by exertions long and fruitless, those republics sunk into such weakness as justified pretensions in their neighbours that had long lain dormant.

The Amphictyonic council resumes its authority. Olymp. civ. 4. A. C. 361.

During the *superiority*, or, in the language of ancient writers, during the *empire* of Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, the majesty of the Amphictyonic council had degenerated into an empty pageant. Its deliberations were confined to matters of mere form; it regulated some ceremonies of superstition; it superintended games and spectacles; it preserved peace and good order among the crowd of strangers who assembled, at stated times, to consult the oracle of Apollo. But for more than a century past, the public measures of the Greeks had been directed by councils held, not at Delphi, the residence of the Amphictyons, but in Athens, Sparta, or Thebes, in one or other of which the allies convened on every important emergency, acknowledging by their presence there, the respective authority of those capitals which were regarded as the heads of their several con-

crates and Demosthenes, Aristotle's Treatise of Politics, and Xenophon's Discourses on the Revenues and Government of Athens, will enable us more fully to explain.

federacies. But, when first the Peloponnesian, then the Boeotian war, and last of all the battle of Mantinæa, had levelled the greatness, and overthrown the proud tyranny of those domineering republics, the Amphictyonic council once more emerged from obscurity; and the general states of Greece having assembled according to their national and hereditary forms, spurned the imperious dictates of any single community.

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While this event strengthened the foederal union, and tended to restore the primitive equality of the Grecian states, various circumstances concurred to revive the aspiring ambition of Athens. During the Boeotian war, the Athenians had acted as auxiliaries only: without making such efforts as enfeebled their strength, their arms had acquired great lustre. Their powerful rivals were humbled and exhausted; experience had taught them the danger of attempting to subdue, and the impossibility of keeping in subjection, the territories of their warlike neighbours: but the numerous islands of the Ægæan and Ionian seas, the remote coasts of Thrace and Asia, invited the activity of their fleet, which they might now employ in foreign conquests, fearless of domestic envy. It appears, that soon after the death of Epaminondas, Eubœa again acknowledged the authority² of Athens; an event

The Athenians recover many of their maritime possessions. Olymp. cv. 1—cv. 2. A. C. 360—358.

² Comp. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 513. & Demosthenes de Chersones. sub fine, et Æschines in Ctesiphont. It appears, however, from these authors, that the Thebans soon afterwards endeavoured to recover Eubœa. The Athenians again rescued it from their power, at

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facilitated by the destruction of the Theban partisans belonging to that place, in the battle of Mantinæa. From the Thracian Bosphorus to Rhodes, several places along both shores submitted to the arms of Timotheus, Chabrias, and Iphicrates; men who, having survived Agesilaus and Epaminondas, were far superior, in abilities and in virtue, to the contemporary generals of other republics. The Cyclades and Corcyra courted the friendship of a people able to interrupt their navigation and to destroy their commerce. Byzantium had become their ally, and there was reason to hope that Amphipolis would soon be rendered their subject. Such multiplied advantages revived the ancient grandeur of Athens, which once more commanded the sea, with a fleet of nearly three hundred sail, and employed the best half of her citizens and subjects in ships of war or commerce.³

The vices ascribed to the supposed degeneracy of the Athenians, resulted from the

This tide of prosperity, which flowed with most apparent force immediately after the battle of Mantinæa⁴, has been supposed productive of very important consequences. While Epaminondas lived, the Athenians, it is said, were kept vigilant in duty through jealousy and fear; but

the exhortation of Timotheus, whose pithy speech is commended by Demosthenes: "What, my countrymen, the Thebans in the island, and you still deliberating! Why not already in the harbour? why not embarked? why is not the sea covered with your navy?" Demosthen. ubi supra.

³ Xenoph. Hellen. l. vii. p. 615. Diodorus, l. xv. c. 11. Isocrat. Panegy. & de Pace.

⁴ Justin. l. vi. c. 9. first made this observation, which has been so frequently repeated.

after the death of this formidable enemy, they sunk into those vices which occasioned their ruin. This specious remark is not founded in truth. Two centuries before the birth of Epaminondas, the injustice, the avarice, the total corruption of the Athenians is forcibly described by one of the most respectable of their countrymen^s, who composed a system of wise laws, in order to ascertain their rights, and to reform their manners. But it was difficult to correct abuses that seem inherent in the nature of democracy, which, even as regulated by Solon, but still more as new-modelled by Pericles, left the citizens tyrants in one capacity, and slaves in another. The division of the executive power of government among the archons, the senate, the assembly, and even various committees of the assembly, rendered it impossible to perceive, or prevent, the hand of oppression. Men knew not from what quarter their safety might be assailed; and being called to authority in their turn, they, instead of making united opposition to the injustice of their magistrates, contented themselves with inflicting the same injuries which they had either previously suffered, or still apprehended, from the malice of their enemies. Nor is this inconvenience peculiar to the Greek republics. While human nature remains unchanged, and the passions of men run in their ordinary channel,

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nature of
their go-
vernment.

^s See above, vol. ii. c. xiii. p. 107. and the elegiac verses of Solon preserved in Demosthenes Orat. *περί παραποροβίας*; a title that can only be translated by a paraphrase, "the misconduct of Æschines in his embassy."

C H A P. the right to exercise power will commonly be
XXXII. attended with a strong inclination to abuse it. Unless power, therefore, be counteracted by liberty; unless an impervious line of separation be drawn between prerogative and privilege, and that part of the constitution which sustains political life, be kept separate and distinct from that which tends to corruption, it is of little consequence whether a country be governed by one tyrant or a thousand; in both cases alike, the condition of man is precarious, and force prevails over right.

This subject illustrated;

This radical defect in the Grecian policies produced many ruinous consequences in affairs foreign and domestic, which were commonly directed by the selfish passions of a few, or the fluctuating caprices of the multitude, rather than by the rational and permanent interest of the community. But as diseases and other accidents often bring to light the latent weakness and imperfections of the body, so the vices of the Athenian government first appeared in their full magnitude after the unfortunate war of Peloponnesus; and, although the excess of the malady sometimes checked itself, and returns of ease and prosperity sometimes concealed its virulence, yet the deep-rooted evil still maintained its destructive progress, till it wrought the ruin of the constitution.

in the abuses of the judiciary power;

In the tumultuary governments of Greece, where the judiciary power frequently prevailed over the legislative, the sources of dissension were innumerable; while the feeble restraint of laws, ill administered, was unable to counteract their

force. Although hereditary distinctions were little known or regarded, the poor and rich formed two distinct parties, which had their particular views and separate interests. In some republics, the higher ranks bound themselves, by oath, to neglect no opportunity of hurting their inferiors.⁶ The populace of Athens commonly treated the rich as if they had entered into an engagement not less atrocious.⁷ During the intervals of party rage, private quarrels kept the state in perpetual fermentation. Beside the ordinary disputes concerning property, the competitions for civil offices, for military command, for obtaining public honours, or eluding punishments or burthens, opened an ever-flowing source of bitter animosity. Among this litigious people, neighbours were continually at variance. Every man was regarded as a rival and enemy, who had not proved himself a⁸ friend. Hereditary resentments were perpetuated from one generation to another; and the seeds of discord being sown in such abundance, yielded a never-failing crop of libels, invectives, and legal prosecutions. The usual employment of six thousand Athenians consisted in deciding law-suits, the profits of which afforded the principal resource of the poorer citizens. Their legal fees amounted annually to an hundred and fifty talents; the bribes which they received sometimes exceeded that sum; and, both united, formed a sixth part

⁶ Aristot. Polit. Isocrat. & Lysias, passim.

⁷ Xenoph. de Rep. Athen.

⁸ See Lysias passim, & Xenoph. Memorab. l. ii. p. 748. et seq.

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 XXXII. flourishing times. As the most numerous but most
 worthless class of the people commonly prevailed
 in the assembly, so they had totally ingrossed the
 tribunals; and it was to be expected that such
 judges would always be rather swayed by favour
 and prejudice, than guided by law and reason.
 The law punished with death the man guilty
 of giving bribes; but “we,” say the Athenian
 writers¹⁰, “advance him to the command of our
 armies; and the more criminal he becomes in
 this respect, with the higher and more lucrative
 honours is he invested.” Those who courted
 popular favour, lavished not only their own, but
 the public wealth, to flatter the passions of their
 adherents; an abuse which began during the
 splendid administration of Pericles¹¹ extended
 more widely under his unworthy successors; and,
 though interrupted during the calamities of the
 republic, revived with new force on the first dawn
 of returning prosperity.¹²

and in
 those of
 the thea-
 tre.

In the licence of democratic freedom, the citi-
 zens, poor and rich, thought themselves alike en-
 titled to enjoy every species of festivity. Pericles
 introduced the practice of exhibiting not only
 tragedies, but comedies, at the public expence,
 and of paying for the admission of the populace.
 At the period of which we write, a considerable
 portion of the revenue was appropriated to the

⁹ Aristoph. Vesp.

¹⁰ Isocrates de Pace, & Demosthenes passim.

¹¹ Thucydides, p. 108. et seq.

¹² Plut. in Pericle.

theatre ; and some years afterwards ¹³, a law was proposed by the demagogue Eubulus, and enacted by the senate and people, rendering it capital to divert, or even to propose diverting, the *theatrical* money to any other end or object.¹⁴

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Of all amusements known in polished society, the Grecian theatre was, doubtless, the most elegant and ingenious ; yet several circumstances rendered it peculiarly liable to abuse. The great extent of the edifices in which plays were represented, naturally introduced masques, the better to distinguish the different *persons* ¹⁵, or characters, of the drama ; since the variations of passion, with the correspondent changes of countenance, which form the capital merit of modern performers, could scarcely have been observed by an immense crowd of people, many of whom must have been placed at a great distance from the scene. The same causes, together with the inimitable harmony of the Greek language, gave rise to musical declamation ¹⁶, which might sometimes fortify passion, but always rendered speech more slow and articulate, and therefore more easily heard by the remote parts of the audience. In combining the different parts of a tragic fable,

Circumstances which rendered the Grecian theatre peculiarly liable to abuse.

¹³ Before Christ 349, according to S. Petitus, de Leg. Attic. p. 385.

¹⁴ Plutarch. in Pericle, & Demosthen. Oration. passim.

¹⁵ It is well known that the word *persona* originally signified a masque, from *personare*, because the ancient masques, both Greek and Roman, were so made as to increase and invigorate sound.

¹⁶ Notwithstanding the assertions of Casaubon, Gravina, &c. the Greeks in ancient times seem not to have been acquainted with the absurd practice of dividing the acting and speaking between two persons. This is mentioned by Livy, as the invention of Livius Andronicus, who flourished 240 years before Christ. Tit. Liv. l. vii. c. 2.

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the poet naturally rejects such incidents as are improper for representation. These, if necessary for carrying on the action of the piece, are supposed to pass elsewhere, and barely related on the theatre. The time required for such events, when they are not simultaneous with those exhibited on the stage, necessarily interrupts the representation, and leaves room for the choral songs, which being incorporated with the tragedy, heightens its effect, and increases the spectator's delight; consequences extremely different from those attending the act tunes and detached airs of modern plays and operas, universally condemned by good judges, as suspending the action, and destroying the interest of the drama, and only affording opportunities to effeminate throats to shine unseasonably in trills and divisions, at the expence of poetical expression, of good sense, and of propriety. But in ancient, as well as modern times, the corrupt taste of the licentious vulgar was ever at variance with the discerning judgment of the wise and virtuous. The form and arrangement of the Grecian tragedy was exactly imitated in the extravagant pieces of Aristophanes, and his profligate contemporaries and successors.¹⁷ These pernicious productions formed the favourite entertainment of the populace. The masque, disguising the countenance of the performer, allowed him to indulge in the most unblushing licence of voice and gesture; the declamation was effeminate and vicious; above all, the music became glaring, tawdry, voluptuous, and disso-

¹⁷ See above, vol. ii. c. xiii. p. 146.

lute, in the highest degree, and suited only that perverse debauchery of soul from which it originally sprung, and which it served afterwards to inflame and nourish.¹⁸

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A mysterious cloud¹⁹ hangs over the Grecian music, to which effects are ascribed far transcending the actual power of that art. Yet, we cannot refuse our assent to the concurring testimony of ancient writers, who refer to this principle the extreme degeneracy and corruption which almost universally infected the Athenians at the period now under review. Causes which operate on the many, are not easily mistaken; but should we still doubt the cause, the effect at least cannot be denied. The Athenian youth are said to have dissipated their fortunes, and melted the vigour

Extreme
profligacy
of the A-
thenians.

¹⁸ Aristotle, l. viii. de Republ. says ironically, "Every kind of music is good for something; that of the theatres is necessary for the amusement of the mob; being well suited to the perversion of their minds and manners, and let them enjoy it." Plato, Aristoxenus, and Plutarch bitterly complain of the corruption of music, as the main source of vice and immorality. That art, which had anciently been used as the vehicle of religious and moral instruction, was employed in the theatres to excite every voluptuous and dissolute passion. Plato de Legibus, l. iii. Aristoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, l. xiv. & Plutarch. de Musica. In speaking of the vices of London, a writer, who had the spirit of an ancient legislator, says, "That were a man permitted to make all the ballads of a nation, he needed not care who should make its laws." Fletcher of Saltoun's Works, p. 266.

¹⁹ Yet that cloud may be dispelled, if we admit what is said in chap. v. vol. i. p. 233. et seq. that the ancients, when they speak of music, mean music combined with poetry. The precision of words is necessary to determine the vague expression of *tone* and *time*; and the chromatic and enharmonic intervals of the Greek musicians, which so nearly approach the sliding flexions of speech, prove that the former was imitative of the latter.

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of mind and body, in wanton and expensive dalliance with the female performers on the ¹⁹ theatre. Weary and fastidious with excess of criminal indulgence, they lost all capacity or relish for solid and manly occupations; and at once deserted the exercises of war, and the schools of philosophers. To fill up the vacuities of their listless lives, they, as well as persons more advanced in years, loitered in the shops of musicians, and other artists ²⁰; or sauntered in the forum and public places, idly enquiring after news, in which they took little interest, unless some danger alarmed the insipid uniformity of their pleasures. ²¹ Dice, and other games of chance, were carried to a ruinous excess, and are so keenly stigmatised by the moral writers of the age, that it should seem they had begun but recently to prevail, and prove ²² fatal. The people at large were peculiarly addicted to the sensual gratifications of the table; and, might we believe a poet quoted by Athenæus, had lately bestowed the freedom of their city (once deemed an honour by princes and kings ²³) on the sons of Chærephilus, on account of the uncommon merit of their father in the art of cookery. ²⁴

Their
idleness,
poverty,
and igno-
rance.

Idleness, indulgence, and dissipation, had reduced the greater part of the Athenian citizens

¹⁹ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534. who gives a general description of Athenian profligacy.

²⁰ Isocrat. in Areopag. and Lysias's defence of a poor man accused before the senate, translated in the Life of Lysias, p. 114.

²¹ Demosthen. Philipp. passim.

²² Athenæus, l. xii. Lysias in Alcibiad.

²³ Demosthen. de Republic. ordinand.

²⁴ Athenæus, l. iii. p. 119.

to extreme indigence. Although landed property was more equally divided in Greece than in any modern country, we are told that about one-fourth of the Athenians were totally destitute of *immoveable* possessions.²⁵ Their dress was frequently so mean and dirty, that it was difficult, by their external appearance, to distinguish them from slaves; a circumstance which arose not from slovenliness, but from poverty, since we are assured that such as could afford the expence spared no pains to adorn their persons; and that many who danced during summer in embroidered robes, spent the winter in places too shameful to be named.²⁶ And how is it possible (to use the words of their own authors²⁷) that wretches, destitute of the first necessities of life, should administer public affairs with wisdom? We find accordingly, that they were extremely ill qualified for executing those offices with which they were intrusted. As the lower ranks had in a great measure ingrossed the administration of justice, it was not uncommon to bribe the clerks employed in tran-

²⁵ See the Discourse of Lysias upon a proposal for dissolving the ancient government of Athens. Lysias's orations were chiefly written in the space of twenty years, between 404 and 384 before Christ. They afford an uniform picture of the poverty, misery, and vices of his contemporaries; which the reader will find abridged in the introduction to my translation of that writer. The Athenian affairs became more flourishing after the fall of Thebes and Sparta: and notwithstanding unfortunate events that will be related, their revenues were greatly raised by the conquests of Timotheus, Phocion, &c. and the good management of Lycurgus and Demosthenes. Plut. in Lycurg. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

²⁶ Isocrates on reforming the government of Athens.

²⁷ Isocrat. & Xenoph. de Repub. Athen.

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scribing the laws of Solon, to abridge, interpolate, and corrupt them. What is still more extraordinary, such a gross artifice frequently succeeded; nor was the deceit discovered, until litigant parties produced in court contradictory laws.²⁸ When their negligence could not be surprised, their avarice might be bribed; justice was sold; riches, virtue, eminence of rank or abilities, always exposed to danger, and often ended in disgrace.²⁹ For those needy Athenians, who formed the most numerous class in the republic, endeavoured to alleviate their misery by a very criminal consolation; persecuting their superiors, banishing them their country, confiscating their estates, and treating them on the slightest provocation, and often without any provocation at all, with the utmost injustice and cruelty.³⁰ Though occasionally directed by the equity of an Aristides, or the magnanimity of a Cimon, they, for the most part, listened to men of an opposite character. He who could best flatter and deceive them, obtained most of their confidence. With such qualifications the turbulent, licentious, and dissolute, in a word, the orator who most resembled his audience, commonly prevailed in the assembly; and specious or hurtful talents usurped the rewards due to real merit. Isocrates³¹ assures us of the fact; and Xenophon³² affirms, that it is perfectly con-

²⁸ Life of Lysias, prefixed to his Orations, p. 116.

²⁹ See Lysias's Pleadings throughout.

³⁰ Isocrates de Pace; and the numerous examples of that kind, which have already occurred in this history.

³¹ In his oration on reforming the government of Athens.

³² In his treatise de Republic, Athen.

formable to the nature and principles of the Athenian form of government.

With such principles and manners, the Athenians required only a daring and profligate leader, to involve them in designs the most extravagant and pernicious. Such a personage presented himself in Chares, whose soldier-like appearance, blunt address, and bold impetuous valour, masked his selfish ambition, and rendered him the idol of the populace. His person was gigantic and robust, his voice commanding, his manners haughty; he asserted positively, and promised boldly; and his presumption was so excessive, that it concealed his incapacity, not only from others, but from himself. Though an enterprising and successful partisan, he was unacquainted with the great duties of a general; and his defects appear the more striking and palpable, when compared with the abilities of Iphicrates and Timotheus, his contemporaries, who prevailed as often by address as by force, and whose conquests were secured to the republic by the moderation, justice, and humanity, with which they had been obtained, and with which they continued to be governed. Chares proposed a very different mode of administration: he exhorted his countrymen to supply the defects of their treasury, and to acquire the materials of those pleasures which they regarded as essential to their happiness, by plundering the wealth of their allies and colonies. This counsel was too faithfully obeyed; the vexations, anciently exercised against the tributary and dependent

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The vices
of Chares
render him
the favourite
of the
multitude.

CHAP. states, were renewed and exceeded.³³ The
XXXII. weaker communities complained, and remon-
 strated, against this intolerable rapacity and op-
 pression; while the islands of Chios, Cos, Rhodes,
 as well as the city of Byzantium, prepared openly
 to revolt, and engaged with each other to repel
 force by force until they should obtain peace
 and independence.³⁴

The social Chares, probably the chief instrument, as well
war. as the adviser, of the arbitrary measures which
Olymp. had occasioned the revolt, was sent out with a
cv. 3. powerful fleet and army to quash at once the
A. C. 358. hopes of the insurgents. He sailed towards
 Chios, with an intention to seize the capital of
 that island, which was supposed to be the centre
 and prime mover of rebellion. The confederates,
 informed of his motions, had already drawn
 thither the greatest part of their force. The
 city of Chios was besieged by sea and land.
 The islanders defended themselves with vigour.
 Chares found it difficult to repulse their sallies.
 His fleet attempted to enter their harbour with-
 out success; the ship of Chabrias alone pene-
 trated thus far; and that able commander, whose
 valour and integrity merited a better fortune,
 though deserted by the fleet, yet forsook not the
 ship intrusted to him by the republic. His com-
 panions threw away their shields, and saved
 themselves by swimming to the Athenian squa-
 dron, which was still within their reach. But

³³ Diodor. l. xvi. & Isocrat. de Pace.

³⁴ Diodor. l. xvi. pp. 413. 423.

Chabrias, fighting bravely, fell by the darts of the Chians, preferring an honourable death to a disgraceful life.³⁵ CHAP.
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Encouraged by advantages over an enemy who had at first affected to despise them, the insurgents augmented their fleet, and ravaged the isles of Lemnos and Samos. The Athenians, indignant that the territories of their faithful allies should fall a prey to the depredations of rebels, fitted out, early in the next year, a new armament under the command of Mnestheus, the son of Iphicrates, and son-in-law of Timotheus, expecting that the new commander would respectfully listen to the advice of those great men, who perhaps declined acting as principals in an expedition where Chares possessed any share of authority. That general had raised the siege of Chios, and now cruised in the Hellespont; where, being joined by Mnestheus, the united squadrons amounted to an hundred and twenty sail. It was immediately determined to cause a diversion of the enemy's forces from Samos and Lemnos, by laying siege to Byzantium. The contrivance succeeded; the allies withdrew from these islands, collected their whole naval strength, and prepared vigorously for defending the principal city in their confederacy.

The hostile armaments approached each other, with a resolution to join battle, when a sudden and violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for the Athenians to bear up to the enemy, or even to keep the sea, without being

Chares
accuses
Timotheus
and Iphi-
crates.

³⁵ Nepos in Chabr. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 413. et seq.

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exposed to shipwreck. Chares alone confidently insisted on commencing the attack, while the other commanders, more cautious and experienced, perceived the disadvantage, and declined the unequal danger.* His impetuosity, thus over-ruled by the prudence of his colleagues, was converted into resentment and fury; he called the soldiers and sailors to witness their opposition, which he branded with every odious epithet of reproach; and, with the first opportunity, dispatched proper messengers to Athens, to accuse them of incapacity, cowardice, and total neglect of duty. The accusation was supported by venal orators in the pay of Chares.

Their trial,

Timotheus and Iphicrates were tried capitally. The former trusted to his innocence and eloquence; the latter used a very extraordinary expedient to sway the judges, conformable, however, to the spirit of that age, when courts of justice were frequently instruments of oppression, governed by every species of undue influence, easily corrupted, and easily intimidated. The targeteers, or light infantry, who had been armed, disciplined, and long commanded, by Iphicrates, enjoyed the same reputation in Greece, which the *Fabian* soldiers afterwards did in Italy. They were called the *Iphicraten-sian* troops, from the name of their commander, to whom they owed their merit and their fame,

* We are not informed by Diodorus or Nepos, why the disadvantage and danger were on the side of the Athenians; probably, being better sailors, they expected to profit of their skill in *manœuvres*, which the storm rendered useless and unavailing.

and to whose person (notwithstanding the strictness of his discipline) they were strongly attached by the ties of gratitude and esteem. The youngest and bravest of this celebrated band readily obeyed the injunctions of their admired general; surrounded, on the day of trial, the benches of the magistrates; and took care seasonably to display the points of their daggers.²⁷

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It was the law of Athens, that, after preliminaries had been adjusted, and the judges assembled, the parties should be heard, and the trial begun and ended on the same day; nor could any person be twice tried for the same offence. The rapidity of this mode of proceeding favoured the views of Iphicrates. The magistrates were overawed by the imminence of a danger, which they had neither strength to resist, nor time to elude. They were compelled to an immediate decision; but, instead of the sentence of death, which was expected, they imposed a fine²⁸ on the delinquents, which no Athenian citizen in that age was in a condition to pay. This severity drove into banishment those able and illustrious commanders. Timotheus sailed to Chalcis in Eubœa, and afterwards to the isle of Lesbos, both which places his valour and abilities had recovered for the republic,

and banishment.

²⁷ It was probably during this trial, that Iphicrates being reproached with betraying the interests of his country, asked his accuser, "Would you, on a like occasion, have been guilty of that crime?" "By no means," replied the other. "And can you then imagine," replied the hero, "that Iphicrates should be guilty?" *Aristot. Rhetoric. l. ii. c. 25. & Quintilian. l. v. c. 12.*

²⁸ One hundred talents, about twenty thousand pounds.

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and which, being chosen as his residence in disgrace, sufficiently evince the mildness of his government, and his moderation in prosperity. Iphicrates travelled into Thrace, where he had long resided. He had formerly married the daughter of Cotys, the most considerable of the Thracian princes; yet he lived and died in obscurity³⁹; nor did either he or Timotheus thenceforth take any share in the affairs of their ungrateful country.⁴⁰ Thus did the social war destroy or remove Iphicrates, Chabrias, and Timotheus, the best generals whom Greece could boast; and, the brave and honest Phocion excepted, the last venerable remains of Athenian virtue.⁴¹

Chares
entrusted
with the
sole con-
duct of
the war;
Olymp.
CV. 4.
A. C. 357.

By the removal of those great men, Chares was left to conduct, uncontrouled, the war against the allies; and to display the full extent of his worthlessness and incapacity. His insatiable avarice rendered him intolerable to the friends of Athens; his weakness and negligence exposed him to the contempt of the insurgents. He indulged his officers and himself in a total neglect of discipline; the reduction of the rebels was the least matter of his concern; he was

³⁹ Diodorus only says, that he was dead before the battle of Chæronæa, which happened twenty years after his banishment.

⁴⁰ Nepos says, that after the death of Timotheus, the Athenians remitted nine parts of his fine; but obliged his son Conon to pay the remaining tenth, for repairing the walls of the Piræus, which his grandfather had rebuilt from the spoils of the enemy.

⁴¹ *Military* virtue. Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Timotheus; neque post illorum obitum quisquam dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria. Nepos in Timothæ. The biographer forgets Phocion.

attended by an effeminate crowd of singers, dancers, and harlots ⁴², whose luxury exhausted the scanty supplies raised by the Athenians for the service of the war. ⁴³ In order to satisfy the clamorous demands of the soldiers, Chares, regardless of the treaties subsisting between Athens and Persia, hired himself and his forces to Artabazus, the wealthy satrap of Ionia, who had revolted from his master Artaxerxes Ochus, the most cruel and detestable tyrant that ever disgraced the throne of Cyrus. The arms of the Greeks saved Artabazus from the implacable resentment of a monster insensible to pity or to justice; and their meritorious services were amply rewarded by the lavish gratitude of the satrap.

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This extraordinary transaction neither surprised nor displeased the Athenians. They were accustomed to allow their commanders in foreign parts to act without instructions or controul; and the creatures of Chares loudly extolled his good management in paying the Grecian troops with Persian money. But the triumph of false joy was of short duration. Ochus sent an embassy to remonstrate with the Athenians on their unprovoked infraction of the peace; and threatened, that unless they immediately withdrew their forces from Asia, he would assist the rebels with a fleet of three hundred sail. This just menace, want of success against the confederates, together with a reason still more important,

which ends
disgrace-
fully for
the Athe-
nians.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
A. C. 356.

⁴² Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

⁴³ Demosthen. Philipp. 1.

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which will soon come to be fully explained, obliged the Athenians to recall their armament from the East, and to terminate the social war, without obtaining any of the purposes for which it had been undertaken. The confederates made good the claims which their boldness had urged; regained complete freedom and independence⁴⁴; and lived twenty years exempt from the legal oppression of subsidies and contingents, till they submitted, with the rest of Greece, to the arms and intrigues of Philip, and the resistless fortune of the Macedonians.

State of
philoso-
phy.

Notwithstanding the decay of martial spirit, the extravagance of public councils, and the general corruption of manners, which prevailed in Athens, and in other cities of Greece, the arts and sciences were still cultivated with ardour and success. During the period now under review, the scholars of Hippocrates and Democritus enriched natural philosophy with many important discoveries.⁴⁵ The different branches of mathematics, mechanics, and astronomy, received great improvements from Eudoxus⁴⁶ of Cnidus, Timæus⁴⁷ of Locri, Archytas of Tarentum, and Meton of Athens.⁴⁸ The Megaric school flourished under Stilpo, the most learned and acute of that disputatious sect, which, from its continual wranglings, merited the epithet of contentious.⁴⁹ The doctrines of Aristippus were

⁴⁴ Diodor. p. 424.

⁴⁵ Galenus de Natur. Facultat. & Hippocrat. *περ' αἰσθησ., &c.*

⁴⁶ Laert. l. viii. sect. 86. & Suid. in Eudox.

⁴⁷ Jambl. de Pythagor.

⁴⁸ Censorin. de Die Natal.

⁴⁹ *Epsum.* Laert. l. vi. sect. 107.

maintained by his daughter Areté, and improved by Hegesias and Anneceris, who paved the way for Epicurus.⁵⁰ The severe philosophy of Antisthenes had fewer followers.⁵¹ But Diogenes alone was equal to a sect.⁵²

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Statuary was cultivated by Polycletus and Canachus of Sicyon, by Naucides of Argos, and by innumerable artists in other cities of Greece, Italy, and Ionia. The works of Polycletus were the most admired. His greatest production was the colossal statue of Argive Juno, composed of gold and ivory. Bronze and marble, however, still furnished the usual materials for sculpture. The Grecian temples, particularly those of Delphi and Olympia, were enriched with innumerable productions of this kind during the period to which our present observations relate. One figure of Polycletus acquired peculiar fame. From the exactness of the proportions⁵³, it was called the rule, or standard. Even Lysippus, the contemporary and favourite of Alexander,

Of the
fine arts.
Statuary.

⁵⁰ Laertius & Suidas.

⁵¹ Ælian. Var. Histor. l. x. c. xvi.

⁵² We shall have occasion to speak more fully of Diogenes hereafter.

⁵³ Winkelmann, p. 653. and his translator, Mr. Huber, vol. iii. p. 34. differ from Pliny, l. 35. c. 19. They confound the statue, called the Rule, or Canon, with another called the Doryphorus, because grasping a spear. Pliny's words are, "Polycletus Sicyonius Diadumenum fecit molliter juvenem, centum talentis nobilitatum; idem et Doryphorum viriliter puerum. Fecit et quem canona artifices vocant, lineamenta artis ex eo petentes, velut a lege quadam; solusque hominum artem ipse (forse ipsam) fecisse artis opere judicatur." They have followed Cicero de Clar. Orator. c. 86.—yet Cicero, speaking incidentally on the subject, might more naturally mistake than Pliny, writing expressly on sculpture.

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The works
of Praxi-
teles.
Olymp.
cv. 1.
A. C. 460.

regarded it as a model of excellence, from which it was not safe to depart.

Between Polycletus and Lysippus flourished Praxiteles, whose works formed the intermediate shade between the sublime style, which prevailed in the age of Pericles, and the beautiful, which attained perfection under Lysippus and Apelles, in the age of Alexander. The statues of Praxiteles bore a similar relation to those of Phidias, which the paintings of Guido and Correggio bear to those of Julio Romano and Raphael. The works of the earlier artists are more grand and more sublime, those of the later more graceful and more alluring; the first class being addressed to the imagination, the second to the senses. The works of Praxiteles were in the Ceramicus of Athens: but neither in the Ceramicus, nor in any part of the world, was a statue to be seen equal to his celebrated Venus, which long attracted spectators from all parts to Cnidus. Praxiteles made two statues of the goddess at the same time, the one cloathed, the other naked. The decent modesty of the Coans preferred the former; the latter was purchased by the Cnidians, and long regarded as the most valuable possession of their community. The voluptuous Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, languished after this statue; to purchase such unrivalled charms he offered to pay the debts of Cnidus, which were great and burdensome; but the Cnidians determined not to part with an ornament from which their republic derived so much celebrity. "Having considered," says

an ancient author⁵⁴, “the beautiful avenues leading to the temple, we at length entered the sacred dome. In the middle stands the statue of the goddess, in marble of Paros. A sweet smile sits on her lips; no garment hides her charms; the hand only, as by an instinctive impulse, conceals those parts which modesty permits not to name. The art of Praxiteles has given to the stone the softness and sensibility of flesh. O Mars, the most fortunate of the gods!” But it is impossible to translate his too faithful description into the decency of modern language; a description more animated and voluptuous than even the chisel of Praxiteles.

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The Cnidian Venus.

The honour which Polycletus and Praxiteles acquired in sculpture, was, during the same age, attained in painting by Eupompus and Pamphilus of Sicyon, by Euphranon of Corinth, by Apollodorus and Nicias of Athens; above all, by Zeuxis and Timanthes.⁵⁵ The works of Eupompus are now unknown, but in his own times his

The state of painting.

⁵⁴ Lucian. Amor.

⁵⁵ Pliny, in his 35th book. I have paid little attention to his pretended Epochs of Art, when inconsistent with the information of more ancient authors. The Greek historians, from whom he copied this part of his work, found it convenient, at every pause in their narrative, to give some account of men who had distinguished themselves in the arts and sciences, of whom they had no opportunity to make mention in recording public transactions, and relating wars and negociations. The æra of every peace furnished a proper resting-place to the historian; from which he looked back, and collected the names worthy to be handed down to posterity. Every such æra, therefore, Pliny, and after him Winkelmann, have considered as an epoch of art; not reflecting, that arts do not suddenly

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merit and celebrity occasioned a new division of the schools, which were formerly the Grecian and the Asiatic; but after Eupompus, the Grecian school was subdivided into the Athenian and Sicyonian. Pamphilus, and his scholar Apelles, gave fresh lustre to the latter school, which seems to have flourished longer than any other in Greece, since the paintings exhibited at the celebrated procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus were chiefly the production of Sicyonian masters.⁶⁶

Works of
Pamphi-
lus.

Few works of Pamphilus are described by ancient authors. His picture of the Heraclidæ, carrying branches of olive, and imploring the assistance of the Athenians, has not, however, escaped the vigilant eye of national vanity.⁶⁷ He was by birth a Macedonian, but well versed in literature and science, which he thought indispensably necessary to a painter. He received about two hundred pounds from each of his scholars, and seems to have been the first who put a high price on his works. He lived to enjoy his fame, and rendered his profession so fashionable, that it became customary in Sicyon, and afterwards in other parts of Greece, to instruct the sons of wealthy families in the arts of design. This liberal profession was forbidden to

arise and flourish, and when once they flourish, do not suddenly decay: since the mind long retains the impulse which it has received; and the active powers of man, when once directed to their proper objects, are not easily lulled to repose.

⁶⁶ Athen. Deipn. l. v. p. 196.

⁶⁷ Aristoph. Plut. v. 385.

slaves; nor, during the existence of Grecian freedom, did any celebrated production in sculpture or painting come from servile hands.⁵⁸

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Euphranor the Corinthian excelled both in painting and statuary. The dignity of his heroes was admired. He painted the twelve gods. He said that *his* Theseus had fed on flesh, that of Parrhasius on roses. He wrote on colours and symmetry. Apollodorus the Athenian was deemed the first who knew the full force of light and shade.⁵⁹

Of Eu-
phranor.

His priest in prayer, and his Ajax struck with lightning, were held in high estimation. Nicias, his fellow-citizen, excelled in female figures, and in all the magic of colouring. His Calypso, Iö, and Andromeda, claimed just fame; but his greatest composition was the Necromanteia of Homer.⁶⁰

Apollodo-
rus.

Nicias.

Attalus King of Pergamus (for Nicias

⁵⁸ Plin. l. xxxv. c. 36. sect. 8.

⁵⁹ This is the commendation of Plutarch. Pliny speaks more highly of Apollodorus. "Festinans ad lumina artis, in quibus primus refulsit Apollodorus Atheniensis . . . neque ante eum tabula ullius ostenditur, quæ teneat oculos." Pliny's praises often clash with each other. He frequently calls different persons the first in the art, and even in the same branch of it. The warmth of his fancy leaves him no time for calculating the weight of his expressions. His credulity, love of wonder, and inaccuracy, cannot be defended. Yet his judgments on pictures and statues are not without their merit; since the perfection of those works of art consists in making a deep impression, in transporting and elevating the affections, and in raising that glow of sentiment, which Pliny is so happy in communicating to his readers.

⁶⁰ Long before all the celebrated works of art, Homer had viewed nature with a picturesque eye. For the innumerable pictures copied from him, see Fabricii Biblioth. Græc. l. ii. c. vi. p. 345. Homer gave the idea of what is grand and pathetic in intellect, which painters and statuary translated into what is touching and awful to the eye.

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lived to a great age) offered twelve thousand pounds for this picture; but the artist, who was wealthy, gave it in a present to his native city. Praxiteles, when asked which of his statues he most valued, answered, "Those of which the models were retouched by Nicias."

Zeuxis.

Zeuxis is said to have been born at Heraclæa, but it is uncertain in which of the cities known by that name. He acquired great wealth by his works; at length he refused money, boasting that no price could pay them. The modesty of his Penelopé was more impressive than a lesson of morality. He painted Hercules strangling the serpents in the presence of the astonished Amphitryon and Alcmena. His picture dedicated in the temple of Juno Lucina, at Agrigentum, has been often mentioned. Being allowed to view the naked beauty of that populous city, it is known that he chose as models five virgins, whose united charms were expressed in this celebrated piece. His greatest work was Jupiter sitting on his throne, and surrounded by the ⁶¹ gods.

⁶¹ Valerius Maximus, l. iii. c. vii. speaks of his Helena, painted for the city of Crotona. On his naked Helen, Zeuxis inscribed the following lines of Homer :

*Ὀν νιμῆσις, Τρῶας καὶ εὐκρημίδας Ἀχαιοὺς
Τοτὴ δάμφι γυναῖκι πολλὸν χρόνον ἀλγέα τασχεῖν
Λίως ἀθανάτοισι θερὸς εἰς ὤπα εἰκεν.*

Il. iii. v. 156.

"They cry'd, No wonder, such celestial charms
For nine long years have set the world in arms.
What winning graces! what majestic mien!
She moves a goddess, and she looks a queen."

Pope.

Timanthes reached the highest perfection of his art; but his genius surpassed the art itself. In his sacrifice of Iphigenia, a gradation of sorrow was seen in the faces of the spectators. It was carried to the utmost height, consistent with beauty, in the countenance of her uncle Menelaus. But Agamemnon, still more deeply impressed with the unhappy fate of his daughter, veiled his face with his robe. In several others of his pieces, Timanthes discovered the power

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Timanthes.

Pope has paraphrased the last line, "For she is wonderfully like to the immortal gods." This must have sounded nobly to the Greeks, who would doubtless have considered "looking a queen," as a sinking in poetry. But I have cited the lines, to show by what different means poetry and painting attain the same end. Both Homer and Zeuxis convey an high idea of Helen's beauty; but Homer does it by the effects of this beauty, which could animate the cold age of Priam, Panthoos, &c. whom he has just inimitably described :

Γηραι δὴ πηλεμοιο πεπαυμένοι, ἀλλ' ἀγορηται
Ἐσθλοὶ, τεττιγγεσσι δοκετες ὅτε καθ' ὅλην
Δαῖδρεφ' ἐφεζόμενοι σπα λειροεσσαν λείσι.

When the Greek monk, Constantinus Manasses (Chron. p. 20.) describes the beauty of Helen,

Ἦν ἡ γυνὴ περικαλλὲς εὐόφρους εὐχρυσάτῃ
Ἐνταρτεῖος εὐπροσώπου βουκίης χιονοχροῦς, &c.

and so on, through a dozen of lines, the imagination of the reader cannot follow him; each epithet of beauty drives the preceding from the memory; and we fancy that we see a man laboriously rolling stones up one side of a hill, which immediately roll down the other. Ariosto's description of the beauty of Alcina (cant. viii.) is in the same bad taste. How different is Virgil's "Pulcherrima Dido." Virgil knew the difference between poetical and picturesque images. Our English romances abound with examples of this species of bad taste, arising from mistaking the boundaries of distinct, though kindred, arts. See above, vol. ii. c. xiv. p. 178.

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Expres-
sion of
Greek
painting.

of transporting the mind beyond the picture. He painted to the fancy rather than to the eye. In his works, as in the descriptions of Homer and Milton, more was understood than expressed.

The power of expression was carried to a degree of perfection which it is not easy to believe, and scarcely possible to comprehend. The civil and military arrangements of the Greeks gave, doubtless, great advantages to their artists in this respect. Aristides, a Theban painter, represented the sacking of a town; among other scenes of horror, a child was painted clinging to the breast of its wounded mother, who "*felt and feared*"⁶², that after she was dead the child should suck blood instead of milk." Parrhasius of Ephesus, in an earlier age, personified the people of Athens, in a figure that characterised them as at once cruel and compassionate, proud and humble, brave and cowardly, elevated and mean. Such discriminations, as well as such complications of passion, are unquestionably beyond the reach of modern art, and will therefore, by many, be pronounced impossible. It is worthy of remark, that the same Parrhasius, who seems to have united the excellencies of Dominichino, Raphael, and Correggio, was distinguished by the gliding motion of his outline, and the sweetness with which it melted into the ground.⁶³

⁶² These are the words of Pliny.

⁶³ Pliny considers this as the perfection of art. "Hæc est in pictura summa sublimitas. Corpora enim pingere et media rerum, est quidem magni operis: sed in quo multi gloriam tulerint. Ex-

Ideal beauty, just proportion, natural and noble attitudes, an uniform greatness of style, are acknowledged to have equally belonged to the ancient painters and statuaries. But the vanity or envy of modern times is unwilling to allow any merit to the former, which the remains of the latter do not justify and confirm. The Greek painters, therefore, have been supposed deficient in colouring; and this supposition has been supported by the words of Pliny: "With four colours only, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nichomachus, produced those immortal works, which were singly purchased by the collective wealth of cities and republics." The colours were white, red, yellow, and black. It has been often said that with these only on his palette, a painter cannot colour like nature, far less attain the magic of the *clair obscure*. Yet a great artist of our own country thinks that four colours are sufficient for every combination required. "The fewer the colours, the cleaner," he observes, "will be their

trema corporum facere, et desinentis picturæ modum includere, rarum in successu artis invenitur. Ambire enim debet se extremitas ipsa, et sic desinere, ut promittat alia post se; ostentatque etiam quæ occultat." Ibid. c. xxxvi. sect. 5. Mr. Falconer, in his observations on this passage, is of a different opinion. He thinks it more difficult to paint the middle parts, than the shades and tones which surround the extremities of objects; because the former, though exposed to the light, must have their form, relief, depth, and all the tints of nature. He instances the heads painted by Rubens and Vandyck seen in front. Pliny, had he lived in later times, might have instanced, in his turn, the sweet outlines and inimitable softness of Correggio.

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effect. Two colours mixed together will not preserve the brightness of either of them single, nor will three be as bright as two.”⁶⁴ Pliny says, that Apelles spread over his pictures, when finished, a transparent liquid like ink, which increased the clearness and brilliancy of the whole, while it softened the glare of too florid colours. This, according to the same excellent modern painter, is a true and artist-like description of scrambling or glazing, as practised by the Venetian school, and by Correggio, in whose works, as well as those mentioned by Pliny, it was perceptible only to such as closely examined the picture. He very reasonably concludes, therefore, that if the master-pieces of ancient painting remained, we should probably find them as correctly drawn as the Laocoon, and as admirably coloured as the glowing productions of Titian.

Clair
obscur.

That the Greeks were acquainted with the effect of the clair obscur, or the distribution of all the tones of light and shade relatively to the different plans of the picture, has been denied by those who allow them the highest excellence in colouring single figures. They might excel, it has been said, in a solo, but were incapable of producing a full piece for a concert of different instruments. Whether this observation be well founded can only be discovered by carefully examining ancient authors, from whom it would

⁶⁴ See Sir Joshua Reynolds's notes on Mr. Mason's translation of Fresnoy's *Art of Painting*.

appear that even in this branch the Greek painters were not deficient. ⁶⁵

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Literary
composition.

Of all the arts cultivated during the period now under review, none attained higher proficiency than composition in prose. The history of Thucydides was continued by Xenophon; but we should form a very imperfect notion of this amiable writer were we to judge him by his Grecian history, to which he seems not to have put the last hand. Yet in this, as well as in his more finished works, we see the scholar of Socrates; and, of all others, the scholar who most resembled his master in his sentiment and expression⁶⁶, in the excellencies as well as in the respectable weaknesses⁶⁷ of his character: the same undeviating

Xenophon.

His character.

⁶⁵ In speaking of Nicias, Pliny says, "Lumen et umbras custodivit, atque ut eminent in tabulis picturæ maxime custodivit." Unless the *clair obscure* be meant, the second member of this sentence is a pleonasm. Another passage is highly to the purpose, l. xxxv. c. xi. "Tandem se ars ipsa distinxit, et invenit lumen atque umbras, differentia colorum alterna via sese excitante. Deinde adjectus est splendor, alius hic quam lumen; quem, quia inter hoc & umbram esset, appellaverunt tonon; commissuras verò colorum et transitus, harmogen." *Clair obscure* in painting is something like counterpoint in music; and if the ancients cultivated neither of them, perhaps the more substantial parts of the arts lost nothing by the neglect. In melody and design, effect and expression, they probably excelled the most boasted productions of later ages.

⁶⁶ See the description which Alcibiades gives of Socrates's eloquence, in Plato's Symposium.

⁶⁷ It is remarkable that the superstitious belief of Xenophon in celestial warnings, of which see innumerable examples, particularly Anabas. l. iii. c. i. l. v. c. viii. and l. vii. c. i. never encouraged him to any thing imprudent or hurtful, and never restrained him from any thing useful or virtuous. The admonitions likewise of Socrates's dæmon were always the same with the dictates of right reason.

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His mili-
tary expe-
ditions.

virtue, the same indefatigable spirit, the same erect probity, the same diffusive benevolence, the same credulity, the same enthusiasm, together with that unaffected propriety of thought and diction, whose native graces outshine all ornaments of art.

This admirable personage, who, had he lived before the Athenians were grown too conceited to learn, and too corrupt to mend, might have proved the saviour of his country, reached his fiftieth year in a happy obscurity, enjoying the confidential society of Socrates and a few select friends. Of these Proxenus, an illustrious Theban exile, who well knew the worth of Xenophon, invited him to Sardes, from a desire to introduce him to Cyrus, the brother of Artaxerxes, and governor of Lower Asia, whose friendship he himself had found more valuable than the precarious honours of his capricious and ungrateful republic. Xenophon communicated the proposal to Socrates, who, suspecting that the Athenians might not relish his friend's design, because the Persians were then allied with Sparta, desired him to consult the oracle of Delphi.⁶⁸ This counsel was but partially followed; for Xenophon, who seems to have been fond of the journey, asked not the oracle whether it ought to be undertaken, but only by virtue of what prayers and sacrifices it might be rendered successful. Socrates approved not this precipitation; yet, as the god had answered, he thought it necessary for Xeno-

⁶⁸ Anab. l. v. p. 356. & seq.

phon to obey. The important consequences of this resolution to the Ten thousand Greeks who followed the standard of Cyrus, have been related in a former part of this work. After his glorious retreat from Upper Asia, Xenophon remained several years on the western coast, and shared the victories of his admired Agesilaus, with whom he returned to Greece, and conquered in the battle of Coronæa.

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Meanwhile a decree of banishment passed against him in Athens. But having acquired considerable riches in his Asiatic expedition, he had deposited them at Ephesus with the Sacristan of Diana's temple, with this injunction, that if he perished in battle, his wealth should be employed in honour of the goddess. Having survived the bloody engagement of Coronæa, which he afterwards so affectingly described in his *Hellenica*, he settled in the town of Scilluns, a new establishment formed by the Lacedæmonians, scarcely three miles distant from Olympia. Megabyzus, the Sacrist of Diana, came to behold the games, and faithfully restored his deposit, with which Xenophon, as enjoined by an oracle, purchased in that neighbourhood a beautiful spot of ground, watered by the Sellenus, a name which coincided with that of the river near Ephesus. On the banks of Elion Sellenus, Xenophon erected a temple, incomparably smaller indeed, yet similar in form to the great temple of Diana. His image of the goddess resembled that at Ephesus, as much as a figure in cypress could resemble a statue of gold. The banks of the river

His religious and literary retreat.

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were planted with fruit trees. The surrounding plains and meadows afforded excellent pasture. The adjoining forests and mountains abounded in wild boar, red deer, and other species of game. There Xenophon's sons often hunted with the youth of the neighbouring towns and villages; and the whole inhabitants of the country round were invited and entertained by him at an annual solemnity sacred to Diana. A modest inscription on a marble column, erected near the temple, testified the holiness of the place. "This spot is dedicated to Diana. Let him, whoever shall possess it, employ the tenth of its yearly produce in sacrifice, and the remainder in keeping in repair, and in adorning the temple. His neglect will not be overlooked by the goddess." By this inscription, wherein Xenophon ventures not to mention the name of the founder, his mind seems to forbode the calamities which at last befel him. In the war between the Lacedæmonians and Elians, the town of Scilluns, together with the circumjacent territory, was seized by Elian troops; and the amiable philosopher and historian, who had, in this delightful retreat, composed those invaluable works, which will inspire the last ages of the world with the love of virtue, was compelled, in the decline of life, to seek refuge in the corrupt and licentious city of Corinth.

His works.

His Expedition, his Grecian History, his description of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian

* Xenoph. Anab. l. v. p. 356. & seq.

governments, have been noticed in their proper place. The *Cyropædeia*, or institutions of the elder Cyrus, is a philosophical romance, intended to exemplify the doctrines taught by Socrates in the *Memorabilia*, and to prove the success which naturally attends the practice of wisdom and virtue in the great affairs of war and government. The highest panegyric of this work is, that many learned men have mistaken it for a true history, and, deceived by the persuasive elegance of the narrative, have believed it possible that, during the various stages of a long life, Cyrus should have invariably followed the dictates of the sublimest philosophy. In his *Oeconomics*, Xenophon undertakes the humbler but not less useful task, of regulating the duties of domestic life. The dialogue, intituled *Hiero*, paints the misery of tyrants contrasted with the happiness of virtuous princes, in colours so lively, and in lines so expressive, that an admirer of the ancients might challenge the ingenuity of modern ages to add a single stroke to the picture. In speaking of the works of Xenophon, we must not forget his treatise on the Revenues of Athens. It was written long after his banishment. Instead of resenting the obdurate cruelty of his countrymen, he gave them most judicious and seasonable advice concerning the improvement of the public revenues, which, there is reason to believe, was in part adopted.

The orators Antiphon, Lysias and Isocrates flourished in the period now under review. The two former were distinguished by the refined

The orators
Antiphon, Lysias
and Isocrates.

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Plato.
His birth
and edu-
cation.

subtily of their pleadings; the latter, by the polished elegance of his moral and political orations.⁷⁰ Isocrates ventured not to speak in public, neither his constitution nor his voice admitting the great exertions necessary for that purpose. His school of oratory and composition was frequented by the noblest youths of Athens, of the neighbouring republics, and even by foreign princes; and, his maxims being borrowed from the Socratic school, his long and honourable labours tended to keep alive some sparks of virtue among his degenerate countrymen.⁷¹

But the man of learning in that age, whose abilities, if properly directed, might have most benefited his contemporaries, was the celebrated Plato, a man justly admired, yet more extraordinary than admirable. The same memorable year which produced the Peloponnesian war gave birth to Plato. He was descended from the Codridæ, the most illustrious as well as the most opulent family in Athens. His education was worthy of his birth. The gymnastic formed and invigorated his body; his mind was enlarged and enlightened by the studies of poetry⁷² and geometry, from which he derived that acuteness of judgment, and that brilliancy of fancy, which, being both carried to excess, render him at once the most subtle and the most flowery writer of antiquity.⁷³ In his twentieth year he

⁷⁰ See the lives of Lysias and Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of their works. ⁷¹ Idem, *ibid.* ⁷² Diogen. Laert. l. ii.

⁷³ Plato's Dialogues are so different from each other, in point of thought and expression, that, if we knew not the versatility of

became acquainted with Socrates; and having compared his own metrical productions with those of his immortal predecessors in this walk of literature, he committed his unequal poems to the flames, and totally addicted himself to philosophy. During eight years he continued an assiduous hearer of Socrates: an occasional⁷⁴ indisposition prevented him from assisting at the last conversations of the sage, before he drank the fatal hemlock. Yet these conversations, as related to him by persons who were present, Plato has delivered down to the admiration of posterity; and the affecting sensibility with which he minutely describes the inimitable behaviour of Socrates, on this trying occasion, proves how deeply the author was interested in his subject.

Fear or disgust removed the scholar of Socrates from the murderers of his master. Having spent some time in Thebes, Elis, and Megara, where he enjoyed the conversation of several of his fellow-disciples, the love of knowledge carried

His travels.

his genius, it would be difficult to believe them the works of one man. He is over-refined, wire-drawn, and trifling, in the *Cratylus*, *Parmenides*, *Meno*, *Theætetus*, and *Sophistes*. He is flowery, pompous, and tumid, in his *Timæus* *Panegyric*, *Symposium*, and *Phædrus*. But in those invaluable writings, the *Apology*, *Crito*, *Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, *Phædo*, and the greater part of his books of laws, in which he adheres to the doctrines of Socrates, and indulges, without art or affectation, the natural bent of his own genius, his style is inimitably sweet and attractive, always elegant, and often sublime. His *Republic*, which is generally considered as his greatest work, abounds in all the beauties, and in all the faults, for which he is remarkable. See *Dionys. Halicarn. de Plato*.

⁷⁴ Πικτων δε (αμα) ησθενει. *Phædo*, 2.

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him to Magna Græcia ; from thence he sailed to Cyrené, attracted by the fame of the mathematician Theodorus ; Egypt next deserved his curiosity, as the country to which the science of Theodorus owed its birth, and from which the Pythagoreans in Magna Græcia derived several tenets of their philosophy.

He settles
in the
academy.

At his return to Athens, Plato could have little inclination to engage in public life. The days were past when the virtues of a Solon, or of a Lycurgus, could reform the manners of their countrymen. In early periods of society, the example and influence of one able and disinterested man may produce a happy revolution in the community of which he is a member. But in the age of Plato, the Athenians had fallen into dotage and imbecility. His luxuriant fancy compares them sometimes to old men, who have outlived their senses, and with whom it is vain to reason ; sometimes to wild beasts, whom it is dangerous to approach ; sometimes to an unfruitful soil, that choaks every useful plant, and produces weeds only.⁷⁵ He prudently withdrew himself from a scene, which presented nothing but danger or disgust, and purchased a small villa in the suburbs near the academy, or gymnasium, that had been so elegantly adorned by Cimon.⁷⁶ To this retirement, his fame attracted the most illustrious characters of the age : the noblest youths of Athens daily frequented the school of Plato ; and here he con-

⁷⁵ Republic, l. vi. p. 38.

⁷⁶ See above, vol. ii. p. 75.

tinued above forty years, with little interruption except from his voyages into Sicily, instructing his disciples, and composing his Dialogues, to which the most distinguished philosophers in ancient and modern times are greatly indebted, without excepting those who reject his doctrines, and affect to treat them as visionary.

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The capacious mind of Plato embraced the whole circle of science. The objects of human thought had, previously to his age, been reduced, by the Pythagoreans, to certain classes or genera⁷⁷; the nature of truth had been investigated; and men had distinguished the relations⁷⁸, which the predicate of any proposition can bear to its subject. The sciences had already been divided into the natural and moral; or, in the language of Plato, into the knowledge of divine and human things. The frivolous art of syllogism was not as yet invented; and the logic of Plato⁷⁹ was con-

General
character
of his
philoso-
phy.

⁷⁷ Many less perfect divisions had probably been made before Archytas of Tarentum distinguished the ten Categories. Simplicius et Jamblichus apud Fr. Patricium, *Discuss. Peripatet.* t. ii. p. 182. This division, the most perfect of any that philosophers have yet been able to discover, Plato learned from Archytas. It consisted in substances, and modes. The former are either primary, as all individual substances, which neither are in any other subject, nor can be predicated of it; or secondary, which subsist in the first, and can be predicated of them, to wit, the genera and species of substances. Of modes there are nine kinds, quantity, quality, relation, habit, time, place, having, doing, and suffering. *Aristot. de Categor.*

⁷⁸ These are called by logicians the five Predicables, or more properly, the five classes of predicates. They are the genus, species, specific difference, property, and accident. The use of these distinctions is universal in every subject requiring definition and division; yet if meant to comprehend whatever may be affirmed of any subject, the enumeration is doubtless incomplete.

⁷⁹ The science properly called Logic was invented by Aristotle;

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finied to the more useful subjects of definition and division, by means of which he attempted to fix and ascertain not only the practical doctrines of morals and politics, but the abstruse and shadowy speculations of mystical theology. It is much to be regretted that this great and original genius should have mistaken the proper objects as well as the natural limits of the human understanding, and that most of the enquiries of Plato and his successors should appear extremely remote from the public transactions of the times in which they lived. Yet, the speculations in which they were engaged, how little soever they may be connected with the political revolutions of Greece, seem too interesting in themselves to be entirely omitted in this historical work, especially when it is considered that the philosophy of Plato and his disciples has been very widely diffused among all the civilized nations of the world; that during many centuries, his writings governed with uncontrouled sway the opinions of the speculative part of mankind; and that the same philosophy still influences the reasonings, and divides the sentiments, of the learned in modern Europe.

Difficulty
of ex-
plaining
and
abridging
his doc-
trines.

The lively, but immethodical, manner in which the doctrines of Plato are explained by himself, renders it difficult to collect and abridge them. The great number of interlocutors in his dia-

the division of the sciences into Logic, Physics, and Ethics, was first given by his contemporary Xenocrates. Vid. Brucker de Aristot. & Xenocrat. Of Aristotle more hereafter.

logues, the irony of Socrates, and the continual intermixture of Plato's own sentiments with those of his master, increase the difficulty, and make it impossible, from particular passages, to judge of the scope and tendency of the whole. The works of Xenophon, however, may enable a diligent student to separate the pure ore of Socrates from the adventitious matter with which it is combined in the rich vein of Platonism; and, by carefully comparing the different parts of the latter, he may with certainty determine the principal designs of its author.

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From this view of the subject, it would appear that Plato aimed at nothing less, than to reconcile the appearances of the natural and moral world with the wise government of a self-existent unchangeable cause; to explain the nature and origin of the human mind, as well as of its various powers of perception, volition, and intellect; and, on principles resulting from these discoveries, to build a system of ethics, which, in proportion as it were followed by mankind, would promote not only their independence and security in the present world, but their happiness and perfection in a future state of existence.

The great
views of
that philo-
sopher.

Let us look, where we will, around us, we shall every-where, said Plato, perceive a passing procession⁸⁰: the objects which compose the material world, arise, change, perish, and are succeeded

His theo-
logy.

⁸⁰ This was borrowed from Heraclitus, who expressed the same idea, by saying, that all corporeal things were in a perpetual flux. Vid. Platon. in Theætet. p. 83. & in Sophist. p. 108.

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by others, which undergo the same⁸¹ revolutions. One body moves another, which impels a third, and so forward in succession; but the first cause of motion resides not in any of them. This cause acts not fortuitously, the regular motion of the heavenly bodies⁸², the beautiful order of the seasons, the admirable structure of plants and animals, announce an intelligent Author.⁸³ It is difficult by searching to find out the nature of the Divinity, and impossible for words to describe it; yet the works which he has done, attest his power, his wisdom, and his goodness, to be greater than human imagination can conceive.⁸⁴ In the self-existent cause, these attributes must unite. He is therefore unchangeable⁸⁵, since no alteration can increase his perfections, and it would be absurd to suppose him ever inclined to⁸⁶ diminish them.

Cosmo-
gony.

Impelled by his goodness, the Deity, viewing in his own intellect the ideas or archetypes of all possible existence, formed the beautiful arrangement of the universe from that rude indigested matter, which, existing from all eternity, had been for ever animated by an irregular principle

⁸¹ Timæus, sub initio.

⁸² By these he meant the fixed stars; the motions of the planets he ascribed to another cause, as will appear below.

⁸³ Plato de Legibus, l. x. p. 609.

⁸⁴ Timæus, p. 477. & de Repub. l. ii. p. 144.

⁸⁵ For the immutability of the Deity, Plato, contrary to his general custom, condescends to use an argument from induction: "Even of material things, the most perfect least feel the effects of time, and remain longest unaltered." De Repub. p. 150.

⁸⁶ Ibid. p. 150.

of motion.⁸⁷ This principle, which Plato calls the irrational soul of the world, he thought sufficiently attested, in the innumerable deviations from the established laws of nature, in the extravagant passions of men, and in the physical and moral evil, which, in consequence of these deviations and passions, so visibly prevail in the world. Without admitting a certain stubborn intractability, and disorderly wildness, essential to matter, and therefore incapable of being entirely eradicated or subdued, it seemed impossible to explain the origin of evil under the government of Deity.⁸⁸

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From these rude materials, God, according to the fanciful doctrine of Plato, formed the four elements, and built the beautiful structure of the heavens and the earth, after the model of those eternal exemplars⁸⁹, or patterns, which sub-

Plato's
doctrine
of ideas.

⁸⁷ Politic. p. 120. et seq. & Timæus, passim.

⁸⁸ De Legibus, l. x. p. 608. Philem. p. 160.

⁸⁹ These exemplars, or *παράδειγματα*, are the *ideas* of Plato, which were so much misrepresented by many of the later Platonists, or Eclectics. He names them, indifferently, *ideas*, *εἰδή*, *εἰκόνες*, *τα κατὰ ταύτα* et *δεαυτως ἐχοντα*. The two last expressions are used to distinguish them from the fleeting and perishable forms of matter. Plato represents these ideas as existing in the divine intellect, as beings entirely mental, not objects of any of the senses, and not circumscribed by place or time. By the first universal Cause, these ideas were infused into the various species of created beings, in whom (according to Ammonius, in Porphyry. Introd. p. 29.) they existed, as the impression of a seal exists in the wax to which it has been applied. In its pre-existent state the human mind viewed these *intelligible* forms in their original seat, the field of truth. But since men were imprisoned in the body, they receive these ideas from external objects, as explained in the text. Such is the doctrine

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sist in the divine Intelligence.⁹⁰ Considering that beings possessed of mental powers are far preferable to those destitute of such faculties, God infused into the corporeal world a rational soul, which, as it could not be immediately combined with body, he united to the active, but irrational principle, essentially inherent in matter.⁹¹ Having thus formed and animated the earth, the sun, the moon, and the other visible divinities, the great father of spirits proceeded to create the invisible gods and dæmons⁹², whose nature and history Plato describes with a re-

of Plato. But many of the later Platonists, and even several writers of the present age, have imagined that he ascribed to ideas a separate and independent existence. Vid. Brucker. *Hist. Philosoph.* p. 695. et seq. Gedike *Hist. Philosoph. ex Ciceron. Collect.* p. 183. et seq. Monboddo, *Origin of Language*, vol. i. c. ix. Of all the absurdities embraced by philosophers, this doubtless would be the greatest, to believe eternal unchangeable patterns of the various genera and species of things, existing apart, and independent of the mind by which these abstract notions are conceived. It is not extraordinary, therefore, that many writers of the Alexandrian school, whose extravagant fancies could fix and embody metaphysical abstractions, and realise intellectual ideas, should animate and personify the *λογον του Θεου*, the divine intellect, in which, according to Plato, these ideas resided, and from which they were communicated to other intelligences. The same visionary fanatics who discovered, in the *λογος* of Plato, the second person of the Trinity, recognised the Holy Spirit in his Soul of the World: but, as this irrational principle of motion ill corresponded to the third person of the Godhead, they invented an hyper-cosmian soul, concerning which Plato is altogether silent. See the *Encyclopédie*, article *Eclectique*. Brucker. *Hist. Philosoph.* vol. i. p. 712. et seq. & Meiner's *Beytrag zur geschichte der denkart der ersten Jahrhunderte nach Christi geburt in einigen betrachtungen uber die neu Platonische Philosophie*.

⁹⁰ Timæus, *Polit.* l. vi.

⁹¹ *Ib.* p. 477. et seq.

⁹² Timæus, p. 480.

spectful reverence for the religion of his country.⁸³ After finishing this great work, the God of gods, again contemplating the ideal forms in his own mind, perceived there the exemplars of three species of beings, which he realised in the mortal inhabitants of the earth, air, and water. The task of forming these sensible, but irrational beings, he committed to the inferior divinities; because, had this last work likewise proceeded from his own hands, it must have been immortal like the gods.⁸⁴ The souls of men, on the other hand, he himself formed from the remainder of the rational soul of the world. They first existed in the state of dæmons, invested only with a thin æthereal body. Having offended God by neglecting their duty, they were condemned to unite with the gross corporeal mass, by which their divine faculties are so much clogged and encumbered.⁸⁵

It was necessary briefly to explain the metaphysical theology of Plato, how visionary soever it may appear, because the doctrine of ideal forms, together with that of the pre-existent state of the human mind, are the main pillars of his philosophy. Before their incarceration in the body, the souls of men enjoyed the presence of their Maker, and contemplated the unchangeable ideas and essences of things in the field of truth. In viewing and examining these eternal archetypes of order, beauty, and virtue, consisted the noblest energy, and highest perfection of celestial spirits⁸⁶, which, being emanations of

Plato's
morals.

⁸³ Apolog. Socratis.

⁸⁴ Timæus, p. 480. & 481.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Republ. l. vi. Phædrus, Philebus, &c.

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the Deity, can never rest satisfied with objects and occupations unworthy their divine original. But, in their actual state, men can perceive, with their corporeal senses, only the fleeting images and imperfect representations of these immutable essences of things in the fluctuating objects of the material world, which are so little steady and permanent, that they often change their nature and properties even while we view and examine them.⁹⁷ Besides this, our senses themselves are liable to innumerable disorders; and unless we are constantly on the watch, never fail to deceive us.⁹⁸ Hence the continual errors in our judgments of men and things; hence the improper ends we pursue; hence the very inadequate means by which we seek to attain them; hence, in one word, all the errors and misery of life. Yet, even in this degraded state to which men were condemned for past offences, their happiness ceases not to be an object of care to the Deity. As none can rise so high, none can sink so low, as to escape the eye and arm of the Almighty.⁹⁹ The divine Providence observes and regulates the meanest, as well as the greatest, of its productions. But the good of the part being subordinate to that of the whole, it is necessary that each individual should be rewarded or punished, in proportion as he fulfils the task assigned him. It is by the performance of his duty alone, that man can regain the favour of his Maker¹⁰⁰; for it is ridiculous to

⁹⁷ Phædo, Timæus, &c.

⁹⁸ Phædo, p. 31. & Repub. l. v.

⁹⁹ De Legibus.

¹⁰⁰ Eutyphron.

think that this inestimable benefit can be purchased by rich presents and expensive sacrifices. Religion cannot be a traffic of interest.¹⁰¹ What can we offer to the gods, which they have not first bestowed on us? Will they thank us for restoring their own gifts? It is absurd to think it. To please the Divinity, we must obey his will concerning us: nor can we comply with the purpose of our creation, and fulfil our destiny, without aspiring at those noble powers with which we were originally endowed¹⁰²; and which, even in our present degenerate state, it is still possible, by proper diligence, to recover.¹⁰³

Our senses give us information of external objects, which are stored up in the memory, and variously combined by the imagination.¹⁰⁴ But it is remarkable that these ideas, thus acquired and retained, have the power of suggesting others far more accurate and perfect than themselves, and which, though excited by material objects, cannot be derived from them, unless (which is impossible) the effect were more beautiful and perfect than the cause. That we possessed, in a pre-existent state, those ideas which modern philosophers refer by an easy solution to the powers of generalization and abstraction¹⁰⁵, Plato thought evident from the facility with which we recalled

His account of the origin of human knowledge.

¹⁰¹ *Repub.* l. ii. p. 100. et seq.

¹⁰² *Minos*, p. 510. *Timæus*, p. 500.

¹⁰³ *Repub.* l. v.

¹⁰⁴ *Theatet.* p. 85. et seq. & *Philem.* 184. et seq.

¹⁰⁵ The ancients were not ignorant of this philosophy. *Simplicius*, speaking of the origin of intelligible forms, or ideas, in the hu-

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them.¹⁰⁶ Of this he gave an example in Meno's slave, who, when properly questioned by Socrates, easily recollected and explained many properties of numbers and figures, although he had never learned the sciences of arithmetic and¹⁰⁷ geometry. According to Plato, therefore, all sciences consisted in reminiscence; in recalling the nature, proportions, and relations of those uniform and unchangeable essences, about which the human mind had originally been conversant, and after the model of which all created things were¹⁰⁸ made. These intellectual forms, comprehending the true essences of things, were the only proper objects of solid and permanent science¹⁰⁹; their fluctua-

man mind, says, *ἡμῶς ἀφελόντες αὐτὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐννοίαις παρὰ ταῦτα υψέστησμεν*: "We ourselves, abstracting them in our thoughts, have, by this abstraction, given them an existence in themselves." Simp. in Præd. p. 17.

¹⁰⁶ Menon. p. 344.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Repub. l. vi.

¹⁰⁹ *Επιστήμη*, science, in opposition to *δόξα*, opinion. The material world he called *το δοξαστον*, that of which the knowledge admitted of probability only. Repub. l. v. The *ideas* of Plato, which, according to that philosopher, formed the sole objects of real and certain knowledge, were powerfully combated by his scholar and rival Aristotle. Yet the latter, who was so sharp-sighted to the faults of Plato, never accuses him of maintaining the separate and independent existence of intellectual forms. The obscure passage in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, p. 201. which has been construed into such an accusation, means nothing more, than that Socrates regarded the *τα καθ' ὅλον*, general ideas, as differing in no respect from our notions of the genera and species of things; whereas Plato made a distinction between them, asserting these ideas to have existed in the divine intellect before the creation, &c. as explained in the text. Aristotle discusses the doctrine of ideas more perspicuously in his *Ethics* to Nicomachus, l. i. c. vi. He regards them as mere fictions

ting representatives in the material world, the actions and virtues of men, the order and beauty visible in the universe, were only so far real and substantial as they corresponded to their divine archetypes¹¹⁰; but as this correspondence never became complete, the examination of the perishing objects of sense could only afford us unsteady and uncertain notions, fleeting and fugitive like themselves.¹¹¹ From these observations, Plato thought it evident, that the duty and happiness of men consisted in withdrawing themselves from the material, and approaching the intellectual world¹¹², to which their own natures were more

Of the powers of perception and intellect.

of the fancy, and the knowledge founded on them as altogether visionary. "The idea of good," he observed, "might be applied to substances, as the Deity, the mind of man; to qualities, as the virtues; to quantity, as mediocrity; to time, as the juncture or pick of time; in short, through all the categories. There is not, therefore, any one general idea of good common to all these. Were there one idea, the same in all, there could be but one science respecting it. But there are many, physic, gymnastic, the military art, &c. which all have some good in view. Things are good in themselves, or good as means to an end. But even those things which are ultimately good, as wisdom, honour, pleasure, are not comprehended under any one definition of good, though distinguished by the same epithet from some analogy or resemblance, as the understanding is called the eye of the mind. If there is any such general idea, it is surely incapable of being applied to any practical use; not, for instance, to serve as a model, otherwise the arts and sciences, all of which have some good in view, would continually have this model before them. Yet they all neglect it, and justly; for what benefit could they derive from this abstract idea? A physician, for instance, contemplates not health in that general manner, but the health of man, or rather of a particular man, who happens to be his patient; for with individuals only his art is concerned."

¹¹⁰ Parmen. p. 140.

¹¹¹ Repub. l. vii.

¹¹² Repub. p. 134. & Phæd. p. 26.

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congenial. To promote this purpose was the great aim of his philosophy. If we were deceived by the senses, he observed that we were still more fatally endangered by the passions, those flimsy sails of the mind, which are expanded and agitated by every varying gust of imagined good or ¹¹³ evil. The pains and pleasures of the body were all of a mixed kind, and nearly allied to each other. The God who arranged the world, desirous to unite and incorporate these seemingly opposite natures, had at least joined their summits; for pleasure was nothing else but a perceptible cessation of pain; and the liveliest of our bodily enjoyments were preceded by uneasiness, and followed by languor. ¹¹⁴ To illustrate the necessity of governing with a strong hand the appetites and passions, Plato compared the soul to a little republic, composed of different faculties or orders. ¹¹⁵ The judging or reasoning faculty, justly entitled to the supremacy, was seated, as in a firm citadel, in the head; the senses were its guards and servants; the various desires and affections were bound to pay it obedience.

Of the
passions.

Of these desires, which were all of them the natural subjects of the ruling faculty, Plato distinguished two orders, ever ready to rebel against their master. The first consisted of those passions which are founded in pride and resentment, or in what the schoolmen called the irascible

¹¹³ Phædrus.

¹¹⁴ Phæd. Philem. & Repub. l. ii. p. 262. et seq.

¹¹⁵ Repub. l. iv.

part of the soul ¹¹⁶; and were seated in the breast. The second consisted of those passions which are founded in the love of pleasure, or in what the schoolmen called the concupiscible ¹¹⁷ part of the soul, and were seated in the belly, and inferior parts of the body. These different orders, though commonly at variance with each other, were alike dangerous to the public interest, and unless restrained by the wisdom and authority of their sovereign, must inevitably plunge the little republic of man into the utmost disorder and ¹¹⁸ misery.

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Yet, according to Plato, both these sets of passions were, in the present state of things, necessary parts of our constitutions; and, when properly regulated, became very useful subjects. The irascible asserted our rank and dignity, defended us against injuries, and when duly informed and tempered by reason, taught us with becoming fortitude to despise dangers and death in pursuit of what is honourable and virtuous. The concupiscible provided for the support and necessities of the body; and, when reduced to such submission as to reject every gratification not approved by reason, gave rise to the virtue of temperance. Justice took place, according to Plato, when reason directed and passion obeyed, and when each passion performed its proper office, and acknowledged

Of the virtues; and wisdom the greatest virtue.

¹¹⁶ The *To θυμοειδές* of Plato.

¹¹⁷ The *To επιθυμητικόν* of Plato. Both are included under what Plato and Aristotle call the *ορεκτικόν*, the seat of the desires and passions.

¹¹⁸ Ibid. p. 254.

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due respect towards its superior. In the strength, acuteness, and perfection of the ruling faculty, consisted the virtue of prudence, the great source and principle of all other virtues, without which temperance, fortitude, and even justice itself, were nothing but empty shadows, that deluded the ignorant vulgar. In the exercise of prudence or wisdom, man resembled his Maker, and contemplated those intellectual forms, which taught him to discern with certainty the ends proper to be pursued, and the means necessary to attain them. The wise man compares the mind with the body, eternity with time, virtue with pleasure. He thus learns to despise the inferior parts of his nature, to defy its pains, to disdain its pleasures. Without attaining this true elevation of mind, he never can be virtuous or happy, since whoever depends on the body, must consider death as an evil, the fear of which can only be overcome by some greater terror; so that in him, who is not truly wise, fortitude itself must be the child of timidity.¹¹⁹ In the same manner, his pretended moderation and temperance will spring from the impure source of the opposite vices: he will deny himself some pleasures to attain others which he regards as more valuable, and will submit to small pains to avoid the greater.¹²⁰ He thus continues, through life, exchanging one trifle for another; a traffic which never can enrich him, while he rejects wisdom, the only precious merchandise.

¹¹⁹ Repub. l. vi.¹²⁰ Phædo, p. 26. et seq.

But the temple of wisdom is, according to Plato, situate on a rock, which few men have the strength to ascend.¹²¹ This difference of ability proceeds from various causes: 1. At their creation, all minds were not alike excellent and perfect.¹²² 2. They were not alike criminal during their pre-existent state.¹²³ 3. The gross bodies, which they now inhabit, are variously moulded, some being too strong, others too weak, and very few in just harmony with the divine principle by which they are animated.¹²⁴ 4. Early institution and example occasion great differences among them. Such, indeed, is the power of education and habit, that the errors and crimes of men are less chargeable on those who commit them, than on their parents, guardians, and instructors¹²⁵; and it seems hardly possible for those who have the misfortune to be born in a licentious age and country to attain wisdom and virtue. Even when the most favourable circumstances concur, the mind must still, however, have a tendency to degenerate, while united with matter.¹²⁶ The body, therefore, must be continually exercised and subdued by the gymnastic, the soul must be purified and ennobled by philosophy. Without such attention, men can neither reach the perfection of their nature, nor, when they have reached it, maintain that elevated post, from which they

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Causes of
the diver-
sity of
moral cha-
racter.

¹²¹ Repub. l. vi. p. 74.

¹²² Phædrus.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Timæus.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 484. & Repub. passim.

C H A P. look down with compassion on the errors and
 XXXII. misery of their fellow-creatures. ¹²⁷

Plato's
 sage.

Immorta-
 lity of the
 soul.

State of
 retribu-
 tion.

In the description of his imaginary sage, Plato employs the colours which were afterwards borrowed by the Stoics and Epicureans. But neither of these sects, as will appear hereafter, were so well entitled as the Platonists, to boast their philosophical happiness, and to assert their superiority to the vicissitudes of time and fortune. Plato was the first philosopher who supported the doctrine of a future state, by arguments sufficient to convince intelligent and thinking men. From the properties of mind, he inferred the simplicity and indestructibility of the substance in which they reside. ¹²⁸ He described the mental powers with an eloquence that Cicero ¹²⁹ and Buffon ¹³⁰ despair of being able to imitate. And since he regarded the soul as the principle of life and motion, he thought it absurd to suppose that the diseases and death of the body should take from this principle such qualities as it essentially possessed in itself, and accidentally communicated to matter. ¹³¹ It was his firm persuasion, that according to the employment of its rational and moral powers, the soul, after its separation from the body, would be raised to a higher, or depressed to a lower state of existence. ¹³²

¹²⁷ *Timæus*, p. 484. & *Repub.* *passim*.

¹²⁸ *Phædo*, p. 25. et seq.

¹²⁹ See *Cicer. de Offic. l. i. et passim*.

¹³⁰ Buffon sur l'Homme.

¹³¹ *Phædo*.

¹³² *Phædrus*, & *Phædo*, *passim*.

This belief, which raised his hopes to a happier and more permanent state, gave him not, however, that contempt, affected by a very different class of philosophers, for the perishing affairs¹³³ of the present world. Like some others of the scholars of Socrates, he traced the plan of a perfect commonwealth; though his work, known by that title, as has been justly observed by a writer of congenial character¹³⁴, is rather a treatise of education than a system of policy. The real republic of Plato is contained in his books of laws, in which he explains, with no less acuteness than elegance, the origin and revolutions of civil society, and traces the plan of a republic nearly resembling the Spartan model.

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His re-
public.

His practical morality, which he borrowed from Socrates, is profusely scattered through his dialogues; and, in his own times, Plato was not considered as that visionary speculatist which he has appeared to latter ages. His scholars, Aristonymus, Phormio, and Eudoxus, were successively sent by him to regulate the republics of the Arcadians, Elians, and Cnidians¹³⁵, at the earnest request of those communities. From Xenocrates, another of his disciples, Alexander desired rules for good government.¹³⁶ The fame of Aristotle fills the world; and it will afterwards appear how

Genius
and cha-
racter of
Plato.

¹³³ The Epicureans.

"Non res humanæ, perituraque regna." GRÆC.

Of this more below.

¹³⁴ Rousseau in his *Emile*.

¹³⁵ Plutarch. *advers. Colot. Epicur.*

¹³⁶ *Idem. ibid.*

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much he was indebted to a writer, whose opinions he is supposed to have combated with seeming reluctance and real satisfaction. Plato united warmth of fancy with acuteness of understanding, and is equally eminent for the power of combining images, and that of distinguishing ideas. Yet, when compared with his master Socrates, his genius will appear more subtile than sagacious. He wanted that patient spirit of observation which distinguished the illustrious sage, who, in all his reasonings, kept facts ever in his view, and at every step he made, looked back, with wary circumspection, on experience. Accompanied by this faithful guide, Socrates trod securely the path of truth and nature; but his adventurous disciple, trusting to the wings of fancy, often expatiates in imaginary worlds of his own creation.

THE END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ANCIENT GREECE,
ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

Part the First ;
FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS
TILL THE
DIVISION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE
IN THE EAST ;
INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL.D.

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ACADEM. REGIÆ SCIENC. GOTTING. CORRESP.
AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO HIS MAJESTY FOR SCOTLAND.

Εκ μὲν τογχε τῆς ἀπαντων πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθεσεως,
εἰ δὲ ὁμοιωτητος καὶ διαφορας, μόνες τις αὖ ἐφικκοτο, καὶ δυνηθειη
κατοπτευσας, ἅμα καὶ τὸ χρησιμον καὶ τὸ τερπνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας
λαβεῖν. POLYBIUS, l. i. c. v.

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THE
HISTORY
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CHAPTER XXXIII.

History of Macedon. — Reign of Archelaus. — Series of Usurpations and Revolutions. — Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians. — Distracted State of Macedon. — First Transactions of Philip. — State of Thrace and Pæonia. — Philip defeats Argæus and the Athenians. — His Treatment of the Prisoners. — His military Arrangements. — He defeats the Illyrians. — His Designs against Amphipolis. — He prevents an Alliance between Athens and Olynthus. — Amuses the Athenians. — Takes Amphipolis. — His Conquests in Thrace. — The Mines of Crenidæ. — Philip marries Olympias. — His Letter to Aristotle.

FOUR hundred and sixteen years before the Christian æra, and little more than half a century before Philip assumed the government of Macedon, that country, to a superficial observer, might have appeared scarcely distinguish-

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The king-
dom of
Macedon
founded

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by Caranus.
A. C. 314.

able from the barbarous kingdoms of Thrace, Pæonia, and Illyricum, which surrounded it on the north, east, and west. Towards the south, it was excluded from the sea by a chain of Grecian republics, of which Olynthus and Amphipolis were the most flourishing and powerful. To this inland district, originally confined to the circumference of about three hundred miles, Caranus, an Argive prince of the numerous race of Hercules, eluding the dangers which proved fatal to royalty¹ in most communities of Greece², conducted a small colony of his adventurous and warlike countrymen, and, having conquered the barbarous natives, settled in Edessa, the capital of the province then named Emathia, and afterwards Macedonia, for reasons equally unknown.³ The establishment of this little principality, which, under Philip, grew into a powerful kingdom, and, under Alexander, swelled into the most extensive empire known in the ancient world, was adorned (could we believe historic flattery) by many extraordinary circumstances, presaging its future greatness. The gods took care of the infancy of Macedon, and sent, as oracles had announced, a herd of goats to conduct Caranus to his new capital of Edessa, which thence changed its name to Ægæ, the city of goats; a fiction unworthy of record, did it not explain the reason why goats were adopted as the ensigns of Macedon, and why figures of

¹ Justin. l. vii. c. i. Velleis Paterculus, l. i. c. vi.

² See vol. i. p. 105.

³ Crophius Antiquit. Macedon.

those animals are still to be seen on the coins of Philip, and those of his successors.

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Caranus, as well as the princes Cœnus⁴ and Thyrimas, who immediately followed him, had occasion to exercise their prudence not less than their valour. Their feeble colony of Greeks might have fallen an easy prey to the unhospitable ferocity of the fierce tribes, by whom it was on all sides surrounded. But the policy of the first kings of Macedon, instead of vainly attempting to repel or to subdue, endeavoured, with more success, to gain, by good offices, the ancient inhabitants of Emathia and the neighbouring districts. They communicated to them the knowledge of many useful⁵ arts; they gave them the Grecian religion⁶ and government⁷ in that state of happy simplicity which prevailed during the heroic ages; and while, to render intercourse more easy and familiar, they adopted, in some degree, the language and manners of the barbarous natives, they in their turn imparted to the latter a tincture of the Grecian language and civility.⁸ By this judicious and liberal system, so unlike to that pursued by their countrymen in other parts of the world, the followers

Prudent conduct of its first kings the primary cause of the greatness of Macedon.

⁴ Justin ubi supra, Syncell. Chronic.

⁵ Pausanias Achaic. & Thucydid. l. ii.

⁶ Arrian. Exped. Alexand. l. iv. p. 83.

⁷ Φιλίππο μὲν παιδί, Ἡρακλείδῃ δὲ ἀπὸ γυναικός, ὅτε διὰ προγονοὶ ἐξ Ἀργεὺς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ᾤοντο, οὗτε ἐπὶ σέλλα νόμον, Μακεδόνων ἀρχόντες διετέλεσαν. Arrian, l. iv. p. 86. In another passage of the same book he says, the subjects of Macedon had more liberty than the citizens of Greece.

⁸ Demosthenes, Arrian, and Curtius.

CHAP. of Caranus gradually associated with the warlike
XXXIII. tribes in their neighbourhood, whom it would
 have been alike impossible for them to extirpate
 or to enslave; and the same generous policy,
 being embraced by their descendants, deserves
 to be regarded as the primary cause of Macedo-
 nian greatness.

Transac-
 tions of
 the Mace-
 donians
 preceding
 the reign
 of Arche-
 laus I.
 A.C. 713
 —416.

Perdiccas, the first of that name, so far eclipsed the fame of his three predecessors, that he is accounted the founder of the monarchy by Herodotus⁹ and Thucydides.¹⁰ His history has been magnified by fable, which has also obscured or distorted the actions of the five princes¹¹ that intervened between him and Alexander I. who filled the Macedonian throne when Xerxes invaded Greece.¹² Here we attain historic ground. Alexander, as related above¹³, acted an important and honourable part in the affairs of Greece and Persia, without neglecting the interest of his own kingdom, which he extended to the river Nessus on the east, and to the Axius on the west. His son, Perdiccas II., inherited the abilities of his father, without imitating his integrity. During the Peloponnesian war, the alliance of this prince formed an object of important concern to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He espoused the cause of the latter, which he regarded as his own, because the Athenians, who had occasion-

⁹ Herodot. l. viii. c. cxxxvii.

¹⁰ Thucyd. l. ii. p. 168.

¹¹ Argeaus I. Philip I. Æropus I. Alcetes, Amyntas I. Justin. l. vii. c. ii.

¹² Herodot. l. v. c. xix.

¹³ Vol. i. p. 487.

ally levied tribute on his ancestors¹⁴, were then masters of the Greek settlements along the northern coast of the Ægean, the vicinity of which naturally tempted the ambition of Perdiccas. Under the specious pretence of enabling Olynthus and the other cities of Chalcidicé to recover their independence, he lent his aid to destroy the Athenian influence there, expecting to establish the Macedonian in its stead. But this design failed of success. The Olynthian confederacy was broken, its members became subject to Sparta, and after the misfortunes of that republic had encouraged the Olynthians to resume their freedom, they felt themselves sufficiently powerful not only to resist the encroachments of Macedon, but to make considerable conquests in that country.¹⁵

Archelaus I., who succeeded to the throne, displayed an enlightened policy, far more beneficial to his kingdom than the courage of Alexander, or the craft of Perdiccas. Like those princes, Archelaus was ambitious to enlarge his dominions, (having conquered Pydna and other towns in the delightful region of Pieria¹⁶) but his main care was to cultivate and improve them. He facilitated communication among the principal cities of Macedon, by cutting straight roads through most parts of the country; he built walls and places of strength in the situations most favourable for that purpose; encouraged agriculture

The state of Macedon greatly improved by that prince.
A. C. 416
— 410.

¹⁴ Thucyd. ubi supra, et Demosthenes passim.

¹⁵ See above, vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 320. et seq.

¹⁶ Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. xvi.

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and the arts, particularly those subservient to war; formed magazines of arms; raised and disciplined a considerable body of cavalry; and, in a word, added more to the solid grandeur of Macedon than had been done by his eight predecessors collectively.¹⁷ Nor was he regardless of the arts of peace. His palace was adorned by the works of Grecian painters. Euripides was long entertained at his court; Socrates was earnestly solicited to live there after the example of this philosophic poet, formed by his precepts, and cherished by his friendship; men of merit and genius, in all the various walks of literature and science, were invited to reside in Macedon, and treated with distinguished regard by a monarch duly attentive to promote his own glory and the happiness of his subjects.¹⁸

Series of
usurp-
ations and
revolu-
tions.
A. C. 405
—360.

A reign of six years was too short a period for accomplishing the important ends which Archelaus had in view. By his death the prosperity of Macedon was interrupted for almost half a century, crowded by a succession of ten¹⁹ princes or usurp-

¹⁷ Thucydides says, "than the eight kings who preceded him," counting Perdiccas for the first. *Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδικκας υἱος, Βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ τεῖχη τῶν ὧτα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ οικοδομήσας αὐτὸν, ὅδον εὐθείας ἐποίησεν, καὶ τὰ ἅλλα διοικεσμένην τότε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἱπποῖς καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ τράλλεσσι παρασκευὴν κρείσσειν· ἡ δὲ ἑξήκοντες ἐπὶ ἀλλοῖς Βασιλεῦσι ὅκτω ἐπὶ αὐτῷ γενόμενοι.* Thucydides, p. 168.

¹⁸ Aristot. Rhetor. I. ii. c. xxix. Stobæus Sermôn. 287.

¹⁹ Their names, with the dates of their accession or usurpation are as follows:

1 Orestes,	A. C. 405	6 Argæus II.	A. C. 365
2 Æropus II.	403	Amyntas again	re-esta-
3 Archelaus II.	394	blished	383
4 Amyntas II.	392	7 Alexander II.	372
5 Pausanias,	391	8 Perdiccas III.	371
Amyntas II.	390	9 Ptolemy,	370

ers, whose history forms a perpetual series of crimes and calamities. Amidst these disorders, the sceptre still remained in the family of Hercules; but almost every prince of the blood had an ambition to reign. In order to attain their purpose, the different competitors courted the assistance of the Thracians, of the Illyrians, of the Thessalians, of the Olynthian confederacy, of Athens, of Sparta, and of Thebes; and each of those powers endeavoured to turn to their own immediate profit the dissensions in Macedon. Bardyllis, an active and daring chief, who by his abilities in acquiring, and his equity²⁰ in dividing the spoil, had risen from the condition of a private robber to the command of the Illyrian tribes, entered Macedon at the head of a numerous army, dispossessed Amyntas II. the father of Philip, and placed Argæus on the throne, who consented to become the tributary of his benefactor.²¹ The Thracians supported the title of another prince named Pausanias: but the assistance of Thessaly and Olynthus enabled Amyntas to resume the government; the Olynthians refusing, however, to surrender several places of importance which Amyntas had entrusted to their protection, or which they had conquered from his competitor, Amyntas complained to Sparta; and that republic, for reasons above²² related, declared war against

A. C. 385.

A. C. 365.

Perdiccas, A. C. 368.
Ptolemy, 367.
Perdiccas, 365.

10 Amyntas, A. C. 360.
To him Philip succeeded in the
same year.

²⁰ Cicero de Offic. l. ii.²¹ Diodor. l. xiv. c. xcii²² See vol. iii. c. xxix. p. 329.

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A. C. 380. Olynthus, and reinstated the Macedonian king in full possession of his dominions. In consequence of this event, Amyntas established, and thenceforth held his court at Pella, where he enjoyed several years of tranquillity, cultivating the friendship of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.

The
 usurper
 Pausanias.

The short reign of his son Alexander was disturbed by a fresh invasion of the Illyrians, from whom he purchased a precarious peace.²³ He left two brothers, Perdiccas and Philip, of whom the elder was still a minor. Availing himself of *their* youth and weakness, Pausanias found means to usurp the throne, being supported not only by the Thracians, but by a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, as well as by a powerful party in Macedon.

De-
 throned
 by Iphi-
 crates, at
 the en-
 treaty of
 Eurydicé.
 A. C. 370.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, happened at this critical juncture to return from Amphipolis, the recovery of which formed the main object of his expedition. In former journies to the coast of Thrace, he had been treated with distinguished regard by Amyntas, whose widow Eurydicé now craved the protection of Iphicrates for the sons of his friend. This princess was descended from the Bacchiadæ, the noblest family of Corinth, who, rather than live on an equality with their fellow-citizens in that republic, had become the leaders of the Lyncestæ, a barbarous tribe inhabiting the most western district of Macedon. Eurydicé inherited all the ambition of her race, and was distinguished by a bold intriguing spirit²⁴ still more than by her beauty

²³ Diodorus & Justin. ubi supra.

²⁴ Justin. l. vii. c. iv.

and accomplishments. With her young sons she suddenly appeared before Iphicrates, in the supplicating form of calamity and woe; presented the eldest to his hand, placed Philip, the younger, on his knee, and conjured him, by "the sincere friendship which Amyntas had ever entertained for Athens and for himself, to pity their tender years, oppressed by cruel usurpation." The dignity of her sorrow prevailed with Iphicrates, who respected the sacred ties of hospitality, and who saw the advantage that might accrue to Athens by gaining an interest in Macedon. We are not informed by what means he established Perdiccas on the throne. The revolution was effected with such rapidity²⁵, that we may suppose a sudden insurrection of the people, who, on important emergencies, were accustomed, as in the heroic ages, to assemble in arms.

During the minority of the young prince, the kingdom was governed by his natural brother Ptolemy, whose ambition, unsatisfied with a delegated power, openly aspired to reign. This usurper (as we have related above), was dethroned by Pelopidas and the Thebans, who reinstated Perdiccas in his dominions; and, in order to secure the dependence of Macedon on Thebes, carried into that city as hostages thirty Macedonian youths, and with them Philip, the younger brother of the king.

Ptolemy dethroned by Pelopidas, who sends Philip as a hostage to Thebes.
A. C. 367.

Perdiccas seemed proud of his chain. Elated with the protection of the Thebans, then in the height of their prosperity, he forgot the gratitude

Perdiccas defeated by the Illyrians.

²⁵ Cornel. Nepos, in Iphicrat. Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

CHAP. due to Iphicrates and the Athenians; disputed
XXXIII. the right of that people to Amphipolis, which had
 been acknowledged by the general council of
 Greece²⁶; and his opposition rendered fruitless
 their well-directed endeavours to recover that
 important establishment. The Athenians found
 an avenger in Bardyllis the Illyrian, to whom
 Perdiccas had denied the tribute that had been
 paid by his predecessors Argæus and Alexander.
 Bardyllis maintained his claim by force of arms.
 The Macedonians met him in the field, but were
 totally defeated with the loss of four thousand
 men.²⁷ Perdiccas was taken prisoner, and soon
 after died of his wounds. His son Amyntas was
 an infant. Thebes having lost her pre-eminence
 in Greece, was unable to protect her distant allies.
 Athens was hostile, and Macedon, surrounded
 by enemies on every side, already experienced
 the fury of Barbarian invaders.

Macedon
 distracted
 by two
 pretenders
 to the
 throne,
 and deso-
 lated by
 four
 foreign
 armies.

Not only the Illyrians and Bardyllis, who ra-
 vaged the west, but the Pæonians, a powerful
 and warlike tribe, having received some cause of
 offence from Perdiccas, now indulged their re-
 venge, and insulted the northern frontier with-
 out interruption or controul. The Thracians
 still supported the cause of Pausanias, whom they
 prepared to send back into Macedon at the head
 of a numerous army. Ptolemy was dead; but
 Argæus, the ancient competitor of king Amyntas,
 emboldened by the victory of the Illyrians, who
 had formerly placed him on the throne, renewed

²⁶ Demosth. de falsa Legat.

²⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. sect. 2.

his pretensions to that dignity ; and, grown old in intrigue, easily persuaded the Athenians, by the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, to exert themselves in his favour, especially against the son and brother of Perdiccas, by whose insolence and ingratitude they were justly provoked and disgusted. Impelled by such motives, the Athenians launched their fleet, and sailed towards the coast of Macedon, with three thousand heavy-armed men, commanded by Mantias.²⁹

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Such were the evils which threatened, and the calamities which oppressed, that unfortunate and distracted kingdom, when Philip appeared, asserting, unterrified, the rights of his infant nephew, against two candidates for the throne, and four formidable armies. A prince of less courage than Philip would have shrunk from a design seemingly desperate and impracticable ; and had courage been his principal virtue, he would have only heightened the disorders which he hoped to remedy.³⁰ But on this emergency, the young Macedonian (for he was only in his twenty-third year³¹) displayed those extraordinary abilities which distinguish his reign, and render it the most interesting spectacle that history can present to those who are delighted with surveying, not the vulgar revolutions of force and fortune, but the active energies and resources of a vigorous and comprehensive mind. Such was the obscurity in which his merit had hitherto lain

Amidst these calamities Philip arrives in Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

²⁹ Diodorus, ubi supra.

³⁰ Olivier Vie de Philippe, p. 47.

³¹ Comp. Diodor, p. 510. & Justin. l. ix. c. viii.

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His education, and transactions preceding that period.

concealed from the public, that historians ³¹ disagree as to the place of his residence, when he was informed of the defeat and death of his brother Perdiccas. From the age of fifteen he had lived chiefly in Thebes, in the family and under the direction of Epaminondas ³², whose lessons and example could not fail to excite, in a kindred mind, the emulation of excellence, and the ardour of patriotism.³³ It is probable, that, agreeably to the custom of Greece and Rome, where the youth alternately frequented the school and the camp, and might sometimes find a school of philosophy in the tent of a general, that Philip accompanied the Theban hero in many of his military expeditions. It is certain that, attended suitably to his rank, he visited the principal republics of Greece, whose institutions in peace and war he examined with a sagacity far superior to his years.³⁴ The tactics of the Lacedæmonians were the first new establishment which he introduced into Macedon. Nor was the improvement of his knowledge the only fruit of his travels. The brother of a king found an easy access to whomever he had an interest to know and cultivate. Even in Athens, then hostile to Thebes,

³¹ Diodorus places him in Thebes: Athenæus, l. ii. p. 506, in Macedon; and adds *Διατρεφὼν δὲ ἐνταῦθα δύναμιν, ὡς ἀπεβὰν Περδικκας, εἰς ἰστοίαν, δυνάμειος ὑπαρχούσης, ἐπέπεσε τοῖς πραγμάσι*. Words which admirably correspond to the rapid motions of Philip after the death of Perdiccas.

³² Plutarch. in Pelopida.

³³ Plutarch speaks with the partiality of a Bœotian for Epaminondas, and the resentment of a native of Chæronea against Philip. See Plutarch. in Pelop.

³⁴ Plutarch. in Alexand. Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

and naturally unfavourable to a pupil of Epaminondas, Philip acquired the friendship and esteem of Plato³⁵, Isocrates³⁶, and Aristotle³⁷; and the early connection which he formed with the principal leaders of Athens and the neighbouring republics, contributed, perhaps, in no small degree, to the success of his future designs.³⁸

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His seasonable appearance in Macedon, after the defeat and death of Perdiccas, suddenly changed the fortune of that seemingly devoted kingdom. Yet our admiration of Philip ought not to make us overlook the favourable circumstances which seconded his abilities, and conspired to promote his success. The places of strength built by Archelaus furnished a secure retreat to the remains of Perdiccas's army; the Macedonians, though conquered, were not subdued; they had considerable garrisons in the fortresses and walled towns scattered over the kingdom³⁹; their whole forces had not been engaged in the unfortunate battle with the Illyrians⁴⁰; and those fierce invaders, impatient of delay, and only solicitous for plunder, having ravaged the open country, returned home to enjoy the fruits of their violence and rapine. They probably intended soon to assault Macedon with increased numbers, and to complete their devast-

The Illyrians evacuated Macedon.

³⁵ Athenæus, l. xi. Ælian, l. iv. c. xix.

³⁶ Isocratis Epistolæ, & Oratio and Philipp.

³⁷ Aristotle at this time lived in the Academy with Plato, where, most probably, Philip first saw him. Dionys. Halicarnas. Epist. ad Ammæum.

³⁸ Demosthenes, *passim*.

³⁹ Thucyd. l. xi. p. 168.

⁴⁰ Athenæus, l. xi. p. 506.

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State of
Thrace
and Pæo-
nia.

ations ; but they seem to have been alike unqualified to concert or to pursue any permanent plan of conquest ; and being distinguished, as historians relate, by their blooming complexions, active vigour, and longevity⁴¹, they were not less distinguished by that irregular and capricious mode of acting, and that inattention to remote consequences, which characterise the manners of Barbarians.

The warriors of Pæonia and Thrace⁴² were less formidable by their numbers, and equally contemptible for their ignorance and indocility. In early times, the Pæonians indeed had been regarded as a tribe less savage, and more considerable⁴³ than their Macedonian neighbours ; but the former had remained stationary, in the rudeness of their primitive state, while the latter had been improved by a Grecian colony, and by frequent communication and intercourse with the Grecian republics. Of the Thracians we have had occasion to speak in the preceding parts of this work. The destructive ravages of Seuthes⁴⁴ represent the ordinary condition of that unsettled and inhospitable country, sometimes united under one chief, more frequently divided among many, whose mutual hostilities banished agriculture, industry, and every useful art. Exclusive of the Grecian settlements on the coast, Thrace contained not any city, nor even any considerable town. The

⁴¹ Lucian in Macrobbis, & Cornel. Alexand. apud Plinium, lib. vii. cap. clvii.

⁴² Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrat. Xenoph. Anab. l. vii. p. 393.

⁴³ Hippocrat. de Epidem.

⁴⁴ See vol. iii. p. 235. et seq.

Barbarian Cotys, who was dignified with the title of king, led a wandering life, encamping on the banks of rivers with his flocks and followers. " War and pasturage formed the only sources of his grandeur, and even the only means of his subsistence.

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Such were the first enemies with whom Philip had to contend. Their own capricious unsteadiness delivered him from the Illyrians. To the Pæonians, who ravaged the north, he either sent a deputation or applied in person; and partly by bribes, partly by artful promises and flattery, persuaded the invaders to retire. The same arts prevailed with the selfish king of Thrace⁴⁵, whose avarice readily sacrificed the cause of Pausanias, while Philip thought the remaining wealth of Macedon usefully consumed in removing those barbarous foes, that he might resist, with undivided strength, the more formidable invasion of Argæus and the Athenians.

Philip disarms the resentment of those countries.

The Athenian fleet already anchored before the harbour of Methoné; Argæus, with his numerous followers, had encamped in the province of Pieria; and their united forces prepared to march northward to Edessa, or Ægæ, the ancient capital of Macedon, where they expected to be joined by a powerful party, whom fear or inclination would bring to the standard of the banished king. The Macedonians who adhered to the

Philip declared king of Macedon. Olymp. cv. 1. A. C. 360.

⁴⁵ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 331.

⁴⁶ Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. sect. 3. Horace alludes to these events :

——— diffidit urbium

Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos

Reges muneribus.

Lib. iii. Ode 16.

CHAP. to the interest of Perdiccas, or rather of his in-
 XXXIII. fant son, had been dispirited by the recent victory
 of the Illyrians, and the misfortunes consequent
 on that event. But the manly exhortations, and
 undaunted deportment of Philip, roused them
 from their despair. They admired the dexterity
 with which he had disarmed the resentment of
 the Thracians and Pæonians. His graceful per-
 son, insinuating address, and winning affability,
 qualities which he possessed in a very uncommon
 degree⁴⁷, gained the affection of the Macedonians,
 who either recollected, or were studiously re-
 minded of a prophecy⁴⁸, that announced great
 glory to their nation under the reign of the son
 of Amyntas. In an assembly held at Ægæ, they
 exclaimed with one consent, "This is the man
 whom the gods point out as the founder of the
 Macedonian greatness. The dangerous condi-
 tion of the times admits not of an infant reign.
 Let us obey the celestial voice, and entrust the
 sceptre to hands alike worthy to hold and
 able to defend it."⁴⁹ This proposal seemed
 not extraordinary in a country which had
 long been accustomed to interruption in the
 lineal order of succession. Amyntas was set
 aside, and Philip, who had hitherto possessed

⁴⁷ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

⁴⁸ In the Sibylline verses preserved by Pausanias (in Achaic.) Philip is named as the author of the Macedonian greatness, and the destruction of the kingdom is foretold under another Philip. These verses, though evidently composed after the event, serve to confirm the facts, that the superstition of the multitude was wrought upon for the purposes of Philip. Justin. l. vii. c. vi.

⁴⁹ Ibid. idem.

only the delegated power of regent was invested with the royal title and authority.⁵⁰

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While all ranks of men were thus animated with affectionate admiration of their young king, the obsolete claims of Argæus could only be maintained by arms. Attended by his Athenian allies, he marched towards Edessa; but that strong-hold shut its gates against him. Dispirited by this repulse, he made no farther attempts to gain admission into any of the Macedonian cities, but directed his course backward to Methoné. Philip, who had now collected sufficient strength to take the field, harassed his retreat, cut his rear to pieces, and defeated him in a general engagement, in which Argæus himself fell, with the flower of his army. The rest, whether Greeks or Barbarians, were made prisoners of war.⁵¹

He defeats the pretender Argæus, and his Athenian auxiliaries.

It was on this occasion that Philip first displayed that deep and artful policy, which, in the course of a long reign, gained him such a powerful ascendant over the passions of other men, and enabled him uniformly to govern his own by the interest of his ambition. In the midst of prosperity, his proud and lofty spirit must have been highly provoked by the Athenians, as well as by the followers of Argæus: and the barbarous maxims and practices which prevailed in that age, left him at full liberty to wreak his vengeance on the unhappy prisoners of both, who had fallen into his hands. But the interest

Uncommon treatment of the Athenian and Macedonian prisoners.

⁵⁰ Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 3.

⁵¹ Diodorus, *ibid.* & Demosth. in Aristocrat.

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of Philip required him rather to soothe than to irritate the people of Athens, and to obtain by good offices (what he could not command by force) the confidence of his Macedonian subjects. The captives of the latter nation were called into his presence, rebuked with gentleness and humanity, admitted to swear allegiance to their new master, and promiscuously distributed in the body of his army. The Athenian prisoners were treated in a manner still more extraordinary.⁵³ Instead of demanding any ransom for their persons, he restored their baggage unexamined, and entertained them at his table with such condescending hospitality, that they returned home, full of admiration for the young king, and deeply persuaded of his attachment and respect for their republic.⁵⁴

Philip
amuses the
Athenians
with a
treaty of
peace and
friendship.
Olymp.
cv. 2.
A. C. 359.

They had only time to blaze forth the praises of Philip, when his ambassadors arrived at Athens.⁵⁴ He knew that the loss of Amphipolis principally excited the resentment of the Athenians: he knew that the interest of Macedonia required that resentment to be appeased. Impressed with these ideas, he renounced all jurisdiction over Amphipolis, which was formally

⁵³ The fair side of Philip's character is described by Diodor. l. xvi. p. 510, et seq. and 539. By Just. l. ix. c. viii. The most disadvantageous description of him is given by Demosthenes, *passim*, and by Theopompus in Athenæus, l. iv. c. xix. l. vi. c. xvii. & l. x. c. x. Cicero seems to have totally disregarded the angry assertions of Demosthenes, when, in speaking of Philip and Alexander, he says, *"Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus."* But the artificial character of Philip, which varied with his interest, merits neither the panegyrics nor the invectives too liberally bestowed on it.

⁵⁴ Demosthenes in Aristocrat.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

declared a free and independent city, subject only to the government of its own equitable laws.⁵⁵ This measure, together with the distinguished treatment of the Athenian prisoners, insured success to his embassy. An ancient treaty was renewed, that had long subsisted between his father Amyntas and the Athenians. That capricious and unsteady people, not less susceptible of gratitude than prone to anger were thus lulled into repose, at a time when fortune having placed them at the head of Greece, both their present power and ancient glory urged them to take the front of the battle against Philip. Confiding in the insidious treaty with that prince, they engaged in a ruinous war with their allies⁵⁶; and ceased, during several years, to make any opposition to the ambitious designs of the Macedonian.

The young king having given such illustrious proofs of his abilities in negotiation and war, availed himself of the affectionate admiration of his subjects to establish, during a season of tranquillity, such institutions as might maintain and extend his own power, and confirm the solid grandeur of Macedon. The laws and maxims which prevailed in the heroic ages, and which, as we have already observed, had been early introduced into that kingdom, circumscribed the royal authority within very narrow bounds. The chiefs and nobles, especially in the more remote provinces, regarded themselves as the rivals and equals of their sovereign. In foreign war they

Philip institutes the order of *Βερεται*, spearmen, companions. Olymp. cv. 2. A. C. 359.

⁵⁵ Polyæn. Strateg. l. iv. c. 17.

⁵⁶ See vol. iii. c. xxxii.

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followed his standard, but they often shook his throne by domestic sedition; and, amidst the scanty materials for explaining the internal state of Macedon in ancient times, we may discover several instances in which they disavowed their allegiance, and assumed independent government over considerable districts of the country.⁵⁷ The moment of glory and success seemed the most favourable for extinguishing this dangerous spirit, and quashing the proud hopes of the nobles. In this design Philip proceeded with that artful policy which characterises his reign. From the bravest of the Macedonian youth, he selected a choice body of *companions*⁵⁸, who, being distinguished by honourable appellations, and entertained at the royal table, attended the king's person in war and in hunting. Their intimacy with the sovereign, which was regarded as a proof of their merit, obliged them to superior diligence in all the severe duties of a military life.⁵⁹ The generous youths, animated with the hope of glory, vied with each other to gain admission into this distinguished order; and while, on one hand, they served as hostages⁶⁰ for the allegiance of their families, they formed on the other, an useful seminary of future generals⁶¹, who, after conquering for Philip and Alexander,

⁵⁷ Strabo. l. vii. p. 326. Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. v.

⁵⁸ Arrian, & Ælian.

⁵⁹ Ælian, l. xiv. c. 49.

⁶⁰ Arrian says, "των εν τελει Μακεδωνων τας παιδας," "the sons of men in office;" which well agrees with the idea of their being hostages for the fidelity of their parents. He also ascribes the institution to Philip. Εκ φιλιππου ηδη καθιερωτες. Arrian, l. iv. p. 89.

⁶¹ Curtius, l. viii. c. 6.

at length conquered for themselves, and divided the spoils of the ancient world.

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It is ignorantly said by some writers⁶², that Philip, in the first year of his reign, invented the phalanx, a body of six thousand men, carrying short swords, fit either for cutting or thrusting; strong bucklers, four feet in length, and two and a half in breadth; and pikes fourteen cubits long, which heavy-armed brigade, usually arranged sixteen deep, formed the main battle of the Macedonians. But this is nothing different from the armour and arrangement which had always prevailed among the Greeks, and which Philip adopted in their most perfect form; nor is there reason to think that a prince, who knew the danger of changing what the experience of ages had approved, made any alteration in the weapons or tactics of that people.⁶³ His attention was more judiciously directed to procure, in sufficient abundance, arms, horses, and other necessary instruments of war; in reviewing and

His mili-
tary ar-
range-
ments.

⁶² Diodorus Siculus, l. xvi. s. 3. and all the Roman writers of Greek history. It was natural for the Romans, who began to know Greece and Macedon almost at the same time, and who found the phalanx most complete in the latter, to suppose it invented in that country.

⁶³ The improvement in the countermarch, to which Philip gave the appearance of advancing, instead of retreating, mentioned by Ælian in his tactics, c. xxviii. was borrowed, as this author tells us, from the Lacedæmonians. If Philip increased the phalanx, usually less numerous, to six thousand men, this was far from an improvement; and the latter kings of Macedon, who swelled it to sixteen thousand, only rendered that order of battle more unwieldy and inconvenient: The highest perfection of Grecian tactics is to be found in Xenophon's expedition. See vol. iii. c. xxvi. p. 208. et seq. See also Polyb. l. xvii. p. 764. & Liv. l. xlii. c. 40.

CHAP. exercising his troops ; and in accustoming them
XXXIII. to that austere and laborious life ⁴, which is the
 best preparation for the field.

Conquers
 Pæonia.
 Olymp.
 cv. 3.
 A. C. 358.

The military resources which his activity had provided, his ambition did not allow to remain long unemployed. The death of Agis, the most warlike chieftain, or, as he is called by an historian ⁶, king of the Pæonians, drew Philip into the field, to revenge recent injuries which those Barbarians had inflicted on Macedon. Among a people where the laws of peace or war are neglected or unknown, almost every thing depends on the precarious character of their leaders. Deprived of the valour of Agis, the Pæonians lost all hopes of defence. Philip over-ran their country without resistance ; carried off slaves and plunder ; imposed a tribute on their chiefs ; received hostages ; and reduced Pæonia to an absolute dependence on Macedon.

Defeats
 the Illyri-
 ans and ex-
 tends his
 territory to
 the Ionian
 sea.

It is probable that, according to the practice of the age, he permitted or required a certain number of the vanquished to follow his standard ; for the Pæonians were no sooner reduced, than Philip, to whom all seasons seemed alike proper for war, undertook a winter's campaign against Bardyllis and the Illyrians, the hereditary enemies of his family and kingdom. He marched towards the frontier of Illyria ⁶ at the head of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse, and, before entering

⁴ Polyænus, l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Strat. l. iv. c. 1.

⁵ Diodorus, l. xvi. sect. 4.

⁶ The Greek name of this country is *Ιλλυρίς*, but more commonly *Ιλλυριοί*, from its inhabitants. Vid. Arrian, l. i. passim. The Latin

the country, animated the resentment and valour of his troops by a military oration, after the custom of the Greeks, whose manners he seemed, on every occasion, ambitious to imitate. Indignation of past injuries, the honour of his subjects, and the glory of his crown, might be topics proper to influence the Macedonian soldiers⁶⁷, who could not fully enter into the more refined motives of their sovereign. Illyria had been extended on the east, to the prejudice of Macedon, which it totally excluded from the excellent harbours on the Hadriatic.⁶⁸ This was an important consideration to a prince who seems to have early meditated the design of raising a naval power. Besides this, it was impossible for Philip to undertake with safety the other measures which he had in view, should he leave his kingdom exposed to the predatory incursions of a neighbouring enemy, who, unless they feared Macedon, must always be formidable to that country. Directed by such solid principles of policy, rather than governed by resentment, or allured by the splendour of victory, Philip pro-

name is *Illyricum*; most English writers of ancient history use *Illyria*, probably from the French *Illyrie*. The Greek *Ιλλυρίς* is described by Strabo, l. vii. p. 317. It comprehended the eastern shore of the Hadriatic, between Epirus and Istria. The Latin *Illyricum* had a signification far more extensive. Appian. *Illyric. sub. init.* & Gibbon's *History*, vol. i. p. 27.

⁶⁷ The heads of the speech are given, indirectly, in the fragments of Theopompus.

⁶⁸ Strabo says ἀρρωστὰ τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν (scilicet ἡμῶν) σφοδρὰ εὐδαίμων αὖτις; and adds, that the shore of Illyria is as abundant, as the opposite coast of Italy is defective in good harbours. Strabo, l. vii.

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ceeded forward, with the caution necessary to be observed in an hostile territory. After a fruitless negociation, Bardyllis met him in the field with an adequate body of infantry, but with only four hundred horse. The precise scene of the engagement is unknown. The Macedonian phalanx attacked the Illyrian column⁶⁶ in front, while the targeteers and light-armed troops galled its flank, and the cavalry harassed its rear. The Illyrians, thus surrounded on every side, were crushed between opposite assaults, without having an opportunity to exert their full strength.⁶⁷ Their resistance, however, must have been vigorous, since seven thousand were left on the field of battle, and with them their gallant leader Bardyllis, who fell, at the age of ninety, fighting bravely on horseback. The loss of their experienced chief, and of the flower of their youthful warriors, broke the strength and courage of the Illyrian tribes, who sent a deputation to Philip, humbly craving peace, and submitting their fortune to the will of the conqueror. Philip granted them the same terms⁷¹ which he

⁶⁶ The Illyrians were drawn up in the order of battle called *πλωθιον* from *πλωθος*, a brick; which clearly points out its form.

⁷⁰ Frontinus Stratag. l. ii. c. 3.

⁷¹ It should seem from Diodorus, that the Illyrians had entertained the same superstitious terror of neglecting the interment of the dead, which prevailed among the Greeks. Yet Diodorus, perhaps, only used a privilege too common among historians, of transferring their own feelings to those concerning whom they write. He says, that Philip "restored their dead, and erected a trophy." Pausanias (in *Bœotic*.) denies that either Philip or his son Alexander ever erected any of those monuments of victory; which practice, he says, was contrary to a Macedonian maxim, established as early as the time of

had lately imposed on the Pæonians. *That* part of Illyria which lies east of the lake Lychnidus, he joined to Macedon; and probably built a town and settled a colony on the side of the lake, which watered a fertile country, and abounded in different kinds of fishes, highly esteemed by the ancients. The town and lake of Lychnidus were fifty miles distant from the Ionian sea; but such was the ascendant that the arms and policy of Philip acquired over his neighbours, that the inhabitants of the intermediate district soon adopted the language and manners of their conquerors; and their territory, hitherto unconnected with any foreign power, sank into such an absolute dependence on Macedon, that many ancient geographers considered it as a province of that country.⁷²

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Having settled the affairs of Illyria, Philip returned home, not to enjoy the sweets of victory and repose, but to pursue more important and more arduous designs than those which he had hitherto carried on with such signal success. He had secured and extended the northern and western frontier of Macedon; but the rich southern shores, chiefly inhabited by Greeks, presented at once a more tempting prize, and a more formidable enemy. The confederacy of Olynthus, having thrown off

Philip's
designs
against
Amphi-
polis.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

Caranus, when a lion having overturned one of his trophies, the wise founder of the monarchy regarded this event as a warning to forbear raising them in future. But the medals of Philip and Alexander, of which the reverse is sometimes charged with trophies, refute the assertion of Pausanias; which is likewise contradicted by Arrian, Curtius, and all the writers of the life, or expedition, of Alexander.

⁷² Strabo, l. vii. p. 327.

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the yoke of Sparta, had become more powerful than ever. It could send into the field ten thousand heavy-armed men, and a large body of well-disciplined cavalry. Most towns of the Chalcidicé had become its allies or subjects; and this populous and wealthy province, together with Pangæus on the right, and Pieria on the left, the cities of both which were either independent, or subject to the Athenians, formed a barrier sufficient not only to guard the Grecian states against Macedon, but even to threaten the safety of that kingdom. Every motive concurred to direct the active policy of Philip towards acquisitions immediately necessary in themselves, and essential to the completion of his remote purposes. In the course of twenty years, he accomplished his designs, and conquered Greece; often varying his means, never changing his end; and notwithstanding the circumstances and events that continually thwarted his ambition, we behold the opening and gradual progress of a vast plan, every step in which paved the way for that which followed, till the whole ended in the most signal triumph, perhaps, ever attained by human prudence, over courage and fortune.

Importance of that place.

The importance of Olynthus and Chalcidicé could not divert the sagacity of Philip from Amphipolis, which he regarded as a more necessary, though less splendid, conquest. The possession of Amphipolis, which would connect Macedon with the sea, and secure to that kingdom many commercial advantages, opened a road to the woods and mines of mount Pangæus, the former

of which was so essential to the raising of a naval power, and the latter to the forming and keeping on foot a sufficient military force. The place itself, Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had declared independent, to avoid a rupture with the Athenians, who still asserted their pretensions to an ancient and long favoured colony. But their measures to regain Amphipolis had hitherto been rendered ineffectual by the caprice or perfidy of Charidemus, a native of Eubœa, who, from the common level of a soldier of fortune, had risen to the command of a considerable body of mercenaries, frequently employed by the indolence and licentiousness of the Athenians, a people extremely averse both to the fatigue and restraint of personal service. They determined, however, to renew their attempts for recovering their dominion, while the Amphipolitans, having tasted the sweets of liberty, prepared to maintain their independence.

In this posture of affairs, the hostile designs of Philip, which all his artifice had not been able to conceal from the suspicious jealousy of the new republic, alarmed the magistrates of Amphipolis, and obliged them to seek protection from the Olynthians, who readily admitted them into their confederacy. Emboldened by this alliance, they set at defiance the menaces of their neighbouring, as well as of their more distant enemy; and their imprudent insolence readily furnished Philip with specious grounds of hostility. The Olynthians perceived that the indignation of this prince must soon break forth into action, and overwhelm

Amphipolis enters into the Olynthian confederacy.

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The intrigues of Philip prevent an alliance between Athens and Olynthus.

the Amphipolitans; while they themselves might be involved in the ruin of their new confederate. To anticipate this danger, they sent ambassadors to Athens, requesting an alliance with that republic against the natural enemy of both states, and an enemy whose successful activity rendered him a just object of terror.

This alliance, had it taken place, must have given a fatal blow to the rising greatness of Macedon, which as yet was incapable of contending with the united strength of Olynthus and Athens. The spies and emissaries of Philip (for he had already begun to employ those odious, but necessary, instruments of policy) immediately gave the alarm. The prince himself was deeply sensible of the danger, and determined to repel it with equal vigour and celerity. His agents reached Athens before any thing was concluded with the Olynthian deputies. The popular leaders and orators were bribed and gained; the magistrates and senate were flattered and deceived by the most plausible declarations and promises. A negotiation was immediately set on foot, by which Philip stipulated to conquer Amphipolis for the Athenians, on condition that they surrendered to him Pydna, a place of far less importance. He promised, besides, to confer many other advantages on the republic, which it was not proper at present to mention, but which time would reveal.⁷³ Amused by the arti-

⁷³ Καὶ το θρυλλομενον ποτε απορητων εκεινο. Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6. edit. Wolfii. It is strange that Wolfius has changed the order of the Olynthian orations, so distinctly marked by Dion. Halicarn. in his letter to Ammæus.

fices of the Macedonian, deceived by the perfidy of their own magistrates, and elated with the hopes of recovering Amphipolis, the great object of their ambition, the senate of the Five Hundred (for the transaction was carried on with such haste as allowed not time for assembling the people) rejected with disdain the overtures of the Olynthians⁷⁴, who returned home disgusted and indignant.

They had scarcely time to communicate to their countrymen the angry passions which agitated their own breasts, when the ambassadors of Philip craved audience in the assembly of Olynthus. That artful prince affected to condole with the Olynthians on the affront which they had received from the insolence of Athens; but, at the same time, testified his surprise, that they should condescend to court the distant protection of that proud republic, when they might find in Macedon an ally near at hand, who wished for nothing more earnestly than to enter into equal and lasting engagements with their confederacy. As a proof of his moderation and sincerity, he offered immediately to put them in possession of Anthemus, a town of some importance in their neighbourhood, the jurisdiction of which had long been claimed by the kings of Macedon⁷⁵; also in strong terms assuring them of his intentions to deserve their gratitude by still more important services, and particularly by employing his arms to

Artifices
by which
he gained
the Olyn-
thians.

⁷⁴ Demosthenes expresses it in the strongest terms; as if they had driven the Olynthians from Athens, *ὅτε Ολυνθίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθῆναις ἐκδιώκεν.* Demosthen. Olynth. i. p. 6

⁷⁵ Demosthen. Philip. ii. 4.

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reduce the cities of Pydna and Potidæa, commanding the opposite sides of the Thermaic gulph; places, therefore, of considerable value, which he wished to see dependent on Olynthus, rather than, as at present, subject to Athens.

Philip be-
siegues Am-
phipolis.
Olymp.
ev. 4.
A. C. 357.

The immediate offers of Philip, his professions and promises, in which, as they suited his interest, he doubtless was sincere, and still more, his secret practices with some powerful men of Olynthus, effectually prevailed with that republic to abandon the cause of Amphipolis, whose imprudent inhabitants had been at little pains to prevent those offences and complaints which naturally arise between the jealous members of an unequal confederacy. By these intrigues, the Macedonian not only removed all opposition to his views, on the part of the Olynthians, but acquired the sincere friendship of that people, who were ready to reinforce his arms, and to second his most ambitious designs. He therefore prepared for action, because he might now act with safety; marched rapidly towards Amphipolis, and pressed that city with a vigorous siege. The inhabitants, deeply affected by the near prospect of a calamity which they had taken little care to prevent, had recourse, in their distress, to Athens. Thither they dispatched Hierax and Stratocles, two of their most distinguished citizens, to represent the danger of alliance between Philip and Olynthus; to intreat the Athenians to accept the sincere repentance of their unfortunate colony, and once more to take Amphipolis under the protection of their fleet.

At that time the Athenians were deeply engaged in the social war; yet the hopes of recovering so important a settlement might have directed their attention to Macedon, had not the vigilant policy of Philip sent them a letter, renewing the assurances of his friendship, acknowledging their pretensions to the city, which he actually besieged, and of which he artfully said, that, in terms of his recent engagement, he hoped shortly to put them in possession. Amused by these insinuating representations, the Athenians treated the deputies of Amphipolis with as little respect as they had lately done those of Olynthus. The besieged city was thus deprived of all hopes of relief; Philip pressed the attack with new vigour; a breach was made in the walls; and the Amphipolitans, after an obstinacy of defence which could have no other effect than to provoke the resentment of the conqueror, at length surrendered at discretion.⁷⁶

The prudent Macedonian always preferred his own profit to the punishment of his enemies. It was his interest to preserve and to aggrandise, not to depopulate, Amphipolis. He banished a few daring leaders, whose seditious or patriotic spirit might disturb the measures of his government. The bulk of the citizens were treated with mildness. Their commonwealth was incorporated with Macedon, from which Philip resolved that it should never be dismembered, notwithstanding his recent promises to the Athenians.

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Amuses
the Athe-
nians.

Amphi-
polis sur-
renders.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

Is annexed
to Mace-
don.

⁷⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. Demosthen. Olynth. iii. sect. 4—7.

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Philip puts
the Olyn-
thians in
possession
of Pydna
and Poti-
dæa.

That he might arm himself against the resentment of a people, whom, if he could not deceive, he was determined to defy, he cultivated, with great earnestness, the Olynthian confederacy; and having besieged and taken the towns of Pydna and Potidæa, he readily ceded them to the Olynthians, who had but feebly assisted him in making these conquests. In the whole transaction Philip affected to act merely as an auxiliary. The Athenian garrison in Potidæa, who had surrendered themselves prisoners of war, he took under his immediate protection, and dismissed them without ransom, artfully lamenting that the necessity of his affairs, and his alliance with Olynthus, obliged him to oppose the interests of their republic, for which he entertained the most sincere respect.⁷⁷

Philip pur-
sues his
conquests
in Thrace.

It is impossible that the Athenians, weak and credulous as they were, should have been the dupes of this gross artifice. But they could not immediately withdraw their exertions from the social war, the events of which grew continually more unprosperous. Philip, ever vigilant and active, profited of this favourable diversion, to pursue his conquests in Thrace, to which the possession of Amphipolis afforded him an opening. In the beginning of his reign, he had found it necessary to purchase a peace from Cotys, who still governed that country, but from whom Philip could not actually apprehend any formidable opposition. The late acquaintance of that Barbarian with the Grecian

⁷⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. c. viii. & Demosth. Philip. ii. & Olynth. i.

religion and manners, which he had adopted in consequence of his connection with Iphicrates and the Athenians, served only to deprave his faculties and to cloud his reason. We should pronounce absolutely mad, the man who fancied himself enamoured of Minerva; but the ancients, who believed that the gods often appeared in a human form, regarded with more tenderness this frantic enthusiasm. Cotys was allowed to possess his freedom and his crown, whether, with his ambulatory court, he traversed the inhospitable mountains of Thrace, or pitched his tents on the fragrant banks of the Strymon or the Nessus; or to enjoy with more privacy the favours of his celestial mistress, penetrated into the deep recesses of the beautiful forests which adorned the central division of his kingdom.

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At the approach of the Macedonians, having abandoned the grove of Onocarsis, the favourite scene of his wild pursuits and romantic enjoyments⁷⁸, he endeavoured to stop the progress of the enemy by a letter; but a letter from such a man was calculated to excite only ridicule or pity. Philip penetrated eastward thirty miles beyond Amphipolis, to the town of Crenidæ, situated at the foot of mount Pangæus. He admired the solitary beauty of the surrounding district, which being bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by lofty mountains, was watered by many streams and rivulets, which, tempering the dryness of the soil, pro-

Takes possession of the gold mines at Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi. Olymp. cv. 4. A. C. 557.

⁷⁸ Theopomp. apud Athenæum, l. xii. p. 551.

CHAP. duced the finest and most delicious fruit, and
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 fragrance. But the attention of Philip was
 attracted by objects more important, the rich
 mines of gold in that neighbourhood, formerly
 wrought by colonies from Thasos and from
 Athens, but totally neglected since the ignorant
 Thracians had become masters of Crenidæ.
 Philip expelled those Barbarians from a posses-
 sion which they seemed unworthy to hold. Hav-
 ing descended into the gold-mines, he traced,
 by the help of torches, the decayed labours of
 the ancient proprietors. By his care the water
 was drained off; the canals, broken or choaked
 up, were repaired; and the bosom of the earth
 was again opened and ransacked⁷⁹ with eager
 avidity by a prince who well knew the value of
 the precious metals. A Macedonian colony was
 planted at Crenidæ, which thenceforth assumed
 the name of Philippi⁸⁰, a name bestowed also on
 the golden coins struck by order of Philip⁸¹, to
 the annual amount of nearly a thousand talents,
 or two hundred thousand pounds sterling.⁸²

Philip
 settles the

Having effected the main purpose of his Thra-

⁷⁹ Senec. Natur. Quæst. l. v. p. 760. & Demosthen. in Leptin.

⁸⁰ The fatal defeat and death of Brutus and Cassius have eclipsed, in their melancholy splendour, all the preceding events which distinguish Philippi. There liberty expired, and virtue yielded to force.

Cum fracta virtus, & minaces

Turpe solum tetigere mento.

HORACE.

⁸¹ Regale numisma Philippos.

⁸² Diodor. l. xvi. c. 9. Justin. l. viii. c. 3. speaks differently; but the whole of that chapter bears evident marks of ignorance and error.

cian expedition, the prudence of Philip set bounds to his conquests in that country, and carried his arms into Thessaly, which, by the murder of Alexander of Pheræ, had got three tyrants instead of one. These were, Tissiphonus, Pitholaus, and Lycophron, the brothers-in-law, the assassins, and the successors of Alexander. The resentment of the Thessalians, and the valour of the Macedonian troops, totally defeated those oppressors of their country, who were reduced to such humiliating terms as seemed sufficient to prevent them from being thenceforth formidable either to their own subjects or their⁸³ neighbours. The Thessalians, who were susceptible of all impressions, but incapable of preserving any, concluded, in the first emotions of their gratitude, an agreement with their deliverer, by which they surrendered to him the revenues arising from their fairs and towns of commerce, as well as all the conveniences of their harbours and shipping; and, extraordinary as this cession was, Philip found means to render it effectual and permanent.⁸⁴

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affairs of
Thessaly.

Advantages which
he derived
from that
country.

He immediately contracted an alliance with Arybbas, King of Epirus, a small principality which skirted the western frontier of Thessaly. In his excursions from Thebes, Philip had early seen Olympias, sister to that prince, whose wit and spirit, joined to the lively graces of her youth and beauty, had made a deep impression

Philip
marries
Olympias.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

⁸³ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 14. & Plut. in Pelopid.

⁸⁴ Demosth. Philip. l. x. Polyæn. Stratag. l. iv. c. 19.

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on his heart. They were initiated, at the same time, in the mysteries of Ceres, during the triennial festival in the isle of Samothrace, which had been long as much distinguished as ⁸⁵ Eleusis itself, by the peculiar worship and protection of this bountiful goddess. But the active ambition, which employed and engrossed the first years of Philip's reign, should seem to have banished every other passion, when his expedition into Thessaly recalled the image of Olym-pias. Their first interview naturally revived his admiration or love; and, as the kings of Epirus were lineally descended from Achilles, the match appeared every way suitable; Arybbas readily yielded his consent, and the beautiful princess was conducted into Macedon. ⁸⁶

During the solemnities of his nuptials, the neighbouring princes take arms.

The nuptials of Philip were solemnised at Pella with unusual pomp and splendour. Several months were destined to religious shows and processions, to gymnastic games and exercises, to musical and dramatic entertainments. The young and fortunate prince naturally took a principal share in all these scenes of festivity; and it is probable that, amidst the more elegant amusements of his court, Philip might discover that strong propensity to vicious indulgence, that delight in buffoons and flatterers, and other disgraceful ministers of his more criminal pleasures, which, however counteracted and balanced by his ambition and magnanimity, disgraced and tarnished the succeeding glories of his reign.

⁸⁵ See vol. iii. c. 21. p. 46.

⁸⁶ Justin, l. vii. c. 6.

It is certain that the voluptuous inactivity in which he seemed sunk, encouraged the hopes of his enemies.⁸⁷ The tributary princes of Pæonia and Illyria prepared to rebel; the King of Thrace concurred in their designs, which were concerted with more caution than is usual with Barbarians; and this general conspiracy of neighbouring states might have repressed, for a while, the fortune of Macedon, if Philip had not been seasonably informed of the danger by his faithful partisans and emissaries in those countries.

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Early in the ensuing spring he took the field with the flower of the Macedonian troops. Parmenio, the general in whom he had most confidence, crushed the rebellion in Illyria. Philip was equally successful in Pæonia and Thrace. While he returned from the latter, he was informed of the victory of Parmenio. A second messenger acquainted him that his horses had gained the prize in the chariot-races at the Olympic games; a victory which he regarded as far more honourable, and which, as it proved him a legitimate son of Greece, he carefully commemorated, by impressing a chariot on his coins. Almost at the same time a third messenger arrived to tell him that Olympias had brought forth a prince at Pella; to whom, as born amidst such auspicious circumstances, the diviners announced a life of boundless prosperity.⁸⁸

Philip
quashes
their con-
spiracy.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
A. C. 356.

Such a rapid tide of good fortune did not

Philip's
letter to

⁸⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 22.

⁸⁸ Plut. in Alexand.

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Aristotle,
announc-
ing the
birth of
Alexander.

overset the wisdom of Philip, if we may judge by the first authentic transaction which immediately followed those events. This was the correspondence with Aristotle the philosopher, whose merit Philip had early discerned at Athens, while the young Stagirite still resided with his master Plato. The first letter (fortunately preserved) is written with a brevity which marks the King and the man of genius. "Know that a son is born to us. We thank the gods, not so much for their gift, as for bestowing it at a time when Aristotle lives. We assure ourselves that you will form him a prince worthy of his father, and worthy of Macedon." Aristotle commenced this illustrious employment about thirteen years afterwards*, when the opening mind of Alexander might be supposed capable of receiving the benefit of his instructions. The success of his labours will be explained in the sequel. The

* The chronology appears from Dionysius of Halicarnassus's letter to Ammæus, who, in order to prove that Demosthenes had attained the highest perfection in the practice, before Aristotle had delivered the theory, of eloquence, marks, with great exactness, the principal events in the lives of the philosopher and orator. Aristotle, a native of Stagira, came to Athens in his eighteenth year, 367 A. C. There he continued twenty years, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, who died 348 A. C. Aristotle left Athens on the death of his master, and spent three years at Atarneus, and two at Mytelené. From thence he went to Macedon, in the forty-third year of his age, and 343 years A. C. He was employed eight years in the education of Alexander. He returned to Athens 335 A. C., taught twelve years in the Lycæum, and died the year following at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander. Dionysius ad Ammæum. He reckons by the Archons of Athens; I have substituted the years before Christ.

fortune of Alexander surpassed that of all other conquerors as much as his virtues surpassed his fortune. Yet the fame of the philosopher abundantly repays the honour reflected on him by his royal pupil, since sixteen centuries after the subversion of Alexander's empire, the writings of Aristotle still maintained an unexampled ascendant over the opinions, and even over the actions of men.

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Philip's Prosperity. — Imprudent Measures of the Amphictyonic Council. — The Phocian, or Sacred War. — Philomelus seizes the Temple of Delphi. — Takes the Field against the Thebans and their Allies. — Defeat and Death of Philomelus. — Affairs of Thrace, Macedon, and Attica. — Onomarchus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Encounters Philip in Thessaly. — He is defeated and slain. — Philip's Designs against Olynthus and Byzantium. — Traversed by the Athenians. — Phayllus takes the Command of the Phocians. — Philip marches towards Thermopylae. — Anticipated by the Athenians. — Demosthenes's first Philippic. — Philip's Occupations at Pella. — His Vices — and Policy.

CHAP. XXXIV. PHILIP had now reigned almost five years. He had greatly enlarged the boundaries, he had still more augmented the revenues, of his kingdom. Pæonia, no longer the rival, was become an obsequious province of Macedon. At the expense of Thrace and Illyria, he had extended his frontier on the east to the sea of Thasos; on the west to the lake Lychnidus. He was master of Thessaly without having the trouble to govern it. He secured many commercial advantages by the possession of Amphipolis. His troops were numerous and well disciplined; his large finances were regulated with economy; and the mines of

Prosperity
of Philip
in the fifth
year of his
reign.
Olymp.
vii. 1.
A. C. 356.

Philippi furnished him with an annual resource alike useful to his designs, whether he pursued the ambitious career of foreign conquest, or set himself to build up and consolidate the internal grandeur of his dominions.

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The power of Philip was admired and feared by those who were unable to penetrate the deep recesses of his policy, which alone rendered him really formidable. The first and most natural object of his desire was the territory of Olynthus, the most populous and fertile portion of the Macedonian coast. His second and far more arduous purpose was to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. But instead of discovering these designs, he had hitherto cultivated the Olynthians with a careful assiduity, and had deserved their gratitude by many solid and important services. His success had been complete; and if, elated by the many advantages which we have enumerated, he had already prepared to invade Greece, it is more than probable that the Olynthians would have consented to follow his standard. But Philip was sensible, that by snatching too eagerly at this valuable prize, he might blast for ever his prospect of obtaining it. While the Athenians were occupied and harassed by the destructive war with their confederates, he had, indeed, embraced the opportunity to gain possession of several of their dependent settlements in Thrace and Macedon; colouring, however, these proceedings by the pretence of justice or necessity, and tempering even his hostilities by many partial acts of kindness and respect. Be-

His profound and impene-
trable po-
lity.

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fore the social war was ended, the seeds of dissension, so profusely scattered in Greece, were likely to ripen into a new quarrel far more general and important. Philip patiently waited their maturity. His hopes were founded on the domestic animosities of Greece; but the unseasonable discovery of his system might have united an hundred thousand¹ warriors against their common enemy; whereas, by the secret refinements of a slow and steady policy, he effected his vast purposes without being obliged, on any one occasion, to fight against thirty thousand men.

He carefully watches the imprudent measures of the Amphictyonic council;

The Amphictyons having recovered their authority in consequence of the events which have formerly been described, began early to display those dangerous passions with which the exercise of uncontrouled power too naturally corrupts the heart. They pretended, that, during the decline of their jurisdiction, many unwarrantable abuses had been introduced, which it became them to remedy. The rights of religion (they said), which it was their first duty to maintain, had been materially violated by the Phocians, who, alike regardless of the decision of the oracle, and of an Amphictyonic decree, had ploughed lands consecrated to Apollo, and therefore withdrawn

¹ The number is chosen as a very moderate medium between the two hundred and twenty thousand men, afterwards promised to Philip in the general convention of the states at Corinth for the service of the Persian expedition, and the eighty thousand which the Greeks actually raised against Xerxes, and which Thucydides says, that the Peloponnesian confederacy alone could send into Attica.

from agriculture.² These lands, however, were confined to the narrow district between the river Cephissus and Mount Thurium, on the western frontier of Bœotia. The crime of the Phocians (if their useful labours deserve the name of crime) was neither great nor unprecedented, since the Locrians of Amphissa had long cultivated the Crissæan plain; a more extensive territory, and consecrated to the god by far more awful ceremonies.³ But the proud tyranny of the Amphictyons, careless of such distinctions, fulminated an angry decree against Phocis, commanding the sacred lands to be laid waste, and imposing a heavy fine on that community.

It is believed that the Thebans, enemies and neighbours to Phocis, and whose influence at that time predominated in the council, were the principal abettors of this arbitrary measure⁴; a supposition rendered probable by the ensuing deliberations of the Amphictyons. Their next sentence was directed against Sparta, to punish the injury of Phæbidas, who, in time of peace, had surprised and seized the Theban citadel. This breach of public faith, however criminal and flagrant, had been committed so many years before, that prudence required it to be for ever buried in obscurity. But, at the instigation of the Thebans, the Amphictyons brought it once more to light; commanded the Lacedæmonians to pay a fine of five hundred talents; decreed that the fine should be doubled, unless paid

which are principally abetted by the Thebans;

² See vol. i. c. 5. p. 224.

³ See vol. i. c. 5. p. 22. et seq.

⁴ Justin. l. viii. c. 1. et seq.

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who excite
the resent-
ment of the
Phocians.
Olymp.
cv. 4.
A. C. 357.

within an appointed time ; and, if the decree were finally disregarded, that the Lacedæmonians should be treated as public enemies to Greece.⁵

The Phocians, singled out as the first victims of oppression, were deeply affected by their danger. To pay the money demanded of them, exceeded their faculties. It would be grievous to desolate the fields which their own hands had cultivated with so much toil. The commands of the Amphictyons were indeed peremptory ; but that council had not on foot any sufficient force to render them effectual, should the devoted objects of their vengeance venture to dispute their authority. This measure, daring as it seemed, was strongly recommended by Philomelus, whose popular eloquence and rash valour gave him a powerful ascendant in Phocis. He possessed great hereditary wealth ; contemned the national superstition ; and being endowed with a bold, ambitious spirit, he expected to rise amidst the tumult of action and danger, to unrivalled pre-eminence in his republic. After repeated deliberations, in which he flattered the vanity, and tempted the avarice of his countrymen, by proving, that to them of right belonged the guardianship of the Delphian temple, and the immense treasures contained within its sacred walls⁶, he brought the majority of the senate and

⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 23. et seq.

⁶ Philomelus cited the respectable authority of Homer :

Αὐτὰρ Φαίωνα Σχέδιος καὶ Ἐπιστροφὸς ἦρχον,

Ὅτι Κυπαρίσσον εἶχον Πυθωνα τε περρησσαν.

"But Schedius and Epistrophus led the Phocians, who inhabited Cyparissus, and the rocky Python," the ancient name of Delphi.

assembly into his opinion. As the properest instrument to execute his own measures, Philomelus was named general: the Phocian youth flocked to his standard; and his private fortune, as well as the public revenues were consumed in purchasing the mercenary aid of those needy adventurers who abounded in every province of Greece.

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The following year was employed by Philomelus in providing arms, in exercising his troops, and in an embassy which he undertook in person to Sparta. As that community had not discharged the fine imposed by the Amphictyons, the penalty was doubled, the delinquents being condemned to pay a thousand talents. The exorbitance of this imposition might have justified the Spartans in following the example of Phocis, and setting the Amphictyons at defiance. But Archidamus, who possessed all the caution and address of his father Agesilaus, was unwilling to take a principal part in the first dangerous experiment, and to post himself in the front of battle, against the revered decrees of an assembly, considered as the legal guardian of national religion and liberty. He assured Philomelus that both himself and the Spartans fully approved his cause; that reasons of a temporary nature hindered their declaring themselves openly, but that he might depend on secret supplies of men and money.⁷

The Phocians under Philomelus prepare for war, and engage the Spartans in their cause. Olymp. cvi. 1. A. C. 356.

⁷ Ὁ δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀποδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον, φανερώς μιν, κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἐκ εἴησε βοηθεῖν, λαβρά δὲ πάντα συμπράξαι, χορηγῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ μισθοφόρους. Diodor. l. xvi. p. 426.

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Philomel-
us seizes
the temple
of Delphi.
Olymp.
cvi. 2.
A. C. 355.

Encouraged by this assurance, and by a considerable sum^a immediately put into his hands, Philomelus, at his return, ventured on a measure not less audacious than unexpected. The temple of Delphi, so awfully guarded by superstition, was scarcely defended by any military force. Philomelus, having prepared the imagination of his followers for this bold enterprise, immediately conducted them towards Delphi, defeated the feeble resistance of the Thracidæ, who inhabited the neighbouring district, and entered the sacred city with the calm intrepidity of a conqueror. The Delphians, who expected no mercy from a man devoid of respect for religion, prepared themselves, in silent horror, for beholding the complicated guilt of sacrilege and murder. But the countenance of Philomelus re-assured them, and his discourse totally dispelled their ill-grounded fears. He declared that he had come to Delphi, with no hostile disposition against the inhabitants, with no sacrilegious designs against the temple. His principal motive was to emancipate the one and the other from the arbitrary proceedings of the Amphictyons, and to assert the ancient and unalienable prerogative of Phocis to be the patron and protector of the Delphian shrine. To the same purpose he scattered declarations through the different republics of Greece; his emissaries acquainted the Spartans that he had destroyed the brazen tablets containing the unjust decrees against Sparta and Phocis; they inflamed the resentment of the

^a Diodorus (l. xvi. p. 426.) says fifteen talents.

Athenians, naturally hostile to Thebes; and both those republics came to the resolution of supporting the measures of Philomelus.

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Employs
the sacred
treasure
in raising
mercena-
ries.

The Thebans, on the other hand, who *directed*, and the Locrians, Thessalians, with other states of less consideration, who tamely *obeyed* the decrees of the Amphictyons, determined to take the field in defence of their insulted religion and violated laws. Their operations were conducted with that extreme slowness natural to confederacies. Philomelus acted with more vigour. He received little assistance from his distant allies. But, first, by imposing a heavy tax on the Delphians, who had been enriched by the devotion of Greece, and then, notwithstanding his declaration, by taking very undue liberties with the treasure of Apollo⁹, he collected above ten thousand mercenaries, men daring and profligate as himself, who sacrificed all scruples of religion to the hopes of dividing a rich spoil. Such at least was the general character of his followers. To the few who had more piety, or less avarice, he endeavoured to justify his measures by the authority of an oracle. The Pythia at first refused to mount the sacred tripod. Philomelus sternly commanded her. She obeyed with reluctance, observing, that being already master of Delphi, he might act without sanction or controul.¹⁰ Philomelus waited for no other answer, but gladly interpreted the words as an acknowledgment of

⁹ Diodorus sometimes acknowledges, and sometimes denies, that Philomelus meddled with the sacred treasure.

¹⁰ Αποφθεγξαμένης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ βιαζόμενου ὅτι ἐξεί
αὐτῷ πράττειν ὁ θεοὺς. Diodor. p. 428.

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Takes the
field
against the
Thebans
and their
allies.
Olymp.
cvi. 2.
A. C. 355.

his absolute authority ; and, with the address suitable to his situation and character, confirmed the auspicious declaration of the priestess by the report of many favourable omens. ¹¹

Having obtained the supposed sanction of religion, Philomelus proceeded to fortify the temple and city of Delphi, in which he placed a strong garrison ; and, with the remainder of his forces, boldly marched forth to repel the incursions of the enemy. During two years, hostilities were carried on with various fortune against the Locrians and Thebans. Victory for the most part inclined to the Phocians ; but there happened not any decisive action, nor was the war memorable on any other account but that of the excessive cruelty mutually inflicted and suffered. The Phocian prisoners were uniformly condemned to death, as wretches convicted of the most abominable sacrilege and impiety ; and the resentment of their countrymen retaliated with equal severity on the unhappy captives whom the chance of war frequently put into their hands. ¹²

Philomelus defeat-
ed.
Olymp.
cvi. 4.
A. C. 353.

As both armies anxiously expected reinforcements, they were unwilling to risk a general engagement, till chance rendered that measure unavoidable. Entangled among the woods and mountains of Phocis, the conveniency of forage attracted them towards the same point. The vanguards met unexpectedly near the town of Neoné, and began to skirmish. A general and fierce action followed, in which the Phocians were repelled

¹¹ Diodor. p. 429.

¹² Ibid. p. 530. et seq.

by superior numbers. Pathless woods, abrupt rocks and precipices, obstructed their retreat. In vain Philomelus strove with his voice and arm to rally the fugitives. He himself was carried along by the torrent to the brow of a precipice, afflicted with wounds, and still more with anguish and despair. The enemy advanced ; it seemed impossible to escape their vengeance ; the resolution of Philomelus was prompt and terrible ; with a vigorous bound he sprang from the rock, thus eluding the torment of his own guilty conscience, and the resentment of his pursuers.¹³ While the Thebans and allies admired this catastrophe as a manifest visitation of divine vengeance¹⁴, Onomarchus, the lieutenant and brother of the Phocian general, collected and drew off the scattered remains of the vanquished army towards Delphi. The confederates determined to expel them from that holy place, and to inflict on the enemies of Greece and Heaven a punishment similar to that to which the wrath of Apollo had driven the impious Philomelus.¹⁵

Different causes concurred to prevent Philip on the one hand, and Athens and Sparta on the other, from taking a principal or early part in the Phocian war. The interested policy of Ar-

The Spartans attempt to recover their dominion

¹³ Diodorus hints, that had Philomelus been taken captive, his body would have been shockingly mangled : φοβούμενος την εκ της αιχμαλωσίας οικτιαν. p. 432.

¹⁴ Such it appeared to future historians : και τουτον τον τροπον, ουνοσιν τη θαυμαστη δικας καταστροφη των βιον. Diodor. *ibid*.

¹⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 432.

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the Peloponnesus.
Olymp.
cvi. 3.
A. C. 353.

Archidamus, who directed with absolute authority the councils of Sparta, was less anxious to support the arms of his distant confederates, than solicitous to recover the Lacedæmonian dominion in Peloponnesus. The opportunity seemed favourable for this purpose, the Thebans being deeply engaged in another contest, and the Athenians in strict alliance with Sparta. For several years, the arms and intrigues of Archidamus were employed against the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. But his ambitious design failed of success: the inferior cities of Peloponnesus, roused by a common danger, confederated for their mutual defence; and Athens, though actually the ally of Sparta, was unwilling to abandon to the tyranny of that republic her more ancient and faithful allies, the Arcadians and Messenians. ¹⁶

The affairs
of Thrace
occupy
Philip and
the Athenians.

While the politics of the Peloponnesus formed a system apart, the sacred war shook the centre of Greece, and the affairs of Thrace occupied Philip and the Athenians. Cotys was dead; his sons, Kersobleptes, Berisades, and Amadocus, were all dissatisfied with the partition of his dominions. While their hostilities against each other exhibited the odious picture of fraternal discord, the prizes, for which they contended, were successively carried off by Philip. The

¹⁶ The question appears to have occasioned warm debates in the Athenian assembly: the Spartan and Arcadian parties were animated with the utmost zeal; and, according to Demosthenes, the Athenian orators, had they not spoke the Attic dialect, would have appeared, the one half Spartans, the other Arcadians. Demosthen. pro Megalop. p. 83.

encroachments of that prince at length engaged Kersobleptes, the most powerful of the co-heirs, to cede the Thracian Chersonesus to the Athenians, who sent Chares with a numerous fleet to take possession of that peninsula. The town of Sestos alone made resistance. It was taken by storm, and treated with great severity by Chares; while Philip besieged and took the far more important city of Methoné in Pieria. In this siege he lost an eye, a loss which he is said to have borne with the more impatience¹⁷, as the circumstances attending it were alike dishonourable to his judgment and humanity.¹⁸

It appears extraordinary that the Thebans, after the defeat and death of Philomelus, should not have pursued their good fortune, without allowing the enemy time to breathe and recover strength. They probably imagined that the fatal exit of that daring chief would deter a successor; and that the Phocians would crave peace, if not

Onomarchus takes the command of the Phocians. Olymp. cvi. 4. A. C. 353.

¹⁷ Lucian de Scribend. Hist. p. 365.

¹⁸ These circumstances, however, rest on the authority of Suidas and Ulpian. It is said, that when the arrow was extracted, the following inscription appeared on it: "Aster to Philip's right eye." Aster, it seems, had offered his services to Philip, as an excellent marksman; to which Philip replied, that he would employ him when he waged war with starlings. Philip caused the arrow to be shot back into the place, with a new inscription, "That he would hang up Aster;" a threat which was executed as soon as he became master of Methoné. Fictions still more incredible were related on this subject, by the fabulous writers of the age of Alexander. Philip, it was said, lost his right eye through unseasonable curiosity in prying into the amours of Olympias and Jupiter Ammon. This ridiculous flattery to Alexander had been so widely diffused, that it was supposed to be the subject represented on the celebrated vase, which is so much better explained by Mr. D'Hancarville. See *Recherches sur les Arts de la Grèce*, vol. ii.

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driven to despair. Such indeed was the resolution of the more respectable part of the Phocians. But the bold, impious, and needy, who composed the most numerous description of that people, were bent on continuing the war. An assembly was convened, when Onomarchus, in a set speech¹⁹, flattered their hopes, and encouraged them to persevere. His opinion prevailed; he was named general; and his conduct soon proved, that he equalled his brother in boldness and ambition, and surpassed him in activity and enterprise. None better knew the power of gold, or had more address in employing it. With the Delphic treasure he coined such a quantity of money as perhaps had never before circulated in Greece. The Phocian army was restored and augmented; their allies were rendered more hearty in their cause; even their enemies were not proof against the temptations which continually assailed their fidelity. By seasonable bribes, Onomarchus distracted the councils of Thebes, and kept their arms inactive. The neighbouring states were persuaded to observe a neutrality while the Thessalians, a people at all times noted for avarice and fraud²⁰, and of

¹⁹ Περφορετισμῶνος λόγον διελθών. Diodor. p. 432.

²⁰ The Thessalians had the same character in Greece, as the Ligurians in Italy:

Vane Ligus——

Nequicquam patrias tentasti lubricus artes. VIRG.

Euripides speaks of the slippery deceits of the Thessalians. Demosthenes (Olynth. i. p. 4. ex edit. Wolf.) says, εἴτα τα τῶν Θετταλῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπίτη μὲν τῇ θῆ που φύσει, καὶ αἰεὶ πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις. "Philip was farther distressed by the insurrections of the Thessalians, a people faithless by nature, at all times, to all men."

whose country the proverb said, that it had never produced a bad horse or an honest man, openly embraced the cause of Phocis. CHAP. XXXIV.

These multiplied advantages were not allowed to languish in the hands of Onomarchus, who hoped to drown the unjust motives of his enterprise in the sudden tide of victory. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he poured down on Locris and Doris, ravaged the country, took Thronium by storm, laid several cities under contribution, penetrated into Boeotia, and made himself master of Orchomenus. The Thebans assembled their forces to stem the torrent. Onomarchus first met with a repulse before the walls of Chæronæa, and ventured not to renew the engagement, having weakened his forces by placing garrisons in the important places which he had taken, as well as by sending a detachment of seven thousand men, under his brother Phayllus, into Thessaly. ²¹

In that country, the intrigues of Philip had counteracted the gold of Onomarchus. But Lycophron, who was the chief partisan of the latter, and whom Philip had formerly divested of his usurped power, had again established himself in Pheræ. Pegasæ, Magnesia, and several places of less note, declared for the tyrant, and for Phocis. The Macedonian interest prevailed elsewhere; and the factions were equally balanced, when Philip, with his usual celerity, entered Thessaly, defeated Phayllus, besieged and took

Success of his arms.

He encounters Philip in Thessaly, and obliges him to retire.

²¹ Diodor. p. 434.

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Pegasæ, and drove the enemy with disgrace towards the frontier of Phocis. The fear of losing his newly-acquired interest among the Thessalians, made Onomarchus evacuate Bœotia, and advance against Philip with his whole army. The Macedonians, though less numerous, did not decline the engagement. At the first charge the Phocians gave way, and retreated towards the neighbouring mountains. Philip ordered his men to pursue in their ranks. It was then that the Phocians really began the battle. Onomarchus foreseeing that the Macedonians would follow in close order, had posted a detachment on the summit of the precipice, who were ready, on a given signal, to roll down fragments of rock, and stones of an enormous size, on the embattled phalanx. This was the only mode of attack for which the Macedonians were not prepared. The line of march, in which the moment before they proceeded with such firmness and confidence, was converted into a dreadful scene of carnage and ruin. Before they recovered from their consternation, the flying Phocians, who had decoyed them into this ambush, returned to the charge. Philip, however, rallied his men; and while Onomarchus hesitated to advance, drew them off in good order, saying that they did not retreat through fear, but retired like rams, in order to strike with more impetuous vigour.²²

Onomarchus defeated and slain.

This saying was finally justified, although the Phocians and Lycophron first enjoyed a short

²² Polyxen. Stratag. l. ii. c. 28. Diodor. l. xvi. 34. et seq.

triumph. The tyrant established himself, as he thought, securely, in his native city; the Phocians, reinforced by their Thessalian allies, again invaded Bœotia, assaulted and took Coronæa, and dreadfully alarmed the Thebans, by the devastations committed in the very centre of their territory. But the time of vengeance arrived. Philip, having recruited his army, returned into Thessaly. The unsteady partisans of Lycophron, had they determined to share his danger, would have proved unable to support his cause. A considerable portion of the Thessalians received the King of Macedon as their deliverer. Onomarchus was thus obliged to withdraw his forces from Bœotia. At the head of twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, he marched to the defence of Lycophron, and was met by the enemy, still more numerous, on the level coast of Magnesia. To remind his soldiers that they fought in the cause of Delphi and of Heaven, Philip crowned their heads with the laurel consecrated to Apollo, and adorned his ensigns and standards with the emblems and attributes of that divinity.²⁸ Their onset was impetuous and fierce, and their valour, animated by enthusiasm, rendered them irresistible, though the enemy, conscious of guilt, fought with the fury of despair. Three thousand Thessalian cavalry, who had signally contributed to the victory of Philip, rendered the pursuit bloody and destructive; while the Phocians, having thrown away their armour, fled towards the sea, allured by the sight

²⁸ Justin. l. viii. 2.

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of the Athenian fleet under Chares, which was returning from the Chersonesus. That commander seems not to have made any attempt to protect them. Above six thousand perished in the battle, or in the pursuit. The body of Onomarchus was found among the slain; Philip ordered it to be hung on a gibbet, as a mark of peculiar infamy; the rest were thrown into the sea, as unworthy, by their impious sacrilege, of the rites of funeral. Three thousand were taken alive; but it is not absolutely certain whether they were drowned, or reduced into captivity; though the latter opinion is the more probable.²⁴

Philip's
design
against
Olynthus
and By-
zantium.

It might be expected that such a decisive blow should have proved fatal to the Phocians. But Philip, who had conquered them in Thessaly, durst not pursue his advantages by invading Phocis; well knowing that an attempt to pass the straits of Thermopylæ would alarm not only his enemies but his allies. It was his interest to

²⁴ The leaving such a circumstance at all doubtful, is very dishonourable to the accuracy of Diodorus. His words are *τελος δε, των θυκεων και μισθοφορων απηρεθησαν μεν υπερ τους εξακισχιλιους, εν οις ην και αυτος ο στρατηγος* ηλυσαν δε ουκ ελαττους των τρισχιλων ο δε φιλιππος τον μεν Ονομαρχον εκρεμασεν, τους δε αλλους ως λεροσυλους καταπορτισεν. Literally, "At length above six thousand of the Phocians and mercenaries were, on the one hand, taken up dead, among whom was the general. Not less than three thousand were, on the other hand, taken prisoners. Philip hung up Onomarchus, and threw the rest into the sea, as guilty of sacrilege." The learned reader will perceive, that I have given the full force of the word *απηρεθησαν*; and from the precise and distinctive force of the particles *μεν* and *δε*, which separate the two first clauses of the text, I am of opinion that the *τους αλλους* can apply only to the rest of those who were taken up dead. There is nothing determinate to be learned from the word *καταπορτισεν*, which signifies barely to plunge into the sea.

perpetuate dissensions in Greece. For that reason he fomented the discord that reigned among the states of Peloponnesus ; and though he had punished the obnoxious Phocians, he was unwilling to terminate a war which diverted the public attention from watching too studiously his own ambitious designs. His victory over an odious enemy extended his just renown. He secured the dominion of Thessaly, by planting garrisons in Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. His army was ready to march towards Greece on the first favourable opportunity ; but till this should arrive, he rejoiced to see both divisions of that country involved in hostilities, which allowed him to accomplish, unmolested, his lesser preparatory purposes. He had long deceived the Olynthians by good offices and promises, but now began to throw off the mask, and to shew that he meant to be their master. He actually applied to Kersobleptes, whom he detached from the interest of Athens ; and having raised him on the ruins of the neighbouring chieftains of Thrace, thereby obtained his confidence, and waited an occasion to destroy him with security.²⁵ The dominions of that prince opened the way to Byzantium, the possession of which must have early tempted the ambition of Philip, who knew so well to estimate the importance of its situation both in commerce and in war. He began to discover his designs against Byzantium by attacking the fortress of

²⁵ Justin, l. viii. 3. Demost. Olynth. 3 & 5.

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Heræum, a place so called from the neighbouring temple of Juno, which formed its principal ornament. The town of Heræum was small, and in itself unimportant; its harbour was dangerous and deceitful; but being situate contiguous to Byzantium, it served as an outwork and defence to that rich and populous city.*

The Athenians had sufficient penetration to discern the drift of those enterprises. They formed an alliance with the republic of Olynthus; they warned Kersobleptes of his danger; they voted a numerous fleet to sail to the defence of Heræum, or rather of Byzantium, with which, though rendered independent of Athens by the social war, they still carried on a lucrative commerce. But these spirited exertions were not of long continuance. Philip's wound at Methone, together with the continual labour and fatigue to which he had afterwards submitted, threw him into a dangerous malady. The report of his sickness was, before it reached Athens, magnified into his death. The Athenians rejoiced in so seasonable a deliverance, and laying aside their naval preparations, bent their principal attention to the sacred war.[†]

The Phocian or sacred war continued by Phayllus.

Olymp. cviii. 1.

A. C. 352.

That unhappy contest was renewed by Phayllus, the last surviving brother of Philomelus and Onomarchus. As his cause became more desperate, Phayllus availed himself to the utmost of the only resource which was left him. Having converted into ready money the most precious

* Justin. l. viii. 3. Demosth. Olynth. 2 & 3.

† Idem, ubi supra.

dedications of Delphi, he doubled the pay of his mercenaries. This extraordinary encouragement brought new adventurers to his standard, and soon rendered his army equal to that of either of his predecessors. The fugitive Thessalians, assembled in a body by Locophron, entered into his pay. By means of the Delphic treasure, he acquired, likewise, the public assistance of a thousand Lacedæmonians, two thousand Achæans, five thousand Athenian foot, with four hundred cavalry. These powerful reinforcements enabled the Phocians to take the field with a good prospect of success, and rendered those who had so lately been the objects of pity, again formidable to their enemies.²⁶

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Philip, meanwhile, had recovered from his indisposition. The votes and preparations of the Athenians had taught him that his designs could no longer be concealed. He was acquainted with the alliance formed between that republic and Olynthus. His emissaries gave him intelligence of the actual commotions in Greece, where the countenance and assistance of so many powerful states abetted the sacrilege of the Phocians. The occasion required that he should appear in favour of his allies, and in defence of the pious cause which he had formerly maintained with so much glory. His trophies gained over Onomarchus were still fresh and blooming; and not only the Thebans, Dorians, and Locrians, who were prin-

Philip, in order to oppose him, marches towards Thermopylæ.

²⁶ Diodor. p. 456.

CHAP. XXXIV. coast of Asia. The trophies of Miltiades, Themistocles, and Cimon, were adorned with all the pomp of eloquence; and the Athenians were exhorted to imitate those memorable exploits of their ancestors in the Persian war, which shed a lustre on all the succeeding periods of their history.

Sentiments of the wisest Athenians respecting this prince.

In this popular enthusiasm joined Isocrates the orator, together with the statesman and general Phocion, two men whose talents and virtues would have done honour to the most illustrious age of the republic. The unblemished integrity of Isocrates, the disinterested poverty of Phocion, afford sufficient proof that neither of these great men were corrupted by Macedonian gold. But they both perceived that the indolence and unsteadiness of Athens were incapable of contending with the unceasing activity of Philip, and both exhorted their countrymen to gain and cultivate the friendship of a prince, against whom they could not make war with any reasonable prospect of success.

Those of Isocrates in particular.

Isocrates, from the most accurate and extensive survey of the political history of Greece, discovered that a foreign war alone could heal the domestic dissensions which reigned in every quarter of that divided country; and, from a thorough knowledge of the inherent defects in the government of Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, he regarded Macedon as the state, and Philip as the general, best entitled, and best qualified, to assume the command of a military expedition into Asia, to revenge ancient wrongs, and to deliver the Grecian colonies from the actual oppression of Bar-

barians. On this important subject he addressed a discourse to Philip; he repeatedly insisted on the same topic in writings addressed to the Athenians; and it is obscurely related, that on one occasion he reconciled those hostile powers³¹, and engaged them to conquer in this extensive yet rational scheme of conquest.

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The sentiments and views of Demosthenes were equally different from those of Isocrates and Phocion on the one hand, and from those of the infamous hirelings of Philip on the other. None knew better than he did the corruption and degeneracy of his countrymen; but he hoped to rouse them from their lethargy; a design, arduous as it may seem, sometimes effected by his eloquence, the most powerful, glowing, and sublime, ever employed by man: and which, of all men, he had been at most pains to acquire and cultivate.³² His imagination was filled with the ancient glory of the republic; in the ardour of patriotism he forgot the moderation of philosophy; and while he sternly maintained the prerogatives and pretensions of his country, he would rather have seen Athens defeated at the head of her allies, than victorious under the standard of the Macedonians, or any standard but her own. With such sentiments and character, he was naturally a favourite of the people, and a warm partisan of popular government; while Phocion, like most men of sense and worth in that age, preferred a

The peculiar views of Demosthenes

³¹ See the life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

³² Dionys. Halicarn. & Plut. de Demost.

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appear in
public ora-
tions.

moderate aristocracy; and Isocrates was inclined to regard a well-regulated monarchy as the best of all governments.³³

In his first speeches before the assembly, Demosthenes announced himself as the minister of the people at large, whom he exhorted to awaken from their indolence, and at length to assume the direction of their own affairs. They had been too long governed by the incapacity of a few ambitious men, to the great detriment and disgrace of the community. First an orator at the head of all, under him a general, abetted by three or four hundred obsequious partizans, availed themselves of the sloth and negligence of a people careless of every thing but pleasure, to domineer in the public councils, and to become masters of the state. From considerations of their present corruption and weakness, as well as of the designs and commotions of neighbouring powers, he advised them to forsake all distant and romantic schemes of ambition: and, instead of carrying their arms into remote countries, to prepare for repelling the attacks that might be made against their own dominions; he insisted earnestly on a better regulation of their finances, on the retrenching of many superfluous branches of expence, and especially on a more equitable repartition of public burdens, in proportion to the fortunes of individuals; which, though the income of the state had dwindled to four hundred talents, were actually more considerable than at any former period. While the rich cheerfully paid

³³ See his *Nicocles*, *Eragoras*, &c.

their contributions, the poor must be willing to forego the burdensome gratuities which they derived from the treasury ; and all must be ready to take the field in person, that the public service might be no longer betrayed, or disgraced, by strangers and mercenaries.³⁴

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Subsequent events justified the opinions, and enforced the counsels of Demosthenes. The Athenians were delivered from their ill-grounded fears of Artaxerxes Ochus, when they beheld the preparations of that monarch directed against his rebellious subjects. The encroachments of Philip became continually more daring and more formidable ; and his recent attempts to seize the straits of Thermopylæ shewed the necessity of opposing him with re-united vigilance and vigour.

His first
Philippe.

In this juncture, so favourable to awakening the activity of Athens, Demosthenes mounted the rostrum³⁵ before any other orator, apologising for this forwardness in a man not yet thirty years of age, by observing, “ That already the usual speakers had given their opinions on the subject of Philip ; and that, had *their* advices been useful and practicable, they must have precluded the necessity of any farther deliberation. First of all, Athenians ! you ought not to despair ; no ! not although your affairs seem indeed involved in equal confusion and danger. For the same circumstance which is the cause

³⁴ Vid. Oration. de Classibus, & de Ordinand. Republic.

³⁵ I have used that word, because adopted in our language to express the *Bema*, that is, the pulpit or gallery, appropriated to the speakers in the Athenian assembly.

C H A P. of your past misfortunes, ought to furnish the
XXXIV. source of your present hope. What is that?
 Your own negligence and sloth, not the power of your enemies, have disordered the state. Had your distress arisen, notwithstanding your utmost care to prevent it, there would then be little hope of relief; but since it is occasioned by your own misconduct, you need only repair your errors, in order to retrieve your affairs. Considering the weakness of Athens, thus despoiled of her dominions, and the strength of Philip, which has increased immoderately at our expence, should you think him a formidable enemy, you doubtless think aright. Yet reflect, Athenians! that there was a time when *we* possessed Pydna, Potidæa, Methoné, and all the surrounding territory; that the nations in that neighbourhood, now subject to Philip, were then independent, and preferred the alliance of Athens to that of Macedon. In the infancy of his fortune, had Philip reasoned timidly, as we do now, ‘How shall I, destitute of allies, attack the Athenians, whose garrisons command my frontier?’ he would not have engaged in those enterprises which have been crowned with such signal success, nor raised his kingdom to such an unexampled pitch of grandeur. No, Athenians! he knew well, that towns and fortresses are but prizes of skill and ²⁶valour

²⁶ ΑΛΛ’ οὐδεν, οἱ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τότε καλὰς ἐκείνας, ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ ἀπάντα τὰ χωρία ἀλλὰ τὰ πολέμῳ κεῖμενα ἐν μέσῳ. In ancient times the figure had more force as well as dignity; because, at the Olympic and other sacred games, the spectators were used to behold the prizes proposed to the victors, *κεῖμενα ἐν μέσῳ*, exposed in the middle of the field, to excite their emulation and ardour. See vol. i. c. 5.

proposed to the combatants, and belong of right to the conqueror; that the dominions of the absent are seized by those who take the field, and the possessions of the negligent and slothful become the rewards of vigilance and vigour. Guided by these maxims he has subdued and governs all; holding some communities by right of conquest, and others under the title of allies: for allies no prince nor state can want, who are not wanting to themselves. But should you, Athenians! imitate the example of Philip, and at length, rousing from your lethargy, apply seriously to your interest, you would speedily recover those advantages which your negligence only has lost. Favourable occasions will yet occur; for you must not imagine that Philip, like a god, holds his prosperity for ever fixed and immutable.³⁷ No, Athenians! there are who hate him, who fear him, who envy him, even among those seemingly the most devoted to his cause. These are universal passions, from which the allies of Macedon are not, surely, exempted. They have hitherto concealed them, finding no resource in you; but it depends on your councils to call them into action. When, therefore, O my countrymen! when will you exert your vigour? when roused by some event—when urged by some necessity—what can be more urgent than the present juncture? To freemen, the most necessary

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³⁷ The original is inimitable: μη γὰρ ὡς θεὸς νομίζετ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρὸντα πενήγιεναι πράγματα ἀδύνατα. Join the τὰ and the πράγματα, the article and the substantive, and the charm will be dissolved.

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of all motives is the shame of misconduct. Or say, will it still be your sole business to saunter in the public place, inquiring after news? What can be more new, than that a Macedonian should conquer Athens, and enslave Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but in great danger. How are you concerned in these rumours? What matters it to you whether he is sick or dead, since, if you thus manage your affairs, your folly will soon raise up another Philip?"³⁸

Measures
proposed
by Demos-
thenes for
resisting
Philip.

After this animated remonstrance, Demosthenes proposes a plan of operations calculated chiefly for defence. The Athenians, he observes, were not yet prepared to meet Philip in the field. They must begin by protecting Olynthus, and the Chersonesus, from his incursions. For this purpose, it was necessary to raise a body of two thousand men light-armed, and an adequate proportion of cavalry, which were to be transported, under a proper convoy (as Philip had his fleet), with all expedition to the isles of Lemnos, Thasos, and Sciathos, contiguous to the coast of Macedon. Conveniently posted in those islands, where they would enjoy necessaries in abundance, the Athenian troops might avail themselves of every favourable incident, to appear at the first summons of their allies, and

³⁸ The sense indeed of that period, but neither its force nor its harmony, can be translated. Τυθῆκε Φίλιππος; οὐ μὴ δια! ἀλλ' αἰσθῆσαι τι δε ἡμῶν διαφέρει; καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὅτῳ τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ἡμῶν ἕτερον Φιλίππον ποιήσῃ, ἐν τῷ ὅτῳ προσέχηται τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν νῦν οὐδε γὰρ ὅτῳ πᾶρα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ρομὴν τοσούτου σπῆξῃται, ὅσον πᾶρα τῇς ὑμετέρων ἀμελείαν.

either to repel the inroads of the Macedonians, or to harass the extended, and, in many parts, defenceless territory of that people. Meanwhile, preparations would be made at home for carrying on the war in due time, with more numerous forces, and with greater efficacy. Such moderate proposals prove that Demosthenes well understood the genius of his countrymen. He required, that only the fourth part of the troops should consist of Athenian citizens; and the immediate supplies were to amount only to ninety talents. He knew that higher demands would alarm their indolence and love of pleasure; and so fatally were they sunk in the idle amusements of the city, that it is probable the small armament proposed did not actually set sail; it is certain that no future preparations were made adequate to the public service.

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The profound policy of Philip fostered the supine negligence of his enemies. For more than two years after his retreat from Thermopylæ, that crafty prince much confined himself to his dominions, and chiefly to his capital, anxious to dissipate the clamour occasioned by his too great precipitation to seize the gates of Greece. In that interval, he indeed made an expedition to chastise the rebellious spirit of the Thessalians. But the greatest part of his time was spent at Pella, and addicted to the arts of peace, which he judged with skill, and encouraged with munificence. That favourite city was adorned with temples, theatres, and porticoes. The most ingenious artists of Greece

Philip affects to lay aside his ambition.

His occupation during a long residence at Pella. A. C. 350. & 349.

C H A P. were summoned by liberal rewards, to the court
XXXIV. of Macedon³⁹; and men of talents and genius⁴⁰,
 who were too often exposed to envy and persecution in the former country, were received with open arms, by a prince, who, amidst the tumult of war, assiduously cultivated the studies of literature and eloquence. In his domestic government, Philip administered justice with impartiality, listened with condescension to the complaints of his meanest subjects, and disdaining the ceremonious and forbidding pomp of tyranny, maintained an intercourse of visits and entertainments with his courtiers and generals.⁴¹

His vices ; In a prince so respectably employed, it is difficult to conceive the odious and detestable vices with which Philip is upbraided by Demosthenes⁴²; yet the brief descriptions, occasionally sketched by the orator, are filled up by an ancient historian, who represents the infamies of the life of Philip in language well fitted to arraign the horrors of Nero or Heliogabalus. Could we believe the acrimony⁴³ of Theopompus of Chios, a scholar of Isocrates, who flourished in the age of Alexander, Philip sullied his great actions by the most enormous and detestable crimes. Alike avaricious and prodigal, the wealth which he had amassed by injustice

³⁹ Justin. l. viii. c. 3.

⁴⁰ Among other Greeks who lived at Philip's court were, Leosthenes the orator, Neoptolemus the poet, Aristodemus and Satyrus, celebrated players. *Æschin. & Demosthen. passim.*

⁴¹ Plut. in Apophth. & in Demosthen. & Alexand.

⁴² Vid. Demosthen. ex edit. Wolf. pp. 5. 8. 48. 66, &c.

⁴³ Corn. Nep. in Alcibiad.

and rapacity, he dissipated in the most flagitious gratifications, and in company with the meanest and most worthless of mankind. His companions were chosen promiscuously from Macedonians and Greeks, and especially from Thessalians, the most profligate of the Greeks, and were admitted to his familiarity and friendship in proportion to their proficiency in the most odious and unnatural abominations⁴ that ever polluted the worst men in the most corrupt ages of the world. We must, doubtless, make allowances for the gall of a writer, noted to a proverb for

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⁴ The epithets given them by Theopompus are, βδελυροι, *abominabiles*; and λασταυροι; the last word is compounded of λα, *valde*, and ταυρος, *taurus*; and translated *insegnitur mentulatus*, which corresponds to the *enormitas membrorum* of the Augustan historians. The following description of the friends of Philip is too indecent for modern language: "Horum enim quidam jam viri barbam indentidem radebant, & vellebantur: alii vero barbati citra pudorem vicissim se impudicabant, stupris intercutibus se flagitantes; regi vero duo vel tres circumducebantur qui paterentur nauēbria, & eandem operam navarent alios subagitantes. Quamobrem illos jure aliquis non amicos regis, sed amicos esse credidisset, nec milites sed prostibula nuncupasset, ingenio quidem & natura sanguinarios, moribus autem virilia scorta," &c. This passage is quoted from the forty-ninth book of Theopompus. In his twenty-sixth book he speaks to the same purpose: "Philippum cum Thessalos intemperantes esse, ac lascivie petulantisque vitæ prospiceret, eorum conventus ac contubernia instituisse; iisque uti placeret modis omnibus fuisse conatum, cum illis saltasse, commissatum fuisse, cuius libidini se ac nequitiae tradidisse." A mistaken passage of Diodorus has made some learned men doubt the authenticity of these descriptions. Diodorus (l. xvi. sect. 3.) says, that Theopompus γεγραφεναι οκτω βιβλος προς τοις πενηκοντα, εξων πεντε διαφωνουσι; "had written the history of Philip in fifty-eight books, five of which differ in style from the rest." Were we therefore to suppose the five last books spurious (for that is the inference which has been drawn), the observations of Diodorus would not at all affect the passages above cited.

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severity. Yet there is sufficient collateral evidence, that Philip's strong propensity to low wit, obscenity, and drunkenness, rendered him a prey to buffoons, and parasites, and flatterers, and all the worthless retinue of intemperance and folly. These disgraceful associates of the prince, formed, in time of war, a regiment apart, of about eight eight hundred men, whose gradual waste was continually recruited by new members, who either were, or soon became worthy of the old; for, as we shall soon have occasion to relate, the whole band were alike cowardly and profligate.

and policy. But in whatever manner Philip employed his private hours, he at no time lost sight of those great principles of policy which regulated his public administration. Under pretence of wanting money to supply the expence of his buildings, and other public works, he employed an expedient which is well known in latter times, and which has been carried to such excess as threatens the safety of those governments which it was intended to uphold. The letting loose of the Delphic treasures had diffused near a million sterling over Greece.⁴⁵ The unsettled state of that country rendered those who had acquired

⁴⁵ The sacred war lasted ten years, and cost the Phocians ten thousand talents, near two millions; it had already lasted five years, and may be supposed to have cost near the half of that sum. Diodor. I. xvi. p. 453. He says, that the gold and silver dedications (which were coined into money), *ὑπερβαλεν τα μυρια ταλαντα*, "exceeded ten thousand talents;" a prodigious sum (considering the relative value of money in those days), of which the sudden diffusion could not fail to produce most important consequences.

wealth very uncertain of enjoying it. With the rich and avaricious, Philip employed proper agents to take up ^{CHAP.} * money at high interest, which ^{XXXIV.} procured him two advantages of a very important kind, the attaching to his government and person a numerous and powerful band of creditors; and the enabling him to pay, under the title of debts, and therefore without suspicion, the various pensions and gratuities by which he maintained his influence among the orators and leading men in the several republics.

* Justin. viii. 5.

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Negligence and Licentiousness of the Athenians. — Philip's Intrigues in Eubœa. — Phocion defeats the Macedonians and Eubœans. — Philip invades the Olynthian Territory. — Demosthenes's Orations in favour of the Olynthians. — Expedition of Chares. — Philip takes Olynthus. — Celebrates the Festival of the Muses at Diium. — Commits naval Depredations on Attica. — His Embassy to Athens. — The Athenian Embassy to Philip. — Character of the Ambassadors. — Their Conference with the King. — Differently reported to the Senate and Assembly. — Philip's Conquests in Thrace. — The Phocian War. — Negotiations. — Philip's Intrigues. — Decree of the Amphictyons against Phocis. — Executed by Philip. — Macedon acknowledged the principal Member of the Amphictyonic Council.

C H A P. XXXV. **T**HE Athenians, deceived by the inactivity of the King of Macedon, indulged themselves, without reserve, in their favourite amusements. Their confederates, the Phocians, were abandoned; the war with Philip, in which they might well have considered themselves as principals, was neglected. Magistrates and people seemed solely attentive to regulate public festivals and processions, and to ascertain the disputed merits of dramatic poets and performers. The fund originally intended for the exigencies of war, had already been appropriated to the theatre; and a law was now enacted, on the motion of

Negligence and
licentiousness of the
Athenians.
Olymp.
cvi. 4.
A. C. 349.

Eubulus, an artful flatterer of the multitude, rendering it a capital crime to propose any change in this unexampled and most whimsical destination. It was in vain for Demosthenes to resist the popular torrent. He was opposed and overwhelmed by Eubulus and Demades, the latter of whom, with talents that might have adorned his country, condescended to sell its interests to the public enemy.

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Born in the lowest condition of life, Demades retained the vices of his birth; and always discovered that sordid spirit, and weltered in those brutal excesses, which betray the want of early culture. Yet the acuteness of his apprehension, the strength of his reason and memory, and above all, the bold and copious flow of his unpremeditated eloquence, in which he was allowed to excel even Demosthenes¹ himself, raised him to a conspicuous rank in the assembly; and it being his business, as the hireling of Philip, to sail along with the stream of popular frenzy, which the patriotism of his rival endeavoured to struggle with and to stem, he enjoyed a free and ample scope for exercising his abilities.

Justified
by De-
mades.

The people of Athens triumphed in the victory of perfidious demagogues over the wisest and best of their fellow-citizens, or rather over the laws and constitution of their country, when Philip began to play those batteries which he had patiently raised with such skill and secrecy. The island of Eubœa, which he called the fetters of Greece, was the first object of his attack.

Philip's
intrigues
in Eubœa.
Olymp.
cvii. 4.
A. C. 349.

¹ Plutarch. in Demosthen.

C H A P. Since the expulsion of the Thebans, of which
XXXV. we have formerly taken notice, the Athenians
 had preserved their interest in the island, where they maintained a small body of troops. The different cities, however, enjoyed the independent government of their own laws; they appointed their own magistrates; they sometimes made war against each other; and separately assumed the prerogatives of free and sovereign states, while they all collectively acknowledged their dependence on Athens. Such political arrangements made room for the intrigues of Philip. He fomented their civil discord; gained partisans in each city; and at length, under colour of protecting his allies, landed several Macedonian battalions in the island.²

Danger to
 which the
 Athenian
 interest in
 that island
 was ex-
 posed;

Matters were soon disposed to his wish. The Macedonians were allowed to occupy the most advantageous posts. The Athenian party exclaimed and threatened; but Plutarch, the leader of that party, was gained to the interest of Philip, and demanded auxiliaries from Athens, only to betray them into the hands of their enemies. Demosthenes, who alone penetrated this dark scheme of villany, entreated and conjured his countrymen to put no confidence in Plutarch. But he was single in his opinion. Those in the confidence of Philip were true to their master, and therefore urged the expedition. The friends of their country were eager to save the isle of Eubœa, and the capricious multitude,

² Æschin. in Ctesiphont. & Demosth. de falsa Legation. & de Pace.

ever in extremes, rushed with as much impetuosity to an enterprise intended for their ruin, as they had long shewn backwardness to engage in every other.³ The promptitude and vigour of their preparations much exceeded the expectation, and even alarmed the fears, of the Macedonian faction. But the partizans of Philip had gone too far to retreat; nor could they foresee the consequences that happened, so contrary to their hopes. The Athenians, in fact, obtained a decisive victory, not by the strength of their arms, which was inferior to the enemy's, but through the wise choice of a general.

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The consummate prudence of Phocion, who, on his arrival in Eubœa, found things in a worse state than had been represented, risked no chance of defeat, and lost no opportunity of advantage.⁴ Having chosen a favourable post, which was on all sides surrounded by broken and uneven ground, he despised the clamours of his men and the insults of the enemy. The treacherous Plutarch was quickly defeated in a mock battle, in which he fell back on the Athenian cavalry, who fled in disorder to the camp of Phocion. The Eubœans and Macedonians pursued with a rash and intemperate ardour; and, elated with victory, or confident in their superior numbers, prepared to assail the camp. The general, meanwhile, performed a sacrifice, which he studiously prolonged, either from religion or policy, until he beheld the disorder of the assailants embarrassed by the unequal ground, and

from
which they
are extri-
cated by
Phocion.

³ Demosth. de Pace.

⁴ Plutarch, in Phocion.

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He defeats
the Macedonians
and Eubœans.

by their own rashness. He then commanded his men to prepare for action, and sallying rapidly from his entrenchments, increased the confusion of the enemy, who were repelled with great slaughter towards the plain which they had at first occupied. The activity of Cleophanes, who had rallied and formed the Athenian cavalry, rendered the victory complete.⁵ The remains of the vanquished took refuge in the fortress of Zeratra, in the northern corner of the island, which, being attacked, made a feeble⁶ resistance. The garrison surrendered; but Phocion restored all the Eubœans to liberty, lest the people of Athens, inflamed by their popular leaders, might treat them with that cruelty, which on a similar occasion, they had inflicted on the rebellious citizens of Mitylené.⁶ Having spent a few weeks in settling the affairs of the island, he returned in triumph to Athens, his ships drawn up in line of battle, their stems, crowned with garlands, and the rowers keeping time to the sound of martial music. His fellow-citizens received him with acclamations of joy; but their imprudence did not allow them to reap the fruits of his success. Molossus, an obscure stranger, was appointed, by cabal, to command the troops left in the island; and Philip, having renewed his intrigues, carried them on with the same dexterity, and met with far better success.⁷

It is worthy of attention, that Demosthenes followed the standard of Phocion to Eubœa,

⁵ Plut. in Phocion.

⁶ See above, vol. ii. c. xvi. pp. 243, et seq.

⁷ Plut. in Phocion.

though he had strongly disapproved the expedition. Both he and his rival Æschines, of whom we shall soon have occasion to speak more fully, served in the cavalry. Demosthenes was reproached with being the first who deserted his rank, and among the last who returned to the charge. Æschines behaved with distinguished gallantry, and had the honour of being appointed by Phocion to carry home the first intelligence of the victory.⁸

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Opposite
behaviour
of Demos-
thenes and
Æschines
in the bat-
tle.

Philip's disappointment in Eubœa only stimulated his activity. His toils were spread so widely all around him, that when one part failed he could catch his prey in another. The Olynthians, against whom he seemed to have long forgotten his resentment, were astonished to observe that several of their citizens grew rich and great in a manner equally sudden and unaccountable; and that they enlarged their possessions, built stately palaces, and displayed a degree of magnificence and grandeur hitherto unknown in their frugal republic. The unexpected invasion of Philip revealed the mystery. A considerable party had grown wealthy by betraying the secrets, exposing the weakness, and fostering the ill-timed security of their country.⁹ Their influence at home had recommended them to Philip, and the wages of their iniquity had increased that influence. It would not probably have been difficult to prove their treason, but it seemed dangerous to punish it; and the Olynthians were more immediately concerned to repel the open

Philip in-
vades the
territory of
Olynthus.
Olymp.
cvi. 4.
A. C. 349.

⁸ Æschin. de falsa Legatione, & Demosth. in Midiam.

⁹ Demosth. Olynth. passim.

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The Olynthians implore the aid of Athens.

State of parties in Athens.

ravages of their territory. In this emergency, they trusted not to their domestic forces of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse¹⁰, but sent an embassy to Athens, inveighing in the strongest terms against Philip, who had first courted, then deceived, and at last invaded and attacked them; and craving assistance from the Athenians, in consequence of the alliance formerly concluded between the two republics, to defeat the designs of a tyrant equally daring and perfidious.

Had the people of Athens heartily undertaken the cause of Olynthus, Philip would have been exposed a second time to the danger which he had eluded with so much address in the beginning of his reign. Thebes was employed and exhausted in the Phocian war; the grandeur of Sparta had decayed as much as her principles had degenerated; the inferior states extended not their views of policy beyond their respective districts. But the Athenians, recently successful in Eubœa, and reinforced by the strength and resentment of such a republic as Olynthus, might have still rendered themselves formidable to the public enemy, especially as, at this juncture, the rebellious humours of the Thessalians broke out afresh, and led them capriciously to oppose, with as much eagerness as they had often helped to promote, the interest of Macedon. But to compensate these unpromising circumstances, Philip had many strenuous abettors of his power within the walls of Athens and Olynthus; and his garrisons actually commanded the principal posts

¹⁰ Demosth. de ~~als~~ Legatione.

in Thessaly. Above all, the indolence and vices of his enemies were most favourable to his cause. The late success in Eubœa, which should have animated a brave and generous people to new exertions and dangers, only replunged the Athenians into a slothful security. While they enjoyed their theatrical entertainments, their shows and festivals, and all the ease and luxury of a city-life, they were little inclined to engage in any enterprise that might disturb the tranquil course of their pleasures. In this disposition they were encouraged by their perfidious demagogues, who strongly exhorted them to beware of involving themselves in the danger of Olynthus, or of provoking the resentment of a prince whose power they were unable to resist. The orator Demades particularly distinguished his zeal in the Macedonian interest; advising an absolute and total rejection of the demands of the Olynthian ambassadors.

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Demosthenes at length arose, and, as the design of calling the assembly had been already explained, entered immediately on the question under deliberation. "On" many occasions, Athenians! have the gods declared their favour to this state, but never more manifestly than in

First oration of Demosthenes in favour of the Olynthians.

"I mean not a translation of Demosthenes. The inserting his speeches entire would destroy the humble uniformity of this historical work, with the design of which it would be inconsistent to transcribe what the orator found it necessary to say, repeat, and enforce so often. Besides, Demosthenes is one of the few Greek writers that has been translated, as the late Mr. Harris says in his *Philological Enquiries*, by competent persons: Drs. Leland and Francis, in English; M. Tourreil and the Abbé Auger, in French; and the Abbé Cesarotti, in Italian.

C H A P. the present juncture. That enemies should be
 XXXV. raised to Philip, on the confines of his territory,
 enemies not contemptible in power, and, which
 is more important, so determined on the war,
 that they regard every accommodation in
 Macedon, first as insidious, next as the destruc-
 tion of their country, can be ascribed to nothing
 less than the bountiful interposition of Heaven.
 With every thing else on our side, let us not be
 wanting to ourselves; let us not be reproached
 with the unspeakable infamy of throwing away,
 not only those cities and territories which we
 inherited from our ancestors, but those occasions
 and alliances offered us by fortune and the gods.
 To insist on the power and greatness of Philip
 belongs not to the present subject. He has
 become great through your supine neglect, and
 the perfidy of traitors whom it becomes you to
 punish. Such topics are not honourable for you:
 I wave them as superfluous, having matter more
 material to urge. To call the King of Macedon
 perjured and perfidious, without proving my
 assertions, would be the language of insult and
 reproach. But his own actions, and not my
 resentment, shall name him; and of these, I
 think it necessary to speak for two reasons; first,
 that he may appear, what he really is, a wicked
 man; and, secondly, that the weak minds who
 are intimidated by his power and resources, may
 perceive that the artifices to which he owes them,
 are now all exhausted, and that his ruin is at
 hand. As for myself, Athenians! I should not
 only fear but admire Philip, had he attained his
 present height of grandeur by honourable and

equitable means. But, after the most serious examination, I find, that at first he seduced our simplicity by the flattering promise of Amphipolis; that he next surprised the friendship of Olynthus by the deceitful gift of Potidæa; that, lastly, he enslaved the Thessalians, under the specious pretence of delivering them from tyrants. In one word, with what community hath he treated, which hath not experienced his fraud? Which of his confederates hath he not shamelessly betrayed? Can it be expected, then, that those who promoted his elevation, because they thought him *their* friend, will continue to support it, when they find him a friend to his own interest alone? Impossible! When confederacies are formed on the principles of common advantage and affection, each member shares the toils with alacrity; all persevere: such confederacies endure. But when worthlessness and lawless ambition have raised a single man, the slightest accident overthrows the unstable edifice of his grandeur. It is not, no! Athenians! it is not possible to found a lasting power on treachery, fraud, and perjury. These may succeed for a while: but time reveals their weakness. For, as in a house, a ship, and in structures of every kind, the foundation and lower parts should be firm and solid, so the grounds and principles of action should be just and true. But such qualities belong not to the actions of Philip.¹²

¹² The important, though trite proverb, that in public, as well as in private transactions, "honesty is the best policy," was never

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“ I am of opinion, then, that, fearless of consequences, you ought to assist Olynthus with the utmost celerity and vigour, and to dispatch an embassy to the Thessalians, to inflame their hostility. But take care, Athenians! that your ardour evaporate not in mere resolutions and decrees. Be ready to pay your contributions; prepare to take the field; show yourselves in earnest, and you will soon discover not only the hollow faith of the allies of Philip, but the internal and concealed infirmity of Macedon itself. That kingdom has emerged from obscurity amidst the contests of neighbouring states, during which the smallest weight, put into either scale, is sufficient to incline the balance. But, in itself, Macedon is inconsiderable and weak, and its real weakness is increased by the splendid but ruinous expeditions of Philip. For the King and his subjects are actuated by very different sentiments. Domineered

expressed perhaps with such dignity, as in the following words of Demosthenes; *ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα σὺνῃ, καὶ πᾶσι τὰντα συμφορῇ τοῖς μετεχούσι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμπορεύῃ, καὶ φέρῃ τὰς συμφοράς, καὶ μὲνιν ἐθέλωσι δι' ἀνθρώποι' ὅταν δὲ ἐκ πλεονεξίας τις ὥσπερ ἄτος, ἰσχυρῇ, ἢ πρώτῃ προφασί, καὶ μικρὸν πταίσμα ἅπαντα ἀνεχαιτίσῃ, καὶ διαλύσῃ· οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶ, ὡς σὺνδρεῖ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικήματα καὶ ἐπιτοκίσματα καὶ ψευδομένον, δυνάμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ, καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον, ἀντεχεῖ· καὶ σφοδρὰ γὰρ πρήσῃ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ὡς τυχερῶς τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ φεραταί, καὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καταρρεῖ· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοῖα, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων τὰ κατωθὲν ἰσχυροτάτα εἶναι δεῖ, ὅτῳ καὶ τῶν πρῶξιν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθεσεις ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει· τὸτο δὲ ἐκ εἰς νῦν ἐν τοῖς περὶ ῥάγματος φιλιππῶ. Demosthen. Olynth. i. or Olynth. ii. p. 7th. in the common but incorrect edition of Wolfius.*

by ambition, he disregards ease and safety ; but his subjects, who individually have little share in the glory of his conquests, are indignant, that, for the sake of one man, they should be harassed by continual warfare, and withdrawn from those occupations and pursuits which afford the comforts and happiness of private life. On the great body of his people, Philip, therefore, can have no reliance ; nor, whatever may be said of their valour and discipline, can he depend more on his mercenaries. For I am informed, by a man of undoubted veracity, who has just arrived from Macedon, that none of Philip's guards, even those whom he treats with the affectionate, but deceitful names of companions, and fellow-soldiers, can merit his esteem, without incurring his hatred and persecution. Such is the intolerable jealousy, such the malignant envy, which crowns the other odious vices of this monster, who, defying every sentiment of virtue and decency, drives from his presence all who shudder, all who are disgusted, at the most unnatural enormities ; and whose court is continually crowded by buffoons, parasites, obscene poets and drunkards ; wretches who, when drunk, will dance, but such dances¹³ as modesty dare not name. Slight and trivial as these matters may to some appear, they exhibit the worthlessness of Philip, and announce the infelicity which

¹³ The *κορδαλισμος*. Demosth. p. 8. Vid. Schol. ad Aristoph. in Nubib. From the description above given of Athenian manners, it appears that Demosthenes's delicacy was merely complimentary.

CHAP. awaits him. The dangerous defects of his character are hid in the blaze of prosperity ¹⁴; but when misfortune happens, his native deformity will appear. For it is easy to prove that, as in the bodily frame, men, during the season of health, are insensible of what is weak and disordered in their constitutions, which imperfections are immediately felt on the first approach of sickness; so the glory of foreign conquest conceals the vices and defects of republics and monarchies: but let calamity happen, let the war be carried to their frontiers, and those hitherto latent evils immediately become manifest.

“ If there is a man among you, Athenians! who thinks that Philip is a formidable enemy, because he is fortunate, I agree with that man. Fortune ¹⁵ has a mighty influence, or rather Fortune alone domineers in human affairs. Yet could you be persuaded to do but the smallest part of your duty, I would greatly prefer your fortune to Philip's; for you, surely, have better reason to trust in the assistance of Heaven. But we remain, I think, inactive, hesitating, delaying, and deliberating, while our enemy takes the field, braving seasons and dangers, and neglecting no opportunity of advantage. And if the indolent and careless are abandoned by their best friends, can we expect that the gods, however favourable, should assist us, if we will not help ourselves?”

¹⁴ *Secundæ res mirè sunt vitii obtentui.* Sallust.

¹⁵ From what is said below, it appears that, by Fortune, Demosthenes here means the dispensations of Providence; and by good Fortune, the favour of Heaven.

The people of Athens, animated to their duty, C H A P.
XXXV. on the one hand, by Demosthenes, and seduced, on the other, by the hirelings of ¹⁶ Philip and their own deceitful passions, imprudently steered a middle course, which, in public affairs, is often the most dangerous. Convinced that the preservation of Olynthus was the best safeguard of Attica, yet unwilling to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures, they determined to send Chares, with a fleet and two thousand mercenaries, to the assistance of their allies. This commander, who was the idol of the multitude, but the disgrace of his country and of his profession ¹⁷, showed no solicitude to protect the dependencies of Olynthus, which successively submitted to the Macedonian arms. To gratify the rapacity of his troops, he made a descent on the fertile coast of Palléné, where, falling in with eight hundred men commanded by Audæus, called the friends of Philip, he obtained over those contemptible cowards an easy and ludicrous victory, which served only to amuse the comic poets of the times. Having gained this advantage, Chares became unwilling to try his fortune in any severer conflict; and disdaining, as he affected, to follow the motions of Philip, returned home, and celebrated his triumph over the vain, boastful, and voluptuous Audæus ¹⁸; not, however, with the spoils of the

The extravagant expedition of Chares.

¹⁶ Philochorus in Dionys. Epist. ad Ammonium.

¹⁷ Timotheus said of him, "that he was fitter to carry the baggage, than to command an army." Plut. in Apophth.

¹⁸ Among his contemporaries, he was nicknamed *αἰστῆρ*, the cock. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

C H A P. vanquished, but with the sum of sixty talents,
 XXXV. which he had extorted from the Phocians, who
 were actually in alliance with Athens.¹⁹

Philip
 besieges
 Olynthus.

The thoughtless multitude, who judged of the expedition of Chares by the expensive pomp with which he entertained them at his return, talked extravagantly of invading Macedon, and chastising the insolence of Philip²⁰, when a second embassy arrived from Olynthus. The inhabitants of this place had been shut up within their walls; they had lost Stagyra, Miciberna, Toroné, cities of considerable strength, besides many inferior towns, which, on the first appearance of Philip, were forward to receive his bribes, and to open their gates²¹: and this shameful venality, in places well provided for defence, made the King of Macedon observe to his generals, that he would thenceforth consider no fortress as impregnable, which could admit a male laden with money.²² Dejected by continual losses, the Olynthians turned their thoughts to negotiation, that they might at least amuse the invader till the arrival of the Athenian succours. Philip penetrated their design, and dexterously turned their arts against them; affecting to lend an ear to their proposals, but meanwhile continuing

¹⁹ Athenæus, l. xii. p. 534.

²⁰ Demosthen. Olynth. ii.

²¹ Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 450.

²² Plutarch. in Phocion. Diodorus, p. 451, relates the matter somewhat differently. But he acknowledges that the King of Macedon boasted that he had augmented his dominions more by gold than by arms Diodorus, p. 450.

his approaches, till, having got within forty stadia of their walls, he declared that of two things one was necessary, either *they* must leave Olynthus, or *he* Macedon.²³ This explicit declaration from an enemy, who often flattered to destroy, but who might always be believed when he threatened, convinced the Olynthians of what they had long suspected, that their utter ruin was at hand. They endeavoured to retard the fatal moment by a vigorous sally, in which their cavalry, commanded by Apollonides, particularly signalised their valour.²⁴ But they were repulsed by superior numbers, and obliged to take refuge in the city.

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In this posture of affairs, the ambassadors sailed for Athens; and having arrived there, found, to their utter astonishment, the multitude still enjoying the imaginary triumph of Chares. This commander, who chiefly owed his credit to the ascendant of superficial qualities over the undiscerning folly of the people, was a warm and active partisan of democracy, and as such viewed, even by Demosthenes, with too partial eyes. The orator, besides, well knew that the irregular, useless, or destructive operations of the Athenian arms, ought not always to be charged on the misconduct of the general. The troops were always ill paid; sometimes not paid at all; and therefore disobedient and mutinous. Instead of submitting to controul, they often controuled their leaders; their resolutions were prompt and ungovernable; when they could not persuade, they threatened;

Second
embassy to
Athens.

²³ Demosthen. Philipp. iii.

²⁴ Id. *ibid.*

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The demands of the Olynthians again enforced by Demosthenes.

and compelled even prudent commanders to measures wild, ruinous, and dishonourable.

Demosthenes, therefore, who again undertook to second the demands of Olynthus, waved all accusation against particular persons. After endeavouring to repress the vain confidence of his countrymen, which had been excited by the supposed advantages of Chares, and the venal breath of corrupt orators, he represents the real and imminent danger of their allies, which he persuades them to regard as their own. The crisis was now arrived; and if they neglected the present opportunity of fulfilling their engagements to Olynthus, they must soon be obliged to meet Philip in Attica. He reminds them of the various occasions, which they had already lost, of repelling this rapacious tyrant, this hostile Barbarian, this mixture of perfidy and violence, for whom he cannot find any name sufficiently reproachful. "But some perhaps will say, it is the business of a public speaker to advise, not to upbraid. We wish to assist the Olynthians, and we will assist them; but inform us how our aid may be rendered most effectual. Appoint magistrates, Athenians! for the inspection of your laws; not to enact new laws; they are already too numerous; but to repeal those whose ill effects you daily experience; I mean the laws respecting the theatrical funds (thus openly I declare it), and some about the soldiery. By the first, the soldier's pay is consumed, as theatrical expences, by the useless and inactive; the second screen from justice the coward who declines the service, and damp the ardour of

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the brave who would be ready to take the field. Till these laws be repealed, expect not that any man will urge your true interest, since his honest zeal must be repaid with destruction." After insisting still farther on this delicate and dangerous subject, Demosthenes probably observed displeasure and resentment in the countenance of his hearers, and then (as his custom was) artfully turning the discourse: "I speak thus, not with a view to give offence, for I am not so mad as wantonly to offend; but because I think it the duty of a public speaker to prefer your interest to your pleasure. Such were the maxims and conduct (you yourselves know it) of those ancient and illustrious orators whom all unite to praise but none venture to imitate; of the virtuous Aristides, of Nicias, of Pericles, and of him whose name ²⁵ I bear. But since ministers have appeared who dare not address the assembly, till they have first *consulted* you about the *counsels* which they ought to give, who ask, as it were, What shall I propose? What shall I advise? In what, Athenians! can I do you pleasure? The sweet draught of flattery has concealed a deadly poison; our strength is enervated, our glory tarnished, the public beggared and disgraced, while those smooth-tongued declaimers have acquired opulence and splendor. ²⁶ Consider, Athenians!

²⁵ Demosthenes, who acted such a distinguished part in the Peloponnesian war. See above, vol. ii. c. xvii. p. 269, et seq.

²⁶ It is worthy of observation, that, in this discourse throughout, Demosthenes insists that the people at large enjoyed much less authority in his time than in the days of Aristides, &c. All depends, he

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how briefly the conduct of your ancestors may be contrasted with your own ; for, if you would pursue the road to glory and happiness, you need not foreign instructors : it will be sufficient to follow the example of those from whom you are descended. The Athenians of former times, whom the orators never courted, never treated with that indulgence to which you are accustomed, held, with general consent, the sovereignty of Greece for sixty-five years⁷⁷ ; deposited above ten thousand talents in the citadel ; kept the King of Macedon in that submission which a Barbarian owes to Greece ; erected many and illustrious trophies of the exploits which their own valour had achieved by land and sea ; in a word, are the only people on record whose glorious actions transcend the power of envy. Thus great in war, their civil administration was not less admirable. The stately edifices which they raised, the temples which they adorned, the dedications which they offered to the gods, will never be excelled in magnificence ; but in private life, so exemplary was their moderation, and so scrupu-

asserts, on the popular orators and magistrates, “*οἱ πολιτευόμενοι*.” Yet it is well known that since the age of Aristides, the government had become more democratical. Demosthenes himself allows this : the orators, he says, dare not address the people now with that freedom which they used formerly. — This apparent contradiction shows the nature and tendency of that species of popular government which the Greeks called ochlogarchy. — The populace are the slaves of their demagogues, and the demagogues of the populace. Instead of liberty, there is an interchange of servitude.

⁷⁷ Demosthenes's chronology here is not accurate. See above, vol. iii. p. 86. in the note.

lous their adherence to the frugal maxims of antiquity, that if any of you has examined the house of Aristides or Miltiades, he will find them undistinguished above the contiguous buildings by superior elegance or grandeur. The ambition of those illustrious statesmen was to exalt the republic, not to enrich themselves²⁸; and this just moderation, accompanied by piety and patriotism, raised their country (and no wonder!) to the height of prosperity. Such was the condition of Athens under those sincere and honest men. Is it the same, or nearly the same, under the indulgence of our present ministers? I wave other topics on which I might enlarge. But you behold in what solitude we are left. The Lacedæmonians lost; the Thebans harassed by war; no other republic worthy of aspiring to the sovereignty. Yet, at this period, when we might not only have defended our own possessions, but have become the arbiters and umpires of all around us, we have been stripped of whole provinces; we have expended fifteen hundred talents fruitlessly; we have lost, in time of peace, the alliances and advantages which the arms of our ancestors had acquired; and we have raised up and armed a most formidable enemy against ourselves. If not, let the man stand forth who can show from what other cause Philip has derived his greatness. But the miserable condition of our foreign affairs, is, perhaps, compensated by the

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²⁷ Privatus illis census erat brevis,

Commune magnum.

HOR. ode xv. l. ii.

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happiness of our domestic state, and the splendid improvements of our capital. Roads repaired, walls whitened, *fountains*, and *follies*! ²⁰ And the ministers who have procured us those magnificent advantages, pass from poverty and meanness to opulence and dignity; build private palaces which insult the edifices of the public; grow greater as their country becomes less, and gradually rise on its ruins. What is the source of this disorder? It is, Athenians! that formerly the people did their duty, took the field in person, and thus kept the magistrates in awe."

Licentiousness of the Athenian troops under the profligate Charidemus.

The assembly remained insensible to the motives of interest and honour. Instead of taking the field in person, they sent to Olynthus a body of foreign infantry, amounting to four thousand, with an hundred and fifty horse, under the command of Charidemus. This unworthy general, who was the slave of his mercenaries, and of his own detestable passions, gratified the rapacity of his troops by ravaging the Macedonian province of Bottiaea on the confines of Chalcis. At length, however, he threw his forces into Olynthus; and the besieged, encouraged by this reinforcement, hazarded another sally, in which they were defeated and repelled with considerable loss. The Athenian mercenaries were rendered every day more contemptible by their cowardice, and more dangerous by their licentiousness. The beastly Charidemus had neither inclination nor ability

²⁰ Πιργαί και Ληραι. Demosthenes disdained not such a gingle of words when it presented itself naturally; but as it surely occurs in his works, it is plain that he never sought for it.

to restrain their irregularities. According to his custom, he drank, at every meal, to a scandalous excess; his brutality insulted the women of Olynthus; and such was his impudent and abandoned profligacy, that he demanded of the senate, as a reward for his pretended services, a beautiful Macedonian youth, then captive in the city.²⁰

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In this state of affairs, the Olynthians, a third time, applied to Athens. On the present occasion, Æschines, who afterwards became such an active partisan of the Macedonian interest, particularly distinguished his zeal and his patriotism. The speech of Demosthenes, to the same purpose, is still on record. He exhorts and conjures his countrymen to send to Olynthus an army of citizens, and at the same time to make a diversion, by invading the Macedonian coast. Unless both be done, the indefatigable industry of Philip would render either ineffectual. "Have you ever considered the rapid progress of this prince? He began by taking Amphipolis, then Pydna, Potidæa, and Methoné; from thence he poured his troops into Thessaly, and became master of Pheræ, Pegasæ, and Magnesia. Then turning towards Thrace, he over-ran provinces, conquered and divided kingdoms, and seated himself on the trophies of fallen crowns and broken sceptres. I speak not of his expedition against the Pæonians and Illyrians, into Epirus, — and where has not ambition conducted his arms? But why this long enumeration? —

The cause of the Olynthians vigorously supported by Æschines and Demosthenes.

²⁰ Theopomp. apud Athen. l. x. p. 456.

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To prove the important opportunities which your negligence has lost, and the unextinguishable ardour of an adversary, whose successive conquests continually bring him nearer to your walls. For is there a man in this assembly, who perceives not that the sufferings of the Olynthians are the fore-runners of our own? The present conjuncture calls you, as with a loud voice, at length to rouse from your lethargy, and to profit by this last testimony of the bountiful protection of the gods. Another is not to be expected, after the many which you have despised and forgotten; I say *forgotten*; for favourable conjunctures, like riches, and other gifts of Heaven, are remembered with gratitude, only by those who have understanding to preserve and to enjoy them. The spendthrift dissipates his thankfulness with his wealth³¹; and the same imprudent folly renders him both miserable and ungrateful." After these bold expostulations, or rather reproaches, he encourages them to relieve Olynthus, by observing, that Philip would never have undertaken the siege of that place, if he had expected such a vigorous resistance; especially at a time when his allies were ready to revolt; when the Thessalians wished to throw off the yoke; when the Thracians and Illyrians hoped to recover their freedom. Thus the power of Philip, lately represented as so formidable, is by no means

³¹ The observation is uncommon, but just; *αλλα οίμαι, παρομοιον εστι, όπερ και περι της των χρημειων κτησεως' αν μεν γαρ, οσα αν τις λαβη και σωσθ, μεγαλην εχει τη τυχη την χαριν' αν δε αναλωσας λαβη, συνανάλωσσε και το μεμνησθαι τη τυχη την χαριν.* Demost. Olynth. iii. Olynth. i. p. 2. ex edit. Wolf.

real and solid ; one vigorous effort might yet overwhelm him ; and the passion of hope, as well as that of fear, is rendered subservient to the purpose of the orator. He again touches on the article of supplies ; but with such caution as shows that his former more explicit observations had been heard impatiently. “ As to money for the expenses of the war (for without money nothing can be done), you possess, Athenians ! a military fund exceeding that of any other people. But you have unfortunately withdrawn it from its original destination, to which, were it restored, there could not be any necessity for extraordinary contributions. What ! do you propose *in form*²², that the theatrical money should be applied to the uses of the soldiery ? No, surely. But I affirm, that soldiers must be raised ; that a fund has been allotted for their subsistence ; and that, in every well-regulated community, those who are paid by the public ought to serve the public. To profit of the present conjuncture, we must act with vigour and celebrity, we must dispatch ambassadors to animate the neighbouring states against Philip ; we must take the field in person. If war raged on the frontiers of this country, with what rapidity would the Macedonians march hither ? Why will you throw away a similar opportunity ? Know, that but one alternative remains, to carry the war into Macedon, or to receive it in Attica. If Olynthus resists, we may ravage the territories

²² Such a proposal the Athenians had absurdly declared punishable by death.

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of Philip; should that republic be destroyed, who will hinder him from coming hither? The Thebans! to say nothing too severe, they would rather reinforce his arms. The Phocians! they who, without our assistance, cannot defend themselves. O! but he dares not come! It is madness to think that the designs of which he already boasts with such bold imprudence, he will not venture to execute, when nothing opposes his success.³³ I think it unnecessary to describe the difference between attacking Philip at home, and waiting for him here. Were you obliged, only for one month, to encamp without the walls, and to subsist an army in the country, your husband-men would sustain more loss than has been incurred by all the former exigencies of the war. This would happen, although the enemy kept at a distance; but at the approach and entrance of an invader, what devastation must be produced! Add to this, the insult and disgrace, the most ruinous of all losses, to men capable of reflection."

Philip
takes
Olynthus.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
A. C. 348.

The arguments of Demosthenes prevailed: an embassy was sent into Peloponnesus, to inflame the hostility of that country against Philip; and it was determined to assist the Olynthians with

³³ With all his policy, Philip seems to have had the vanity of a Greek. The vigour of the original is not to be translated: *Αν δε οικειαν Φιλίππος λαβῇ, τίς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ κυλῦσει δουρὸ βαδίζειν; Θεβαῖοι; μὴ λίαν σικκὸν εἰπεῖν ἢ, καὶ συνεισθῆλασι σταίμεν. ἀλλὰ Φωκεῖς, οἱ τὴν οικειαν σὺ δῶκεν τε οὐκ ἐφύλατταν, οὐκ μὴ βοηθήσῃτε ἡμῖν; ἢ ἄλλος τις; ἀλλ' ὅταν σὺ βελησεται — τῶν ἀτοκῶτατων μέγροι αὐ' εἴη, εἰ ἂν νῦν ἀνοίαν οφλισκάνων, δυνεὶ ἐκλαλεῖ, ταῦτα δυνήθεις, μὴ πρῶξι.* I have used a little freedom with the "σὺ βελησεται."

an army of Athenian citizens. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, Olynthus was no more. The cavalry belonging to that place had acted with great spirit against the besiegers. As the works were too extensive to be completely invested, the Olynthian horsemen made frequent incursions³⁴ into the surrounding territory, where they not only supplied themselves with provisions and forage, but beat up the quarters, attacked the advanced posts, and intercepted the convoys of the enemy. These advantages were chiefly owing to the merit of one man. In the various skirmishes, as well as in the two general engagements which had happened since the commencement of the siege, Philip perceived that Apollonides, who commanded the enemy's horse, displayed such valour and abilities as might long retard, perhaps altogether defeat, the success of his undertaking. His secret emissaries were therefore set to work : perfidious clamours were sown among the populace of Olynthus ; Apollonides was publicly accused ; and by the malignant practices of traitors, condemned to banishment on a suspicion of treason.³⁵ The command of the cavalry was bestowed on Lasthenes and Euthyrates, two wretches who had sold their country to Philip. Having obtained some previous successes, which had been concerted the better to mask their designs, they advanced against a Macedonian post ; carried it at the first onset ; pursued the flying

³⁴ Diodor. l. xvi. 53.³⁵ Demosth. de falsa Legat.

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garrison ; and betrayed their own troops into an ambush prepared by the enemy. Surrounded on all sides, the Olynthians surrendered their arms : and this fatal disaster encouraging the Macedonian partisans within the walls, soon opened the gates of Olynthus.³⁶ The conqueror entered in triumph, plundered and demolished the city and dragged the inhabitants into³⁷ servitude. Lasthenes, Euthycrates, and their associates, shared the same, or even a worse fate. Philip is said to have abandoned them to the indignant rage of the Macedonian soldiers, who butchered them almost before his eyes. It is certain, that though his mean and blind ambition often employed treachery, his justice or his pride always detested the traitor.³⁸

This important conquest inspires Philip with the ambition to seize Thermopylae

The conquest of Olynthus put Philip in possession of the region of Chalcis, and the northern coast of the Ægean sea ; an acquisition of territory, which rendered his dominions on that side round and complete. His kingdom was now bounded on the north by the Thracian posses-

³⁶ Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

³⁷ Four reasons conspired to produce the severe treatment of the Olynthians ; — 1. Philip had lost a great many men in the siege ; *πολλας των στρατιωτων εν ταις τειχομαχiais απεβαλεν*. Diodor. p. 450. 2. The Olynthians had received his natural brothers, Aridæus and Menelaus, accused of treason. Justin. l. viii. c. iii. 3. Philip wanted money to carry on his intrigues in other cities ; *διαρπασας δε αυτην (scil. Ολυνθον) και τας ενουικεντας εξανδραποδισαμενος, ελαφδραπωλησε' τατα δι' πραξας, χρηματων τε πολλων εις τον πολεμον ευπορησε*. 4. Diodorus immediately after adds the fourth reason, " That he might deter the neighbouring cities from opposing his measures." Diodor. p. 450.

³⁸ Demosth. Olynth. iii. sect. 3.

sions of Kersobleptes, and on the south by the territory of Phocis, a province actually comprehending the straits of Thermopylæ, which had formerly belonged to a different division of Greece. Besides the general motives of interest, which prompted him to extend his dominions, he discerned the peculiar importance of acquiring the Thermopylæ and the Hellespont, since the former was emphatically styled the Gates of Greece, and the latter formed the communication between that country and the fertile shores of the Euxine. Greece, exceeding in population the proportion of its extent and fertility, annually drew supplies of corn from those northern regions. The Athenians, in particular, had settlements even in the remote peninsula of Crim Tartary, anciently called the Taurica Chersonesus, by means of which they purchased and imported the superfluous productions of that remote climate.* Their ships could only sail thither by the Hellespont; and should that important strait be reduced under the power of an enemy, they must be totally excluded from an useful, and even necessary branch of commerce.

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and the
Hellespont.

Philip perceived these consequences. It was the interest of all the Grecian republics to unite in assisting Kersobleptes and the Phocians, which was, in other words, to defend the Hellespont and Thermopylæ: The interest of the Macedonian was diametrically opposite; nor could he expect

Philip celebrates the festival of the Muses at Dium. Olymp. cviii. 1. A. C. 348.

* Demosthen. in Leptin.

C H A P. to accomplish the great objects of his reign,
XXXV. unless he first rendered himself master of those important stations. This delicate situation furnished a proper exercise for the dexterity of Philip. After the destruction of Olynthus, he celebrated a public festival of gratitude and joy, at the neighbouring town of Dium; to which, as at the Olympian and other Grecian games, all the republics were promiscuously invited, whether friends or enemies.⁴⁰ It appears that several Athenians assisted at these magnificent entertainments, which lasted nine days, in honour of the Muses, and which wanted no object of elegance or splendour, that either art could produce or wealth could purchase. The politeness and condescending affability of Philip obliterated the remembrance of his recent severity to Olynthus; and his liberal distribution of the spoils of that unfortunate city⁴¹ gained him

⁴⁰ Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Diodor. p. 451.

⁴¹ Both Demosthenes and Diodorus mention an anecdote which does honour to Philip, and still more to Satyrus the player. After dinner, the King, according to his custom, was distributing his presents: amidst the general festivity, Satyrus alone wore a sad countenance. The King addressed him kindly, and, in the language of the times, desired him to ask a boon. Satyrus said, that such presents as others received (cups of gold, &c.) seemed to him of little value: that he had indeed something to ask, but feared a denial. Philip having encouraged him, he proceeded: "Apollophanes of Pydna was my friend: at his death his two daughters, both arrived at a marriageable age, were sent to Olynthus, taken captive, and subjected to all the calamities of servitude. These are the presents I request, not with any design unworthy of their father or myself, but that I may give them such portions as shall enable them to marry happily." Apollophanes had been an active opponent, and even the personal enemy of

new friends, and confirmed the attachment of his old partisans.

Amidst these scenes of rejoicing and festivity Philip seems not to have forgotten one moment, that the most immediate object of his policy was to detach the Athenians from the cause of Phocis and Kersobleptes, who were both their allies. For this purpose, while he courted individuals with peculiar address, he determined to make the public feel the inconvenience of the war, the better to prepare them for the insidious proposal of a separate peace. The bad conduct of Chares left the sea open to the Macedonians, who had silently acquired a considerable naval force. Philip began to attack the Athenians on their favourite element. His fleet ravaged their tributary islands of Lemnos and Imbros; surprised and took a squadron of Athenian vessels, stationed on the southern coast of Eubœa; and, encouraged by these advantages, boldly sailed to Attica, made a descent on the shore of Marathon, repelled the Athenian cavalry, headed by Deotimus, ravaged the territory, and carried off the Salaminian galley. From thence the victors proceeded to the isle of Salamis, and defeated a considerable detachment commanded by Charidemus. The illustrious trophies of Marathon and Salamis were effaced by the insults of the Macedonians, whose fleet returned home in

C H A P.
XXXV.

Philip unexpectedly commits naval depredations on Attica.

Philip; yet this prince granted the request of Satyrus, and enabled him liberally to provide for the daughters of his friend.

C H A P.

XXXV.

His intrigues
give him
possession
of Eubœa.

His deceit-
ful embassy
to Athens;

triumph, adorned with hostile spoils, and with military and naval glory.⁴²

The activity of Philip seconded his good fortune. His intrigues were renewed in Eubœa. Under pretence of delivering that island from the tyranny and extortions of Molossus, the Athenian commander, he landed such a body of troops there, as proved sufficient, with the assistance of his adherents, to expel the Athenians. Such a multiplication of calamities might have disgusted that people with the war against Philip, whose hostility, directed against them alone, seemed to have forgotten the Phocians and Ker-sobleptes; when secret but zealous partisans of Macedon arrived at Athens, as ambassadors from Eubœa, commissioned to settle amicably all differences between the two countries. They observed, that Philip had left the island absolutely free and independent; and that, though constrained to take arms in defence of his allies, he was sincerely desirous of making peace with the Athenians. The representations of the Eubœan ambassadors were enforced by the influence of two Athenians, Aristodemus and Neoptolemus, the first distinguished as a player, the second as a player and poet, who having acquired fortunes in Macedon, returned to their own country, to

⁴² In the chronology of these events, I have followed Dr. Leland. See his life of Philip, vol. ii. p. 43. The events themselves are related in the oration of Demosthenes, commonly entitled the First Philippic, but which the Doctor, with great probability, considers as two distinct orations spoken at different times.

forward the measures of their liberal protector. They affirmed, that the King of Macedon earnestly wished to live on good terms with the republic; and the Athenians paid much regard to men whose talents were then highly esteemed, and who remitted the riches amassed in a foreign country, to purchase lands in Attica, and to supply with alacrity the exigencies of the public service.

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Demosthenes saw through these dark and deep artifices⁴³; but in vain endeavoured to alarm the unsuspecting credulity of his countrymen. On a future occasion, after the plot had become manifest, he upbraids their careless indifference and delusion at this important crisis. "Had you been spectators in the theatre, and not deliberating on matters of the highest moment, you could not have heard Neoptolemus with more indulgence, nor me with more resentment."⁴⁴

in vain exposed by Demosthenes.

Such was the disposition of the assembly, when Æschines returned from his Peloponnesian embassy. He had assembled the great council of the Arcadians; revealed to them the dangerous views of Philip, which threatened the liberty of Greece; and, notwithstanding the powerful opposition of Hieronymus, and other Macedonian partisans, had engaged that people to approve the patriot zeal of Athens, and to deliberate on taking arms in the common cause. In relating the success of his embassy, he inveighed with great

Æschines returns from his embassy, and awakens the public resentment against Philip.

⁴³ Demosthen. de Chersoneso, et de Pace.

⁴⁴ Demosthen. de Chersoneso.

C H A P. severity against those mercenary traitors, who
 { XXXV. had sold the interests of their country to a cruel
 tyrant. The Greeks had full warning of their
 danger. The miserable fate of Olynthus ought
 ever to be before their eyes. At his return
 through Peloponnesus, he had beheld a sight suffi-
 cient to melt the most obdurate heart ; thirty
 young Olynthians, of both sexes, driven like
 a herd of cattle, as a present from Philip to
 some of the unworthy instruments of his am-
 bition. *

The susceptible and ever-varying temper of the
 multitude was deeply affected by the representa-
 tions of Æschines ; the pacific advices of Neopto-
 lemus and his associates were forgotten ; war and
 revenge again echoed through the assembly. At
 the requisition of Æschines, ambassadors were
 dispatched to confirm the hostile resolutions of the
 Arcadians, and to awaken the terror of the neigh-
 bouring republics. The Athenian youth were
 assembled in the temple of Agraulos to swear
 irreconcilable hatred against Philip and the Ma-
 cedonians ; and the most awful imprecations were
 denounced against the mercenary traitors who co-
 operated with the public enemy. This fermenta-
 tion might at length have purified into strong and
 decisive measures ; and had Philip possessed only
 an ordinary degree of vigilance, a confederacy
 might have been yet formed in Greece sufficient
 to repel the Macedonian arms. But that consum-
 mate politician thought nothing done while any

* Demosthen. de falsa Legatione, sect. 5.

thing was neglected; and, as he allowed not the slightest opportunity to pass unimproved, he often derived very important benefits from seemingly inconsiderable causes.

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An Athenian of the name of Phrynon, a man wealthy and powerful, had been attacked, robbed, and confined, by some Macedonian soldiers, who obliged him to purchase his liberty by a very considerable ransom.* As this violence had been committed during the fifteen days of truce that followed the celebration of the Olympic games, Phrynon very reasonably supposed that the King of Macedon, who had long been ambitious of obtaining a place in the Grecian confederacy, would not abet this act of aggravated impiety. He had therefore requested his countrymen, who at that time prepared to negotiate with Philip an exchange of prisoners, to join him in commission with Ctesiphon, a man of experience and capacity, who had been already named to that embassy, imagining that by appearing in a public character, he might the more easily recover the ransom and other monies that had been unjustly extorted from him. Having arrived in Macedon, the ambassadors were received and treated by Philip with uncommon politeness and respect; their demands were most obligingly granted, or rather prevented; the King apologised to Phrynon for the ignorant rusticity of his soldiers, which had led them to act so unwarrantably; and he lamented, both to Phrynon and Ctesiphon, the necessity of their present

Dexterity
of that
prince in
diverting
the storm.

* Æschines de falsa Legatione.

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XXXV.

He improves every favourable incident.

mission, since he had nothing more sincerely at heart than to live on good terms with their republic.⁴⁷ At their return to Athens, the representations of such men could not be without weight; nor could they fail to be extremely favourable to the King of Macedon.

Another incident followed, which was improved with no less dexterity.⁴⁸ At the taking and sack of Olynthus, Stratocles, and Eucrates, two Athenians of distinction, had been seized and carried into Macedon. By some accident these men had not been released with the other prisoners. Their relations were anxious for their safety, and therefore applied to the Athenians, that a proper person might be sent to treat of their ransom. Aristodemus was employed in this commission, but was more diligent in paying his court than in performing his duty; and, at his return home, neglected to give an account of his negociation. Philip, meanwhile, whose vigilance never slept, and who well knew the hostile resolutions in agitation against him at Athens, released the prisoners without ransom, and dismissed them with the highest expressions of regard. Moved by gratitude, Stratocles appeared in the assembly, blazed forth the praises of the King of Macedon, and loudly complained against the careless indifference of Aristodemus, who had neglected to report his embassy.⁴⁹

The Athenians are persuaded

The artful player, thus called upon to act his part, excused his omitting to relate *one* example of

⁴⁷ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

⁴⁸ Id. *ibid.*

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid.*

kindness, in a man who had recently given so many proofs of the most unbounded generosity. He expatiated on the candour and benevolence of Philip, and especially on his profound respect for the republic, with which, he assured them, the King of Macedon was earnest to conclude a peace, and even to enter into an alliance, on the most honourable and advantageous terms. He probably reminded them of the misfortunes which had attended their arms ever since they commenced war against this prince. Fifteen hundred talents expended with disgrace; seventy-five dependent cities, including those of the Chalcidic region, lost irrecoverably; Olynthus destroyed; Eubœa revolted; Athens dishonoured and exhausted; and Macedon more powerful and more respected than at any former period. This representation did not exceed the truth; and the calamities of the war had long inclined to peace the more moderate and judicious portion of the assembly. The artificial generosity of Philip, in his treatment of Phrynon and Stratocles, blazoned by the eloquence of Aristodemus, fixed the wavering irresolution of the multitude. The military preparations were suspended. Even Demosthenes and Æschines yielded to the torrent; and imagining that a bad peace was better than a bad war, (since it was impossible to expect success from the fluctuating councils of their country,) supported a ⁵⁰ decree of Philocrates for sending a herald and ambassa-

C H A P.
XXXV.
to send an
embassy to
Philip.

⁵⁰ The decree was attacked by one Lucinus. Demosthenes defended it; and both Demosthenes and Æschines, as appears from the text, were on the embassy,

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XXXV.

Character
of the am-
bassadors.

dors to penetrate the real intentions of Philip, and to sift those terms of accommodation with which he had so long amused them.

The ministers appointed to this commission seem to have been purposely chosen among men of opposite principles, who might mutually be checks on each other. Phrynon, Ctesiphon, Aristodemus, and Philocrates, who had uniformly testified their confidence in the King of Macedon, were opposed by Æschines and Demosthenes, who had long discovered their suspicions of that prince. To the embassy were added Nausicles and Dercyllus, men distinguished by the public offices which they had discharged with equal patriotism and fidelity; Jatrocles, the chosen friend of Æschines; and Cimon, illustrious for the name he bore, which descended to him from the greatest and most fortunate of the Athenian commanders. The whole number amounted to ten, besides Agalocreon of Tenedos, who was sent on the part of the Greek islands in alliance with Athens.⁵¹

Difficulties
occasioned
by the
quarrel
between
Demos-
thenes and
Æschines.

Thus far contemporary authors agree; but in describing the events which followed the departure of the ambassadors, all is inconsistency and contradiction. The misunderstanding that arose between Æschines and Demosthenes, the former of whom was impeached by the latter, furnish us, in the accusation and defence, with the fullest and most diffuse, but at the same time the least authentic, materials, that present themselves in any passage of Grecian history. The whole

⁵¹ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

train of the negotiation, as well as the events connected with it, are represented in colours the most discordant ; facts are asserted and denied ; while both parties appeal to the memory of the assembly before which they spoke, to the testimony of witnesses, and even to the evidence of public decrees and records ; circumstances that must appear very extraordinary, unless we consider that suborning of witnesses, perjury, and even the falsifying of laws and records, were crimes not unusual at Athens.⁵² Amidst this confusion, the discerning eye of criticism would vainly endeavour to penetrate the truth. *Æschines* was indeed acquitted by his countrymen. But nothing positive can be learned from a partial sentence, pronounced three years after the alleged crimes had been committed, when the power of Philip had increased to such an alarming degree, as gave his faction a decided ascendant even in the Athenian assembly.

To disentangle such perplexity, we shall keep chiefly to those facts which are allowed on both sides, deducing from them such consequences as seem most natural and probable. In the course of one year, three embassies were sent to Philip ; the first to propose a peace, the second to ratify it, the third to see the conditions of it fulfilled ; and in that space of time *Kersobleptes*, being stripped of his dominions, was reduced into captivity, and Philip, having seized *Thermopylæ*, invaded *Phocis*, and destroyed the twenty-two

C H A P.
XXXV.

Account
of the ne-
gociation.
Olymp.
cvi. 1.
cviii. 2.
A. C. 348
and 347

⁵² See my Discourse on the Characters and Manners of the Athenians, prefixed to *Lysias* and *Isocrates*.

C H A P. cities of that province in less than twenty-two
 XXXV. days. Nor was this all: a foreign prince having
 made himself master of Thermopylæ and the
 Hellespont, the most valuable safeguards of
 Greece:—having invaded and desolated the ter-
 ritory of a Grecian republic, the most respect-
 able for its antiquity, power, and wealth, the seat
 of the Amphictyonic council, and of the revered
 oracle of Delphi:—these daring measures tended
 so little to excite the displeasure of Greece, that
 the King of Macedon had no sooner accomplished
 them, than he threatened to attack Athens (who
 weakly lamented calamities which she had neither
 prudence nor courage to prevent) at the head
 of a general confederacy of the Amphictyonic
 states.

Dissension
 of the am-
 bassadors.

Such extraordinary transactions, of which his-
 tory scarcely offers another example for the instruc-
 tion of posterity, Demosthenes ascribes entirely
 to the corruption and perfidy of the Athenian
 ambassadors. “The felicity of Philip,” he says,
 “consists chiefly in this; that having occasion for
 traitors, fortune has given him men treacherous
 and corrupt beyond his most sanguine hopes and
 prayers.”⁵³ This doubtless is the exaggeration
 of an orator, desirous by every means to blacken
 the character of his colleagues in the embassy,
 and particularly that of his adversary Æschines.
 Yet it will appear, from the most careful survey
 of the events of those times, that the incapacity

⁵³ Subsequent writers have copied the language of Demosthenes,
και χρηματων πληθος διαδωκε τοις εν ταις πολεσι ισχυουσι, πολλας ισχει προδοτας
των πατριδων. Diodorus, ubi supra.

and neglect, if not the treason, of the Athenian ministers, greatly contributed to the success of the Macedonian arms. C H A P.
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From the first moment of their departure from Athens, the ambassadors began to betray their mutual jealousies and suspicions of each other's fidelity. The dangerous character of Philocrates was equally dreaded by Æschines and Demosthenes⁵⁴; and the latter, if we may believe his rival, so much disgusted the other ambassadors by the morose severity of his temper, that they had almost excluded him their society; a circumstance rendered credible, not merely by the partial evidence of an adversary, but by the resentment and indignation always expressed by Demosthenes against the behaviour of his colleagues. Having arrived at Pella, they were introduced to an audience; and spoke, as had been agreed on, in the order of their seniority. The discourse of Æschines was the most copious and elaborate, but seemed rather calculated for gaining merit with the Athenian assembly, than for influencing the conduct of Philip. "He recalled to the memory of the King, the favours of the Athenians towards his ancestors; the distressed condition of the children of Amyntas; the solicitations of Eurydicé; and the generous interpositions of Iphicrates, to whom the family of Philip owed the crown of Macedon. Having touched slightly on the ungrateful returns made by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, he dwelt on the in-

Confer-
ence of
the ambas-
sadors
with Phi-
lip.

Speech of
Æschines.

⁵⁴ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legatione,

C H A P. justice of those hostilities which Philip had committed against the republic, especially in taking
XXXV. Amphipolis, which his father Amyntas had acknowledged to be a dependent colony of Athens. He insisted on the impropriety of retaining this possession, which, as it could not be claimed by any ancient title, neither could it be held by the right of conquest, not being gained in any war between the two states. In the time of profound peace between Athens and Macedon, Philip had taken from the Amphipolitans an Athenian city, which it concerned his justice and his honour to restore, without delay, to its lawful and acknowledged owners."

That of
 Demos-
 thenes.

Had Æschines wished to furnish Philip with a pretence for protracting the negotiation, he could not have done it more effectually than by such a demand. It could not possibly be expected, that a victorious monarch should set bounds to his own triumphs, in order to purchase peace by tamely surrendering one of the most important of his acquisitions. In this light the proposal appeared to Demosthenes, who thought that his colleague had totally forgotten the object of the embassy, the distressed state of Athens, how greatly the people had been harassed by the war, and how eagerly they wished for peace. It was now his own turn to speak before a prince whom he had often and highly offended, whose character and actions he had ever viewed and represented with the utmost severity; but whom, on the present occasion, it was his business to soothe rather than to irritate. The novelty of the

situation might have disconcerted a man of less sensibility than Demosthenes. The envious jealousy of his colleagues was prepared to listen, with a malicious ear, to those irresistible arguments which the orator is said to have promised, with a very unbecoming confidence; the Macedonian courtiers expected some prodigy of eloquence from the perpetual opponent of their admired master. Amidst the silent suspense of an unfavourable audience, Demosthenes began to speak with ungraceful hesitation, and after uttering a few obscure and interrupted sentences, his memory totally forsook him. Philip endeavoured to remove his embarrassment with a mortifying politeness, telling him that he was not now in a theatre⁵⁵, where such an accident might be attended with disagreeable consequences; and exhorting him to take time for recollection, and to pursue his intended discourse. Demosthenes again began, but without better success. The assembly beheld his confusion with a malignant pleasure; and the ambassadors were ordered to withdraw.

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XXXV.

His embarrassment and confusion.

After a proper interval, they were summoned to the royal presence. Philip received them with great dignity, and answered with precision and elegance the arguments respectively used by the several speakers, particularly those of Æschines.

Philip answers the ambassadors;

⁵⁵ Notwithstanding the passion of the Athenians for dramatic entertainments, and their consideration for the character of players beyond that of any other nation, they were indecently severe against their negligencies and faults on the theatre; as appears from various passages of the judicial orations of Demosthenes and Æschines.

C H A P. The confused hints of Demosthenes he passed
XXXV. over with merited neglect; thus proving to the world, that the man who had ever arraigned him with most severity in the tumultuous assemblies of Greece, had not dared to say any thing in his presence which deserved the smallest notice or reply. The ambassadors were then invited to an entertainment, where Demosthenes is said to have behaved with great weakness, and where Philip displayed such powers of merriment and festivity, as eclipsed his talents for negotiation and war. The ambassadors were persuaded of his candour and sincerity, and dismissed with a letter to the people of Athens, assuring them that his intentions were truly pacific, and that as soon as they consented to an alliance with him, he would freely indulge those sentiments of affection and respect which he had ever entertained for their republic.

invites
them to an
entertain-
ment.

Their de-
parture
from Ma-
cedon.

Artifices of
Demos-
thenes.

The mortification which Demosthenes had received, made him at first vent his chagrin by condemning the conduct of his colleagues; but when he reflected, that a fair representation of facts would greatly depreciate his character at Athens, policy prevailed over resentment. He began privately to tamper with his companions on the road, freely rallied the confusion into which he had been betrayed, extolled the ready genius and memory of Æschines; and endeavoured, by promises and flattery, to ingratiate himself with those whom his recent behaviour had justly provoked and disgusted. In a conversation at Larissa, in Thessaly, he acknowledged the masterly reason-

ing of the King of Macedon. The ambassadors C H A P.
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all joined in the praises of this extraordinary man. Æschines admired the strength and perspicuity with which he had answered their respective discourses; and Ctesiphon cried out in transport, that, in the course of a long life, he had never beheld a man of such a polite and engaging deportment. Demosthenes then artfully said, "he apprehended they would not venture to make such representations to the Athenian assembly; that their honour and safety required them to be consistent in their reports;" to which they all assented; and Æschines acknowledges, that he was prevailed on by the entreaties of his rival to promise, that he would give a favourable and false account of the behaviour of Demosthenes, and assure the people of Athens, that he had spoken with dignity and firmness on the affair of Amphipolis.

According to the forms of the republic, the ambassadors first reported the success of their negotiation, and delivered the letter of Philip, to the senate of the Five Hundred. They explained, in order, what each had said in presence of the King; when Demosthenes, rising up the last, affirmed with his usual oath of asseveration⁶⁶, "that the ambassadors had not spoken in the senate as they did before Philip; that they had spoken much better in Macedon:" he then moved, that they should be honoured

They report their negotiation to the senate.

⁶⁶ *Με Δία*, indecently explained "by Jove!" since the expression is elliptical, and includes a short prayer, *ευχομαι τον Δία ουτως τα εμα*; "my assertion is true, may Jove thus protect me!"

C H A P.

XXXV.

The same
reported
to the
assembly.

Extraordi-
nary beha-
viour of
Demos-
thenes.

with a crown of sacred olive⁵⁶, and invited next day to an entertainment in the Prytanæum.⁵⁷

The day following, they made their report to the assembly of the people; when the ambassadors, finding the subject not disagreeable to their hearers, expatiated on the politeness, condescension, eloquence, and abilities of the prince, with whom their republic was ready not only to negociate a peace, but to contract an alliance. Having allowed them to exhaust this fertile subject, Demosthenes at length arose, and, after those contortions of body which, if we believe his adversary, were familiar to him, declared, that he was equally surprised at those who, in a deliberation of such importance, could talk of such trifles, and at those who could endure to hear them. "The negociation may be briefly reported. Here is the decree by which we are commissioned. We have executed this commission. Here is Philip's answer (pointing to the letter). You have only to examine its contents." A confused murmur arose in the assembly, some applauding the strength and precision of the speech, others condemning the asperity of the speaker. As soon as he could be heard, Demosthenes thus proceeded: "You shall see how I will lop off those superfluous matters. Æschines praises the memory and eloquence of Philip, in which, however, I find nothing extraordinary, since any other man, placed in the same advan-

⁵⁶ See the discourse of Lysias on an accusation for cutting down a consecrated olive.

⁵⁷ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

tageous circumstances of rank and fortune, would be equally attended to and admired. Ctesiphon praises the gracefulness and dignity of his person; my colleague Aristodemus does not yield to him in these particulars. Others admire his mirth and gaiety at table, yet in such qualities Philocrates excels him.⁵⁸ But this is unseasonable. I shall therefore draw up a decree for convening an extraordinary assembly, to deliberate on the peace and the alliance.”⁵⁹

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The decree was proposed on the eighth of March, and the assembly was fixed for the seventeenth of the same month. In the interval, arrived, as ambassadors from Philip, Antipater, the most respected of his ministers; Parmenio, the bravest of his generals; and Eurylochus, who united, almost in an equal degree, the praise of eloquence and valour. Parmenio had been employed in the siege of Halus, a place filled with malcontents from Thessaly, who still resisted the Macedonian power in that country. That he might have leisure to join his colleagues, Parmenio ordered the siege to be converted into a blockade; and the merit of three such ambassadors sufficiently announced the important purposes which Philip wished to effect by the present negotiation. They were received with great distinction by the senate, and (what seems extraordinary) lodged in the house of Demos-

Philip
sends am-
bassadors
to Athens.

⁵⁸ Even by Demosthenes's testimony, it required the combination of several Athenian characters to match the various excellencies of Philip.

⁵⁹ *Æschin. de falsa Legatione.*

C H A P.

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who cor-
rupt Æs-
chines

thenes, who was careful to adorn their seats in the theatre, and to distinguish them by every other mark of honour.⁶⁰ Having been introduced, on the appointed day, into the assembly, they declared the object of their commission; to conclude in the name of their master a peace and alliance with the people of Athens. Demosthenes, in an elaborate speech, urged the expediency of listening to their demands; but without neglecting the interest of the Athenian allies. Æschines delivered the same opinion, and severely reproached Philocrates, who urged the necessity of precipitating the treaty. The two first days were spent in debate; but on the third, the influence of Philocrates prevailed, chiefly, if we believe Demosthenes, through the unexpected accession of Æschines to that party. He, who had hitherto been a strenuous defender of the interest of Kersobleptes, declared that he had now altered his opinion. That peace was necessary for Athens, and ought not to be retarded by the slow deliberations of other powers. That the circumstances of the republic were changed; and that, in their actual situation, it was an idle vanity to attend to those who flattered them with pompous panegyrics of the magnanimity of their ancestors; since the weakness of Athens was no longer called on to undertake the protection of every state that could not defend its own cause.⁶¹

During the
negotia-
tion Philip
continues

Demosthenes had formerly suspected the treachery of Æschines; but this speech fully convinced him that if his adversary had not before

⁶⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

⁶¹ Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

sold himself to Philip, he had then been tampered with, and gained by the Macedonian ambassadors. But Demosthenes, and the assembly in general, saw the necessity of immediately ratifying the peace with that prince, who had actually taken the field in Thrace, along the coast of which the Athenians still possessed Serrium, Doriscus, and several other tributary cities. A decree was proposed for this purpose, and ambassadors were named, who might, with all convenient speed, repair to Philip, in order mutually to give and receive the oaths and ratifications of the treaty just concluded at Athens. The ambassadors were Eubulus, Æschines, Ctesiphon, Democrates, and Cleon; the principal of whom, being entirely devoted to the Macedonian interest, contrived various pretences to delay their departure. In this interval, Kersobleptes met with the unhappy fate of which we have already taken notice; and Philip, encouraged by the success of his intrigues, ventured to attack the cities of Serrium and Doriscus, which readily submitted to his arms.⁶² Upon intelligence of the latter event, the Athenians dispatched Euclides to inform the King of Macedon, that the places which he had taken belonged to Athens; to which he coldly replied, that he had not been so instructed by his ambassadors, nor was there any mention of those cities in the treaty recently signed, but not yet ratified, between the two powers.

Æschines and his colleagues still delayed to set out, although the conduct of Philip continu-

C H A P.
XXXV.
to make conquests in Thrace.

Third embassy to Philip.

⁶² Demosthen. Orat. v. in Philipp.

CHAP.
XXXV.

ally urged the necessity of hastening their departure. They were finally ordered to be gone, in consequence of a decree proposed by Demosthenes⁶³, who was unable to prevail on the Athenians, till it was too late, to pay due regard to the interest of Kersobleptes. In twenty-five days the Athenian ministers arrived at Pella, a journey which they might have performed in six; and instead of directly proceeding to Philip, who was employed in reducing the cities on the Propontis, they patiently waited, above three weeks, the return of that monarch to his capital. During their residence in Pella, they were joined by Demosthenes, who, at his own request, had been added to this commission, under pretence of ransoming some Athenian captives, but in reality with a view to watch the conduct of his colleagues. Philip at length arrived: the ambassadors were called to an audience. On this occasion they spoke not as formerly, according to their respective ages, but in an order, if we believe *Æschines*, first established by the imprudence of Demosthenes; whose discourse, as represented by his adversary, must have appeared highly ridiculous, even in an age when the decent formality of public transactions was little known or regarded.*

Speech of
Demosthenes;

Anticipating his more experienced colleagues, he observed, "That they were unfortunately divided in their views and sentiments. That his own were strictly conformable to those of Philip. From the beginning he had advised a peace and

* Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

alliance with Macedon. That he had procured all possible honours for the ambassadors of that country during their residence in Athens, and had afterwards escorted their journey as far as Thebes. He knew that his good intentions had been misrepresented to Philip, on account of some expressions that had dropped from him in the Athenian assembly. But if he had denied the superior excellence of that prince in beauty, in drinking, and in debate ⁶⁴, it was that he believed such qualities to belong to a woman, a sponge, and a hireling rhetorician and sophist, rather than to a warlike monarch, and mighty conqueror." This extraordinary apology excited the derision of the Macedonian courtiers, and made the Athenian ambassadors hold down their heads in confusion. ⁶⁵

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Æschines first recovered his composure ; and modestly addressing Philip, observed, " That the present was not a proper occasion for the Athenian ministers to praise or defend their own conduct. They had been deemed worthy of their commission by the republic which employed them, and to which alone they were accountable. ⁶⁶ Their actual business was to receive Philip's oath in ratification of the treaty already concluded on the part of Athens. The military preparations carrying on in every part of Macedon could not but excite their fears for the

of Æschines.

⁶⁴ See above, p. 119.

⁶⁵ Æschin. de falsa Legatione.

⁶⁶ The speech of Æschines, as reported by himself, is inimitably graceful and dignified. Λεγων' ουτι περιεσαν ημας Αθηναιοι πρεσβευται, &c. Vid. p. 261. et seq. edit. Wolf.

C H A P. unhappy Phocians. But he entreated Philip, **XXXV.** that, if he was determined to gratify the Thebans by making war on that unfortunate people, he would make at least a proper distinction between the innocent and the guilty. The sacrilegious violators of the temple ought to be punished with due severity ; the state itself must be spared ; since the laws and institutions of Greece guard the safety of every Amphictyonic city. *Æschines* then spoke, in the severest terms, against the injustice and cruelty of the Thebans, who, he ventured to prophesy, would repay the partiality of Philip with the same falsehood and ingratitude with which they had been accustomed to requite their former allies and benefactors."

Philip's
profound
dissimula-
tion.

The discourse of *Æschines*, though it could not be expected to move the resolution of the King, was well calculated to raise the credit of the speaker, when it should be reported in his own country. Philip confined himself to vague expressions of friendship and respect. The ambassadors of Thebes were already at Pella, a circumstance which furnished him with a pretence for declining to make an explicit declaration in favour of Phocis. But he hinted his compassionate concern for the Phocians ; and requested the Athenians to accompany him to Thessaly, that he might avail himself of their abilities and experience to settle the affairs of that country, which required his immediate presence. Extraordinary as this demand was, the Athenians readily complied with it, notwithstanding the King, who had ordered his army to march, was

attended in this expedition by the ambassadors of Thebes, who, as well as the Athenians, were daily entertained at his table, and whose views were diametrically opposite to the interests both of Phocis and of Athens.⁸⁷

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The unhappy and distracted situation of the former republic promised a speedy issue to the Sacred War, which, for more than two years, had been feebly carried on between the Phocians on one side, and the Thebans and Locrians on the other, by such petty incursions and ravages as indicated the inveterate rancour of combatants, who still retained the desire of hurting, after they had lost the power.⁸⁸ During the greater part of that time, the Athenians, amused by their negociation with Philip, afforded no assistance to their unfortunate allies. The treasures of Delphi, immense as they were, at length began to fail. The Phocians, thus abandoned and exhausted, reflected with terror and remorse on their past conduct; and, in order to make atonement for their sacrilegious violations of the temple, instituted a judicial enquiry against Phaleucus, their general, and his accomplices, in plundering the dedications to Apollo.⁸⁹ Several were condemned to death; Phaleucus was deposed; and the Phocians, having performed these substantial acts of justice, which tended to remove the odium that had long adhered to their cause, solicited, with better hopes of success, the assistance of Sparta and Athens.

The Phocian war carried on with little activity on either side. Olymp. cviii. 2. A. C. 349.

The Phocians condemn the plunderers of the temple.

⁸⁷ Demosth. de falsa Legatione. ⁸⁸ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 454.

⁸⁹ Idem, l. xvi. p. 452.

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The Spartans claim the superintendence of the temple.

Phaleucus and his mercenaries seize Nicæa.

Disaster of the Phocians in the temple of Abæan Apollo.

But the crafty Archidamus, who had long directed the Spartan councils, considered the distress of the Phocians as a favourable opportunity to urge the claim of his own republic to the superintendence of the Delphic temple; and actually sent ambassadors into Thessaly, to confer with the King of Macedon on that ⁷⁰ subject. The Athenians paid more attention to the request of their allies, who, as an inducement to excite their activity, offered to put them in possession of the towns of Nicæa, Alpenus, and Thronium, which commanded the straits of Thermopylæ. But this salutary plan, which might have retarded the fate of Greece, was defeated by Phaleucus, who commanding eight thousand mercenaries, that acknowledged no authority but that of their general, established his head-quarters at Nicæa, and despised the menaces both of Phocis and of Athens.

Mortifying as this disappointment must have been, it was followed by a disaster in another quarter far more afflicting. The Phocians had fortified the city of Abæ, to defend their northern frontier against the depredations of the Lœcrians. The Thebans, reinforced by some auxiliaries of Macedon, marched against that place. The Phocians, with more courage than prudence, met them in the field; but were defeated with great slaughter, and pursued in their disordered flight, through the surrounding territory. A party of above five hundred took

⁷⁰ Demosth. et Æschin. ubi supra.

refuge in the temple of Abæan Apollo, where they remained for several days, sleeping under the porticoes, on beds of dried herbs, straw, and other combustible materials. An accidental fire, that began in the night, was communicated to the whole edifice, part of which was consumed, while the unhappy Phocians were stifled, or burnt to ashes.⁷¹

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The Thebans failed not to represent this calamity as a judgment of Heaven, against the daring impiety of wretches, who had ventured to take refuge in the temple of a god whom their sacrilege had long offended. They entreated Philip to assist them in destroying the remnant of the guilty race. This was the chief purpose of their embassy to that prince, whom the Athenians, as related above, entreated to spare the nation while he punished the criminals; and the Lacedæmonians, regardless of the fate of Phocis, thought only of making good their ancient claim to the guardianship of the Delphic temple.

The Thebans instigate Philip to desolate Phocis.

Philip treated the deputies of the three republics with apparent frankness and cordiality, under the veil of which he knew so well to disguise the interests of his policy and ambition. He assured the Thebans, that his arms should be employed to recover for them the towns of Orchomenus, Coronæa, and Tilphusium, which, ever ready to rebel against a tyrannical capital, had readily revolted to the Phocians during their invasion of

Philip attempts in vain to corrupt the Theban ambassadors.

⁷¹ Diodorus, p. 454.

C H A P. Bœotia. The Phocians, he said, had rendered themselves the objects of divine displeasure; it would be as meritorious to punish, as it was impious to protect them. He was determined that both they and their allies should suffer those calamities which their crimes so justly deserved. Thus far Philip was sincere; for, in these particulars, the views of Thebes were exactly conformable to his own. But in his mind he agitated other matters, in which the interest of Thebes interfered with that of Macedon. To accomplish those purposes without offending his allies, it was necessary to gain the ambassadors. Caresses, flattery, and promises, were lavished in vain. Money was at length tendered with a profuse liberality; but, though no man ever possessed more address than Philip in rendering his bribes acceptable, the Theban deputies remained honest and uncorrupted, firmly maintaining to the end their patriotism and their honour. Philon, the chief of the embassy, answered for his colleagues: "We are already persuaded of your friendship for us, independent of your presents. Reserve your generosity for our country, on which it will be more profitably bestowed, since your favours, conferred on Thebes, will ever excite the gratitude both of that republic and its ministers."⁷²

Philip corrupts and deceives the Athenian ambassadors.

Demosthenes extols the dignity of this reply, as becoming rather the ambassadors of Athens. But these ministers, though one object of their commission was to save the Grecian state which the

⁷² Demosth. de falsa Legatione.

Thebans wished to destroy, discovered neither integrity nor spirit. All of them, but Demosthenes himself, accepted the presents of the King of Macedon, who found little difficulty in persuading men, thus prepossessed in his favour, that he pitied the Phocians; that he respected Athens; that he detested the insolence of Thebes; and that, should he ever proceed to the straits of Thermopylæ, his expedition would be more dangerous to that state than to its enemies. At present however he observed, that he had private reasons for managing the friendship of a people who set no bounds to their resentment. From such motives he had hitherto declined ratifying the peace with Athens; but this measure he would no longer defer. He only entreated, that, to save appearances with the Thebans, the name of the Phocians might be omitted in the treaty. This arduous work was at length brought to a conclusion; and for the more secrecy, transacted in a place which Demosthenes calls a tavern, adjoining to the temple of Pollux, in the neighbourhood of Pheræ. The Athenian ambassadors took leave, affecting to be persuaded (perhaps persuaded in reality) of the good intentions of the King of Macedon. About the same time the ambassadors of Sparta departed, but with far less satisfaction. They either perceived, from the beginning, the artifices of the prince with whom they came to treat, or at least made such a report to Archidamus, as convinced him that his republic had not any advantage to expect from the preponderance of the Macedonian in-

C H A P. terest, and the destruction of the Phœcians ; and
 XXXV. that should the Spartans persist in their claim to
 the superintendence of the Delphic temple, they
 must prepare to assert it by force of arms.

Philip's
 flattering
 letter to
 the Athe-
 nians.

Archidamus raised an army for this purpose, and marched towards the straits. But the intrigues of Philip, as we shall have occasion to relate, rendered his hostility as impotent as his negotiations had been fruitless. From Thessaly that prince had already sent a letter to the Athenians, couched in the most artful terms. He expressed his profound respect for the state, and his high esteem for its ambassadors; declaring that he should omit no opportunity of proving how earnestly he desired to promote the prosperity and glory of Athens. He requested that the means might be pointed out to him, by which he could most effectually gratify the people. Of the conditions of the peace and alliance he was careful to make no mention: but after many other general declarations of his good-will, he entreated them "not to be offended at his detaining their ambassadors, of whose eloquence and abilities he wished to avail himself in settling the affairs of Thessaly." ⁷³

Æschines
 gives an
 account of
 the em-
 bassy to the
 Athenian
 assembly.

Soon afterwards these ambassadors returned home; and having given an account of their negociation to the senate of Five Hundred, with very little satisfaction to that select body, they next appeared before the popular assembly. Æschines first mounted the rostrum, and in an

⁷³ Demosthen. et Æschin. ubi supra.

elaborate and artful discourse, set forth the advantages resulting from his successful embassy, in which he had persuaded Philip to embrace precisely those measures which the interest of Athens required. That, now, the people had peace instead of war, and that, without harassing themselves by military expeditions, they had only to remain quietly at home, enjoying the amusements of the city, and in a few days they would learn that Philip had passed Thermopylæ, to take vengeance, not on the Phocians, but on the Thebans, who had been the real authors of the war, and who, having entertained a design of seizing the temple, were not the less culpable (as had been proved to Philip) because they had failed in this impious purpose. That the Boeotian allies of Thespiæ and Plataea, whose hatred to Thebes was as inveterate as their attachment to Athens was sincere, would be restored to their pristine strength and splendour. That the Thebans, not the Phocians, would be compelled to pay the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council, and to repair the fatal effects of sacrilege and profanation. That the magistrates of Thebes foresaw the hostility of Philip, and well knew by whom it had been excited. "They have therefore," said Æschines, "devoted me to destruction, and actually set a price upon my head. The people of Eubœa are equally alarmed by our accommodation with Philip, not doubting that their island will be restored to us as an equivalent for Amphipolis. Nor are these the only advantages of the treaty: another point of still higher importance, a point of the

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C H A P. most intimate concern to the public, has been se-
 XXXV. cured. But of this I shall speak at another time,
 since at present I perceive the envy and malignity
 of certain persons ready to break forth." The
 advantage hinted at, with such significant obscu-
 rity, was the recovery of Oropus, a considerable
 city on the Athenian frontier which had been
 long subject to Thebes.

The suspi-
 cions of
 Demos-
 thenes
 ridiculed
 by his col-
 leagues.

This specious harangue, so flattering to the in-
 dolence and vain hopes of the multitude, was
 received with general approbation, notwithstand-
 ing the opposition of Demosthenes, who declared
 that he knew nothing of all those great advan-
 tages promised by his colleague; and that he
 did not expect them. Æschines and Philocrates
 heard him with the supercilious contempt of men
 in possession of a secret with which he was un-
 acquainted. But when he endeavoured to con-
 tinue his discourse, and to expose their artifice
 and insincerity, all was clamour, indignation, and
 insult. Æschines bade him remember, not to
 claim any share of the rewards due to the import-
 ant services of his colleagues. Philocrates, with
 an air of pleasantry, said, it was no wonder that
 the hopes of Demosthenes were less sanguine
 than his own, "since he drinks water; I wine."
 This insipid jest was received with loud bursts
 of laughter and applause, which prevented the
 assembly from attending to the spirited remon-
 strances of Demosthenes. A motion was made,
 and agreed to, for thanking Philip for his equit-
 able and friendly intentions, as well as for ra-
 tifying a perpetual peace and alliance between

Athens and Macedon. In the same decree it was determined that the Phocians should submit to the Amphictyonic council, under pain of incurring the displeasure of the republic. ^{C H A P. XXXV.} ⁷⁴

These articles, together with the secret motives which produced them, were, by the emissaries of Philip, immediately communicated to the Phocian ambassadors then residing at Athens; who, transported with joy at the prospect of averting the calamities which long threatened their country, lost no time in transmitting the agreeable intelligence to their fellow-citizens. They concluded, with a high degree of probability, that, however Philip might deceive the Phocians, the ministers of Athens could never be so bold as publicly to deceive the Athenians; and that, therefore, they could no longer entertain any reasonable doubt of the favourable disposition of the King of Macedon. This belief was so firmly established, that when Archidamus marched into Phocis at the head of an army in order to defend the temple against Philip, the Phocians rejected his assistance, observing, that they feared for Sparta much more than for themselves; upon which the Lacedæmonians returned into Peloponnesus. ⁵

The success of Philip's artifices with the Athenians deceives the Phocian ambassadors at Athens;

which makes the Phocians reject the assistance of Sparta.

Philip was now prepared for executing his grand enterprise. Halus, long besieged, had submitted to the united arms of Parmenio and his own. Fresh troops had arrived from Macedon. The Athenians were appeased; the Lacedæmonians had retired; the Phocians were

Philip negotiates with Phœleucus the cession of Nicæa.

⁷⁴ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

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imposed on ; the Thessalians, Thebans, and Locrians, were ready to follow his standard. One obstacle only remained, and that easy to be surmounted. Phaleucus, who commanded eight thousand mercenaries, still kept possession of Nicæa. But a man who had betrayed the interest of his own republic, could not be very obstinate in defending the cause of Greece. Philip entered into a negociation with him, in order to get possession of Nicæa⁷⁶, without which it would have been impossible to pass the Thermopylæ ; and while this transaction was going forward, wrote repeated letters to the Athenians, full of cordiality and affection.

Philip
continues
to veil his
designs in
obscurity.

He suspected the dangerous capriciousness of a people whose security might yet be alarmed ; and whose opposition might still prove fatal to his designs, should they either march forth to the straits, or command their admiral Proxenus, who was stationed in the Opuntian gulph, between Locris and Eubœa, to intercept the Macedonian convoys ; for, the frontiers both of Phocis and Thessaly having long lain waste in consequence of the sacred war, Philip received his provisions chiefly by sea. The seasonable professions of friendship, contained in the King's letters, not only kept the Athenians from listening to the remonstrances of Demosthenes, but prevailed on them to send northward that orator, together with Æschines, and several others, whose advice and assistance Philip affected to desire in settling the arduous business in which he was engaged.

⁷⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 455.

Demosthenes saw through the artifice of his enemies, for withdrawing him, at this important crisis, from his duty in the assembly ; he therefore absolutely refused the commission. *Æschines*, on pretence of sickness, staid at home to watch and counteract the measures of his rival. The other ambassadors departed, in compliance with the request of Philip, and the orders of their republic, and in hopes of seeing a treaty fulfilled, which, they had been taught to believe, would be attended with consequences equally advantageous and honourable.⁷⁷

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While the ambassadors travelled through *Eubœa*, in their way to join the King of Macedon, they learned, to their utter astonishment, the wonderful events that had been transacted. *Phaleucus* had been persuaded to evacuate *Nicæa*. He retired towards *Peloponnesus*, and embarked at *Corinth*, with a view to sail to *Italy*, where he expected to form an establishment. But the capricious and ungovernable temper of his followers compelled him to make a descent on the coast of *Elis*. After this they re-embarked, and sailed to *Crete*, where their invasion proved fatal to their general. Having returned to the *Peloponnesus*, they were defeated by the *Elians* and *Arcadians*. The greater part of those who survived the battle fell into the hands of the enemy, by whom they were shot with arrows or precipitated from rocks. A feeble remnant escaped to their ships, but perished soon afterwards

Disasters
of *Phaleu-*
cus and his
followers.

⁷⁷ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione.

C H A P. in an insurrection which they had excited, or fo-
XXXV. mented, in the isle of Sicily. The destruction
 of this numerous body of men is ascribed by an-
 cient historians ⁷⁸ to the Divine vengeance which
 pursued their sacrilege and impiety. It is asto-
 nishing that those superstitious writers did not
 reflect on the swifter and more terrible destruc-
 tion that overtook the whole Phocian nation, by
 whom the wickedness of Phaleucus and his fol-
 lowers had been so recently condemned; and by
 whom, had not power been wanting, it would
 have been punished with an exemplary rigour.

Cruel de-
 cree of the
 Amphic-
 tyons
 against
 Phocis;

Philip having passed the straits of Thermōpylæ,
 was received by the Phocians as their deliverer.
 He had promised to plead their cause before the
 Amphictyonic council, to the decisions of which
 that credulous people consented to submit, well
 knowing that a prince who entered Greece at the
 head of a numerous army might easily controul the
 resolutions of the Amphictyons, and fondly believ-
 ing that prince to be their friend. The deputies of
 Athens had not yet arrived; those of the southern
 republics had not even been summoned. The
 Locrians, Thebans, and Thessalians, alone com-
 posed the assembly that was to decide the fate of
 Phocis; a country which they had persecuted with
 relentless hostility in a war of ten years. The
 sentence was such as might be expected from the
 cruel resentment of the judges. It was decreed
 that the Phocians should be excluded from the
 general confederacy of Greece, and for ever de-
 prived of the right to send representatives to the

⁷⁸ Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 20. gives this as the general opinion.

council of Amphictyons; that their arms and horses should be sold for the benefit of Apollo; that they should be allowed to keep possession of their lands, but compelled to pay annually from their produce the value of sixty thousand talents, till they had completely indemnified the temple; that their cities should be dismantled, and reduced to distinct villages, containing no more than sixty houses each, at the distance of a furlong from each other; and that the Corinthians, who had recently given them some assistance, should therefore be deprived of the presidency at the Pythian games; which important prerogative, together with the superintendence of the temple of Delphi, as well as the right of suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, lost by the Phocians, should thenceforth be transferred to the King of Macedon. It was decreed that the Amphictyons, having made effectual these regulations, should next proceed to procure all due repairs and expiations to the temple, and should exert their wisdom and their power to establish, on a solid foundation, the tranquillity and happiness of Greece.⁷⁹

This extraordinary decree, when communicated to the Phocians, filled that miserable people with such terror and dismay, as rendered them totally incapable of acting with vigour or with union. They took not any *common* measures for repelling the invader; a few cities only, more daring than the rest, endeavoured, with unequal strength, to defend their walls, their temples,

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which is
cruelly
executed
by the
Macedo-
nians.
Olymp.
cviii. 2.
A. C. 347.

⁷⁹ Diodor. l. xvi. c. 59. et seq.

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and the revered tombs of their ancestors. Their feeble resistance was soon overcome; all opposition ceased, and the Macedonians proceeded to execute the will of the Amphictyonic council with inflexible cruelty, and with such undisturbed order and silence as seemed more dreadful than the tumultuary ravages of the fiercest war. Without dropping a tear, or heaving a sigh, since the smallest mark of regret was construed into an obstinacy of guilt, the wretched Phocians beheld the destruction of their ancient monuments and trophies, their proud walls levelled with the ground, the fertile banks of the divine Cephissus covered with ruin and desolation, and the venerable cities of Daulis, Penopeus, Lilæa, and Hyampolis, which had flourished above nine centuries in splendour and prosperity, and which will ever flourish in the song of Homer, so totally burned or demolished as scarcely to leave a vestige of their existence.²⁰ After this terrible havoc of whatever they possessed most valuable and respected, the inhabitants were driven like herds of cattle to the settlements allotted for them, and compelled to cultivate their paternal fields for the benefit of merciless and unthankful masters. At the distance of three years, travellers, who passed through Phocis to visit the temple of Delphi, melted with compassion, or shuddered with horror, at the sight of such piteous and unexampled devastation. They turned their reluctant eyes from the shattered ruins of a country and a

²⁰ Pausanias in Phocic. et Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 59. et seq.

people once so illustrious; the youth, and men of full age, had either perished in the war, or been dragged into captivity; the populous cities were no more; and the villages were thinly inhabited by women, children, and wretched old men, whose silent but emphatic expressions of deep-rooted misery exceeded all power of words to describe.⁶¹

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The unexpected news of these melancholy events reached Athens in five days. The people were then assembled in the Piræus to examine the state of their harbours and shipping. The dreadful intelligence filled them with consternation. They imagined that they already beheld the destructive armies of Macedon and Thessaly, excited by the inveterate hostility of Thebes, pouring in upon their northern frontier, and overwhelming the whole country with havoc and desolation. A decree immediately passed, at the motion of Callisthenes, which marked the utmost danger and dismay. It was resolved, "that the Athenians, who usually resided in the country, should be summoned to the defence of the city; that those, within the distance of twelve miles round, should, along with their persons, transport their most valuable effects into the city or the Piræus; that those, at a greater distance, should respectively convey themselves and their property to the nearest fortresses, particularly Eleusis, Phylé, Aphidna, Sunium, the principal places of strength in the Attic territory."⁶²

The news of these events produce consternation in Athens.

This decree shews, that terror was the first

Philip writes the

⁶¹ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legat. et de Coran.

⁶² Demosthen. de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

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Athenians
in a style
very dif-
ferent
from what
he had
formerly
used.

movement of the Athenians; but vengeance was the second. Reluctantly cooped up within their walls they called aloud for arms: levies were prepared for the relief of Phocis; and their admiral Proxenus, who had lately returned from the neighbouring coast, was ordered again to direct his course towards that country. The King of Macedon was duly attentive to those transactions, of which he had been regularly informed by his emissaries. He therefore wrote a letter to the Athenians, in that style of superiority which the success of his policy and of his arms justly entitled him to assume. After acquainting them with his treatment of the Phocians, he mentions his being informed of their preparations for supporting that impious people, who were not included in the treaty of peace recently signed and ratified between Athens and Macedon. He exhorts them to lay aside this unwarrantable design, which could have no other effect than to shew the iniquity and extravagance of their conduct, in arming against a prince, with whom they had so lately concluded an alliance. "But if you persist, know that we are prepared for repelling your hostilities with vigour."

The Athe-
nians pass
a decree
for re-
ceiving the
fugitive
Phocians.

This mortifying letter was received at the same time that the Athenian ambassadors returned from Eubœa, and brought such accounts of the destruction of the Phocians, that it appeared scarcely possible to afford them any relief. All that remained, was to save, from the cruel vengeance of their enemies, the miserable wreck of that unfor-

fortunate community. The Athenians passed a decree for receiving the fugitives with kindness, and for providing them with settlements in Attica, or in the foreign dependencies of the republic; a resolution which, though it was founded on the most evident duties of gratitude and humanity towards ancient and faithful allies, gave great offence to the inexorable wrath of the Thessalians and Thebans.⁸³

Amidst these transactions, the Macedonian partisans, and especially Æschines and Philocrates, whose vain assurances had been attended with such fatal effects, had just cause to dread the resentment of their country. The former, who had been the principal agent in this disgraceful scene of intrigue and delusion, no longer affected sickness; he forgot the threatenings denounced against him by Thebes; he disregarded the Athenian decree, prohibiting any citizen to stir from the walls; and having waited for, and beheld the destruction of the Phocians with as much indifference, if we may believe his adversary, as he would have seen the conclusion of any ordinary affair, which concerned merely his pecuniary interest, he repaired to Philip to receive the wages of his iniquity. Æschines accounts for his journey at this time by a more honourable but less probable cause, the desire of saving the feeble and unhappy remnant of the Phocian nation, who were persecuted to extre-

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Philip protects the Phocians against the inhuman vengeance of their Grecian foes;

⁸³ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa Legat. sect. 20.

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mity by the barbarous vengeance of their Grecian foes, and protected, at the intercession of the Athenian orator, by the clemency or compassion of the Macedonians. There is reason to believe that Æschines, in order to gain merit with his countrymen, whose resentment he had so highly provoked, opposed an inhuman resolution of precipitating from rocks all those of the Phocians who had attained the age of puberty. But the King of Macedon, whose character was not naturally flagitious, or cruel without necessity, must, of his own accord, have been inclined to avert such an atrocious and bloody sentence, which would have ruined his fame, without promoting his interest.

and the
Bœotians
against the
cruelty of
Thebes.

This conclusion appears the more probable, since, we are assured, that, upon the same principle, but with far less success, he assumed the protection of the oppressed Bœotians. Orchomenus, Coronæ, Hyampolis, with other cities of less note in Bœotia, were, in consequence of the ruin of their Phocian allies, again subjected to the dominion of Thebes; a republic, always haughty and unrelenting, whose magistrates on this occasion prepared to treat the rebels with more than usual severity. Philip espoused the cause of the injured with a generous ardour, extremely disagreeable to the Thebans. His humanity, whether real or affected, was loudly extolled by his partisans in most republics of Greece. It redounded, however, more to his own glory, than to the benefit of the afflicted Bœotians; who, being expelled from their own

country by the intolerable oppression of Theban tyranny, sought refuge in the compassionate bosom of Athens.⁸⁴

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Having finished the sacred war in a manner so favourable to his own interest and ambition, Philip convened the members of the Amphictyonic council, to the number of two hundred, and assisted in the hymns, prayers, and sacrifices, offered to Apollo, in acknowledgement of his divine protection of their councils and arms. The name of the pious King of Macedon, who had been the principal instrument of their success, resounded in the sacred Pæans sung in honour of the God. The Amphictyons ratified all the transactions of that prince, erected his statue in the temple of Delphi, and acknowledged, by a solemn decree, the kingdom of Macedon as the principal member of the Hellenic body.⁸⁵ Philip at the same time appointed deputies to preside at the Pythian games, the celebration of which was nearly approaching, and to which most of the Grecian states had already sent their representatives. The Athenians, stung with indignation and regret, abstained from this festival. An embassy was therefore dispatched to them in the name of the Amphictyons, requiring their concurrence with measures recently embraced by the general council of Greece; and remonstrating against their displeasure at the aggrandisement of a prince with whom they had so lately contracted an alliance.

Macedon declared by the Amphictyons a member of the Hellenic body. Olymp. cviii. 3. A. C. 346.

⁸⁴ Demosthen. et Æschin. de falsa. sect. Legat. 20.

⁸⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 60.

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Even the
Athenians
admit this
pretension.

The deliberations of the Athenian assembly, on this occasion, shewed the full extent of their own folly, and evinced the consummate policy of Philip. They acknowledged, with dejection and anguish, that they had neglected the many opportunities presented them by the favour of Heaven, for repressing the ambition of their rival; that the time of acting with vigour and boldness was now no more, that the cause of Greece was an empty name, since the Greeks surrendered their dignity to the King of Macedon; and that it became their own republic to consult rather its safety than its honour, and to maintain peace with a monarch against whom they were by no means prepared to wage war. Even Demosthenes⁸⁶ recommended this resolution; lest, says he, we should offend those now assembled, who call themselves the Amphictyons, and thus excite a general war against ourselves. The Thebans, beside ancient causes of quarrel with us, are incensed at our harbouring their exiles; the Locrians and Thessalians resent our protecting the Phocians; the Argives, the Messenians and Megalopolitans, are displeased at our concurring with the views of Lacedæmon. If we refuse the demands of Philip and the Amphictyons, they may assault us with the combined arms of all those states, which we are totally unable to resist. One point, therefore, is necessary, the continuance of the present peace; not that it is so very excellent, or so worthy of you; but, of what kind soever it may be, it were more for the interest of

⁸⁶ Demosthen. de Pace.

your affairs, that it never had been concluded, than that now, when it is concluded, you should infringe it. This opinion was universally approved: Macedon was acknowledged a member of the Grecian confederacy; and Isocrates, an Athenian of the highest merit and reputation, addressed a discourse to Philip, in which he exhorted him to disdain inglorious victories over his countrymen and friends, to employ his authority to extinguish for ever the animosities of Greece, and to direct the united efforts of that country, of which Macedon now formed a part, against the wealth and effeminacy of Persia, its ancient and natural enemy.⁸⁷

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Whether these exhortations proceeded from the virtuous simplicity which did not suspect, or from the insinuating and artful policy which, though it suspected, hoped to avert, the hostile projects⁸⁸ of Macedon, the measures of Philip were, doubtless, taken with too much care, and his plans founded too deep and firm, to be shaken by the specious eloquence of a rhetorician. He had long meditated the invasion of Asia: the conquest of the Persian empire was an object that might well tempt his ambition; but neither his own passions, nor the arguments of other men, could hasten, retard, or vary his undeviating progress in a system which could only be completed by consolidating his ancient, before he attempted new conquests.

⁸⁷ Isocrat. Orat. Philipp.

⁸⁸ See the life of Isocrates, prefixed to my translation of his works.

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Foundation of Philippopolis and Cabyla.—Philip's Expedition to Illyria.—Alexander receives the Persian Ambassadors.—Affairs of Greece.—Demosthenes unmasks the Designs of Philip's Expeditions to the Peloponnesus—to Epirus—to Thrace.—Diopceithes opposes him with Vigour.—The Athenians recover Eubœa.—Siege of Perinthus.—Philip's Letter to the Athenians.—Expeditions of Chares—of Phocion—who retrieves the Athenian Affairs in Thrace.—Philip's Scythian Expedition.—The Incendiary Antiphon.—Philip's Intrigues embroil the Affairs of Greece.—The third Sacred War.—Philip General of the Amphictyons.—Confederacy against that Prince.—He seizes Elatœa.—Battle of Chæroneæ.—His Moderation in Victory.—Demosthenes's Oration in Honour of the Slain.

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Philip
evacuates
Greece;
Olymp.
cyliv. 4.
A. C. 345.

FROM his intrigues, Philip had derived more important advantages than he could have gained by a long series of victories. The conquest of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpose; while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealousy of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of states which he was

ambitious to subdue, Philip disarmed the hostility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his designs. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to set bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be safely accomplished by seasonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in Nicæa, which might thenceforth secure his free passage through the straits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Thessaly, and the strongest posts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand Phocian captives; an acquisition which he regarded as not the least valuable fruits of his success; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himself.

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The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philippopolis and Cabyla¹, the first at the western extremity of the country, on the confines of mount Rhodopé, the second towards the east, at the foot of mount Hæmus, about an hundred and fifty miles distant from each other, and almost equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a

founda
Philippo-
polis and
Cabyla;

¹ Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

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plants a
colony in
the isle of
Thasos.

due proportion of Macedonian subjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were sent to people and cultivate those new settlements, whose flourishing conditions soon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the same time, Philip planted a colony in the isle of Thasos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already lost possession of the gold mines at Philippi; on the neighbouring coast of Thrace, seemed now so indifferent about the possession of Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither.²

- His expedition to
Illyria;
Olymp.
cix. l.
A. C. 344.

In such occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large sums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expence of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian sea. This district, about sixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable salt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus, King of Persia, who, alarmed by the magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedon, sent the most trusty of his ministers, that, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the Great King, they might examine

² Demosth. de Haloneso.

with their own eyes the strength and resources of a monarch, which were represented as so formidable.

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In the absence of his father, the young Alexander did the honours of the court; and it is said, that, during an entertainment given to the Persian ambassadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wisdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character.³ Among other questions, that could not have been expected from his age, he inquired into the nature of the Persian government, and art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads.⁴ Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, seem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambition had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom

during which his son Alexander receives the Persian ambassadors.

³ Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: "ὥστε ἐκεῖνοι (the ambassadors) θαυμάζειν, καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μὴδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς ὀρμὴν καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην." — Read *μεγαλοφυχίαν*, and then the sentence may be literally explained: "So the ambassadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his son." I recollect not having met with *μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη* in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a person "who busies himself about great objects."

⁴ Plut. in Alexand.

C H A P. which so wonderfully distinguishes the public
XXXVI. transactions of ancient, from those of modern
 times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will
 be truly a wise and great King."⁵

Philip's
 transac-
 tions in
 Thessaly,
 Eubœa,
 and Me-
 gara.
 Olymp.
 cix. 1.
 A. C. 344.

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the dominion of Macedon.⁶ While Philip was thus employed in Thessaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the isle of Eubœa. Nor was he satisfied with securing his former acquisitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the isthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonian.⁷ Philip gained a party at Megara, which he cultivated with peculiar care; because, being already master of Bœotia, Phocis, and

⁵ I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, *ὅτι ὁ παῖς ἔτος βασιλεὺς μέγας ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος πλεῖστος*. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁶ Demosth. Philipp. iii.

⁷ Demosth. de falsa Legatione, & Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: *ταύτης (scil. Εὐβοίας) ολιγωρουμένης, Μεγάρα ἐλάω παραμικρον*, p. 54.

Thessaly, the narrow territory of the Megarians formed the chief obstacle to his free passage into the Peloponnesus, the affairs of which, at this juncture, particularly attracted his regard.

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The Lacedæmonians, repulsed by Philip, whom they had condescended to solicit, rejected by the Phocians, whom they offered to assist, and having lost all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the Delphic temple, totally deserted a scene of action, in which they could expect neither profit nor honour, and confined their politics and their arms within the narrow circle of their own peninsula. For almost two years, Archidamus had laboured with undivided attention, and with his usual address and activity, to extend the pretensions and the power of Sparta over the territories of Messenê, Argos, and Arcadia. His measures, planned with prudence, and conducted with vigour, were attended with success, though the inhabitants of the dependent provinces bore with much regret and indignation the yoke of a republic which they had formerly spurned as oppressive and intolerable. Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into hostility by the Thebans, eternal enemies to Sparta, and at that time closely allied with the King of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans applied, requesting him not to permit the destruction of their confederates in the Peloponnesus. The intrigues and money of Philip had already gained him a considerable influence in that country, which he was glad of

Philip prepares to protect the inferior communities of the Peloponnesus against the oppressions of Sparta.

C H A P. an opportunity to augment. To justify his proceedings for this purpose, he procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council, requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta, and to protect the defenceless communities which had so often been the victims of her tyranny and cruelty. Encouraged by this resolution of the Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition, Philip sent troops and money into the Peloponnesus, and prepared to march thither in person, at the head of a powerful army.⁸

The Corinthians prepare to interrupt his march.

These transactions excited new commotions and alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The Corinthians⁹, jealous of the power of a prince, who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived them of their ancient prerogatives and honours, and who, still more recently, had taken possession of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined to oppose his passage into the Peloponnesus. Weapons and defensive armour were provided, the walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary troops were levied, the citizens exercised in arms, the whole republic glowed with the ardour of military preparation; inso-much that Diogenes the Cynic, who lost no opportunity to deride the follies of his contemporaries, beholding with just contempt the hurry and vain bustle of the effeminate Corinthians, that seemed so ill calculated to contend with the active vigour of Philip, began to

⁸ Demosth. de Pace.

⁹ Lucian de Conscribend. Histor.

roll about his tub ¹⁰, lest he should be the only person unemployed in so busy a city.

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Negocia-
tions in
Athens.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less alarmed, but always better prepared for war, solicited the assistance of Athens. The latter state had received a considerable accession of strength, as well as of just honour and respect, from its hospitable reception of the distressed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new consideration and lustre from the general congress of ambassadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messenê, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to assert their respective claims before the Athenian assembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest satisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually assisted each other in seasons of calamity, to make a firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigour in defence of their own and the public safety, so shamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponnesus. ¹¹ The Thebans joined with the ministers of Philip in exhorting the Athenians to adhere strictly to

¹⁰ Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. He has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the moveable habitation of this philosopher would be sufficiently attested by ancient monuments. See Winckelman, d'Hancarville, &c.

¹¹ Οχλος Πελοποννησου. Isocrat. in Archidam.

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their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince ; they endeavoured, by art and sophistry, to varnish or to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied ; and laboured with the utmost assiduity to separate the views and interests of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambassadors of the inferior states of Peloponnesus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, should favour the views of Sparta, which had so long been the scourge of Greece. They represented this conduct as not only unjust and cruel, but contradictory and absurd ; and used many plausible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who still strenuously asserted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking such a part in the present quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnesus.

Artful representations of the Macedonian partisans in Athens.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, charged their countrymen not to break hastily with a prince with whom they had so recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and destructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with so much difficulty. They observed, that although the measures of Philip, since the conclusion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had considered himself as bound in justice to chastise the sacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations ; surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and the The-

ban infantry, he was compelled to treat the enemies of those states with a severity which his own feelings disapproved. But the time had arrived, when he might act with more independence and dignity ; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the insolent cruelty of Thebes. These observations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleasure those who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their personal service, in such active measures as could alone set bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.'

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Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a discourse, which the King of Macedon is said to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration.¹⁸ " When you hear described, men of Athens ! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotism of those who support the rights of the republic : but while nothing is done on account of which it is worth while to listen to such speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hostile de-

Answered
by Democ-
thenes.

¹⁸ Plut. in Vit. Demosth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

C H A P. signs against Greece, the more difficult it is to
 XXXVI. propose any seasonable advice. The cause of
 this difficulty is, that the encroachments of ambition must be repelled, not by words but by deeds. If speeches and reasoning sufficed, we should long ere now have prevailed over our adversary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the superiority in what forms respectively the chief object of our study and concern; we in our assemblies, Philip in the field.

He explains the measures, and points out the dangerous designs, of Philip.

“Immediately after the peace, the King of Macedon became master of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made such an use of these acquisitions as suited the interest of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*. Upon what principle did he act thus? Because, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or justice, but by an insatiable lust of power, he saw the impossibility of bending the Athenians to his selfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew that the loftiness of their character would never stoop to private considerations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of justice and of honour; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to sacrifice to a partial and temporary interest, the general safety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the same zeal as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more assailable; he knew their folly and their meanness to be such, that provided he heaped benefits on themselves, they would assist him to enslave their

neighbours. Upon the same principle he now cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship of the Messenians and Argives; a circumstance, Athenians! which highly redounds to your honour, since Philip thus declares his persuasion, that you alone have penetration to discern, and virtue to oppose, his designs; that you foresee the drift of all his negociations and wars, and are determined to be the incorruptible defenders of the common cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he entertains such an honourable opinion of you, and the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia, as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely followed the standard of the invaders; the Argives did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous patriots, from whom you are descended, spurned offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alexander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who acted as the ambassador of Persia; and, preferring the public interest to their own, provoked the devastation of their territory, and the destruction of their capital, and performed in defence of Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which can never be celebrated with due praise. For such reasons, Philip chooses for his allies, Thebes, Argos, and Messen^e, rather than Athens and Sparta. The former states possess not greater resources in money, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have not more *strength*, but less *virtue*. Nor can Philip plead the justice of their cause; since, if Chæronæa and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes, Argos and

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Messené are justly subject to Lacedæmon ; nor could it be equitable to enslave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the same time to teach those of Peloponnesus to rebel.

“ But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). ‘ Surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to assist allies whom he distrusted, and to concur with measures which he disapproved. Hence the severe treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel servitude of Orchomenus and Chæronæa. The King of Macedon, being now at liberty to consult the dictates of his own humanity and justice, is desirous to re-establish the republic of Phocis ; and, in order to bridle the insolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elatæa.’ This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the destruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpose he has remitted money, he has sent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himself, to march at the head of a powerful army. His present transactions sufficiently explain the motives of his past conduct. It is evident that he acts from system, and that his principal batteries are erected against Athens itself. How can it be otherwise ? He is ambitious to rule Greece ; you alone are able to thwart his measures. He has long treated you unworthily ; and he is conscious of his injustice. He is actually contriving your destruction, and he is sensible that you see through his designs. For all these reasons he knows that you detest him, and that, should he

not anticipate your hostility, he must fall a victim to your just vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert, watching a favourable moment of assault, and practising on the stupidity and selfishness of the Thebans and Peloponnesians; for if they were not stupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once spoke¹³ on this subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was then useless, may now be repeated most seasonably. ‘Men of Argos and Messené! you remember the time when Philip caressed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generously bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have listened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territory of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by each other. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thessalians ever conjecture that the same prince would subject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphyctyonic council, could they have been persuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you,

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¹³ During his embassy to Peloponnesus, mentioned above.

C H A P. Messenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip
XXXVI. smiling and deceiving; but, beware! pray to
 Heaven, that you may never behold him insulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have discovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raised by the labour of man, and supported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike useful to all, especially to free cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preserve this carefully, and no calamity can befall you.' "14

Impeachment of
 Æschines
 and Philocrates.

Demosthenes then read to the assembly the schedule of an answer, which he advised to be given to the ambassadors, and which was entirely favourable to the Lacedæmonians. At the same time he beseeched his countrymen to deliberate with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by which they might resist the common enemy; "an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* seemed possible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition, dismembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless." Had the orator stopped here, his advice might have been followed with some useful consequences. But in declaiming against the encroachments of Macedon, his resentment was naturally

¹⁴ Demosthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

inflamed against Philocrates, Æschines, and their associates, whose perfidious machinations had produced the public danger and disgrace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and consign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleased to attend the courts of justice at home than to march into the Peloponnesus. The city resounded with the noise of trials and accusations. Philocrates was banished¹⁵, and Æschines narrowly escaped the same fate, by exposing the profligate life of his accuser Timarchus.¹⁶

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Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved by his enemies, was sailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the most southern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, besieged and took Trinasus, a maritime city of considerable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity.¹⁷ The alarm was so general, that it has been thought worth while to record the saying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved

Philip settles the affairs of the Peloponnesus.

¹⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiphon.

¹⁶ Argum. in Æschin. Orat. in Timarch.

¹⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 36.

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amidst the public consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?"—"Why," replied the generous youth, "should I fear him; he cannot hinder me from dying for my country."¹⁸ But this manly resolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they sent Agis, the son of King Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to submit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expressed his surprise. "What, have the Spartans sent but one!"—"Am I not sent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis.¹⁹ This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the King of Macedon, though averse to provoke the despair of a people, whose slumbering virtue might yet be re-animated by the institutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to resign their pretended authority over Argos, Messen^é, and Arcadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he solemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and, in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be entrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnasias; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Messen^é, to Neon and Thrasylochus, the sons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit eternal oblivion, if

¹⁸ Frontin. l. iv. c. 5.

¹⁹ Plut. Apophth.

Demosthenes justly branded them as traitors²⁰; but a more impartial, and not less judicious writer²¹, asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip, they acquired many important advantages for their respective communities; that their sagacity having foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian power and policy over the weakness and folly of Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to take complete vengeance on his enemies; a vengeance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their own prudence and foresight, and from which the Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity, which regulated the conduct, and adorned the victory, of Philip.

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Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the King of Macedon marched through that country amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied with each other in bestowing crowns and statues, the usual marks of public gratitude and admiration, on a prince who had generously rescued them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth, he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at the games and showey festivals, which were celebrated in that city, by an immense concourse of people from the

Philip publicly insulted at Corinth;

²⁰ Παρα γὰρ τοῖς ἑλλήσιν, ἢ τισι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, φόραν προδοτῶν καὶ δειροδοκῶν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων, συνεθὴ γενεσθαι, δότῃν οὐδεὶς πω πρότερον μεμνηταὶ γεγονυῖαν. These traitors are named in Philipp. iii. & in Orat. de Corona.

²¹ Polyb. iii. 72.

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his moder-
ation.

Philip ex-
tends the
boundaries
of Epirus,
and seizes
the Halon-
nesus.
Olymp.
cix. 1.
A. C. 344.

neighbouring republics. The turbulent Corinthians, who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animosity against Philip, did not conceal their sentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the King of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interposition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was strongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digest an affront²², when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with *severity*, what must I expect from men, who repay even *kindness* with insult?"²³

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inspecting with particular care the education of his son Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant soil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early²⁴ culture. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus,

²² Longinus has preserved the expression of Theopompus, "that Philip could easily swallow affronts."

²³ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁴ Plut. *ibid.*

then governed by his brother-in-law Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of his vassals, by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopæa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the same time he exercised his fleet by wresting Halonnesus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of Athens, its ancient and legitimate sovereign.²⁵

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Next year Philip was summoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus King of the Odrysiens. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were successively subdued; and the dexterity of the King of Macedon seconding his usual good fortune, he soon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vassals or courtiers.²⁶ At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always set at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersonesites by a new colony, which had continual disputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crisis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength

Settles the
commo-
tions in
Thrace,
and pro-
tects the
Cardians.
Olymp.
cix. 2.
A. C. 343.

²⁵ Demosth. Orat. de Halon.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.

C H A P. and numbers of the enemy, when they were seasonably defended by the Macedonian arms.²⁷
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These measures rouse the Athenians from their lethargy.

The seizing of Halonnesus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open assistance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more roused the Athenians from their lethargy. These fresh insults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animosity, and the manifold injuries which they had suffered since the conclusion of the peace with Macedon. But instead of opposing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be resisted with any hope of success, they employed the impotent defence of speeches, resolutions, and embassies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there seemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repressing his insolent usurpation.²⁸

Philip dispatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

Philip, who then agitated schemes from which he wished not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, sent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonstrances of that people; and dispatched to Athens itself, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that passionate vehemence of language which seems to arise from conviction and sin-

²⁷ Demosthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34. et Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

²⁸ Demosthen. de Chersoneso, p. 35. et seq.

cerity, a mercenary spirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago sold himself, and as far as depended on himself, the interests of his country, to the King of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the senate and people of Athens, written with that specious moderation and artful plausibility, which Philip knew so well to assume in all his transactions. “ He offered to make a present to the Athenians of the island of Halonnesus, and invited them to join with him in purging the sea of pirates: he intreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long subsisted between the two states, and to concert amicably together such commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they so loudly complained. That for himself, he was ready not only to terminate all disputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to distrust those designing and turbulent demagogues, whose selfish ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war.”²⁰

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Its con-
tents.

The subtle artifices of Philip, though supported on this occasion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegesippus and Demosthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great strength and perspicuity, and unveiled the injustice of Philip with such

Diopet-
thes, the
Athenian
general in
Thrace,
acts rigor-
ously
against
Philip.

²⁰ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33. et seq.

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force of evidence, that the Athenians resolved upon sending a considerable armament to the Chersonesus, to protect the subjects in that peninsula.³⁰ Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterprise. Before he arrived in the Chersonesus, Philip, trusting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himself of this opportunity to act with vigour. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian settlements in Thrace, he made an incursion into the neighbouring country; stormed the Macedonian settlements at Crobylé and Tiristasis; and having carried off many prisoners, and a considerable booty, lodged them in the safe retreat of the Chersonesus. On this emergency, Amphilochns, a Macedonian of rank, was sent as ambassador, to treat of the ransom of prisoners; but Diopeithes, regardless of this character, ever held sacred in Greece, cast him in prison, the more surely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if possible, to render it irreparable. With equal severity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excursion, charged with letters from Philip; which were sent to Athens, and read in full assembly.³¹

The par-
tisans of
Philip ca-

The King of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and insults, gave free scope to his com-

³⁰ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33. et seq.

³¹ Epistol. Philippi. et Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat de Chersoneso.

plaints and threats; and his emissaries had an easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens; if not, he would be his own avenger: the personal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and severely punished.³²

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bal to ruin
Diopei-
thes.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardour of patriotism, rank his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus among the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizen. Diopeithes, if really in fault, might be brought home to answer for it whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But

He is
powerfully
defended
by Demos-
thenes.

³² Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

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Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, antecedently to the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppressed the Chersonesites, had stormed Serrium and Doriscus, how was Philip to be restrained, unless they repelled force by force? Instead of recalling their troops from the Chersonesus on the remonstrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himself at war with them, till he assaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the setting in of the Etesian winds, to fall on the Chersonesus. Will it then be sufficient to accuse Diopeithes? Or will this save our allies? "O, but we will sail to their relief." But if the winds will not permit you? Even should our enemy attack, not the Chersonesus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him in Thrace, than to attract the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Asiatic Greeks are justified by the example of all his predecessors, who, according to the strength of their respective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or less, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furnished with convoys to protect their trading vessels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes employed not that resource, how could he subsist his troops, he

who receives nothing from you, and who has nothing of his own? From the skies? No; but from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleasure? That such traitors should exist, is less surprising than that you should patiently receive from them such counsels as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the King of Macedon, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your soldiers, revile and insult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, rises up in the assembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with satisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a sincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and disgrace." The disagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the insidious discipline of certain ministers has so changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your distress charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you

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must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet, Athenians, if the states of Greece should thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually sending embassies to assure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained six months abroad by sickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have remained insensible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigour. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary ferment!" If the Greeks should ask this, what could we answer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to do? My answer is sincere, None of those things which you do at present. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city, to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and not least to such as are now most distinguished by his favours.

The fate of Euthykrates and Lasthenes²³, citizens of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the destruction that awaits them, after they have surrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your soil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hostile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourselves and them, to repel usurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply persuaded; and next, that wherever you repress his encroachments, you act for the safety of Athens, against which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be so foolish as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Mastira), should form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he should submit to toils and dangers; that, for the sake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he should consent to spend so many months amidst winter snows and blasting tempests; while, at the same time, he disregarded the riches and splendor of Athens; your harbours, arsenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians! It is to get possession of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elsewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourselves from our indolence; not only sustain, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that,

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²³ See above, c. xxxv.

C H A P. as Philip has an army ever ready to attack and
 XXXVI. conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to
 succour and to save them.”²⁴

Demosthenes ventures not to propose the war in form.

It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been deposited among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for misleading the people²⁵, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: “Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians! nor wish ever to become; yet am I actuated by more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who, capriciously distributing honours and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a

²⁴ Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. p. 35. et seq.

²⁵ By the γραφή παρανομίας. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

sure pledge of impunity in the flattery and artifices by which they have long seduced the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present gratification. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favourite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and, having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels are calculated to render, not myself, but my country great."

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These arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopeithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of ³⁶ vigour which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a descent on the coast of Thessaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelasgic gulph. A considerable body of forces was sent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, abetted by his kinsman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peperathus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Eubceans, exhorting them

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

³⁶ Vid. Epist. Philip.

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Philip attempts to get possession of Byzantium and Perinthus. Olymp. cix. 3.
A. C. 342.

to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite with their Grecian brethren against the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these commotions, but his designs against the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus³⁷ being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any secondary consideration to divert him from that important enterprise.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a considerable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whose vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thousand men hovered round; but the design was suspected or discovered, and Philip, to screen his partisans from public vengeance, seasonably withdrew his army, and invested the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of these transactions not only increased the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus King of Persia, who being no stranger to Philip's design of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To remove this danger, Ochus adopted the same policy, which, in similar circumstances, had been successfully employed by his predecessors.³⁸ The Persian gold was profusely scattered among the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof

³⁷ Demosth. de Coron. et Diodor. l. xvi. c. 22.

³⁸ Plut. in Alexand.

against an unworthy alliance ³⁹ with interest, rejoiced at being paid for doing what he considered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever against the King of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himself with equal zeal in that island.

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The factious spirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The city of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previously solicited assistance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favourable to their views. From other states they brought back promises and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly through the influence of Demosthenes, a considerable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular assemblies in most of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with such animosity against Philip and his partisans, that little remained to be done by the valour of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one post to another, till they were forced

The Athenians recover Eubœa.

³⁹ Plat. in Demosth.

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The merit
of Demos-
thenes ac-
knowledg-
ed on this
occasion.

Circum-
stances
which en-
abled the
Perinthis-
ans to
make an
obstinate
defence.
Olymp.
cix. 4.
A. C. 341.

entirely to evacuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honour was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens, and strangers.⁴⁰

The loss of Euboea was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perseverance. The town was situate on the sloping ridge of an isthmus, and strongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and streets rising one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, so that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having scoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the besieged; his miners were busy at the foundation; at length the battering rams advanced to the wall, in which a considerable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsmen had not been idle. The superior discharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of missile weapon, from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians

⁴⁰ Demosth. de Coron. et Plut. in Demosth.

from those parts of the wall and battlements, against which the principal attack had been directed. But with incessant toil, the besieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches.⁴¹ The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labour, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind, fertile in expedients, to restore their hopes and so reanimate their activity. The siege recommenced with fresh ardour, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly saved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and lastly, by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, presenting its apex or narrow point to the besiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and, as they approached, to overwhelm them from distant batteries. Philip, ever sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an assault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall; he therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade. Perinthus

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⁴¹ Diodor. p. 466. et seq.

C H A P. was shut up as closely as possible by sea and
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 become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at
 this time owed above two hundred talents, or
 forty thousand pounds sterling), were indulged
 in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium,
 while the remainder were conducted to the siege
 of Selymbria, and soon after of Byzantium itself,
 the taking of which places, it was hoped, might
 compensate their lost labour at Perinthus.⁴²

The Thra-
 cian cities,
 supported
 by nume-
 rous allies,
 resist the
 arms of
 Philip.

During the military operations against the cities of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence as essential to their own safety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious disorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He, who was actually sound and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which if allowed to lurk in any part would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now besieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if successful in these enterprises, they would soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks viewed the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of Providence; as a

⁴² Diodorus, l. xvi. c. 22.

tempestuous cloud of hail so destructive, to the vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the fatal visitation from his own field.⁴³ These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities.⁴⁴ Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time, the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

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Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with their republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the

Philip attacks and defeats Diopetres, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians.

⁴³ Ἀλλὰ ὅμως ταυτ' ὄρωντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνεχόνται καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τροπῶν, ὡς περ οἱ τῆν χαλαρῶν, ἐμογε δοκεῖσι, θεωρεῖν εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐκαστοὶ γινέσθαι, κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. Demosth. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pais de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with snow, sunny hills, and fertile vallies. — Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-storms so alarming to vintagers.

⁴⁴ Demosthen. de Corona.

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people, but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, which, after a slight skirmish, was repelled with the loss of its leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which he assured the Athenians, that he had been compelled much against his inclination: he affected to consider Diopeithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the acknowledged general of the republic; and, as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured himself that the senate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had resisted wanton aggression, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

Philip's
admiral
seizes an
Athenian
convoy
destined
for the re-
lief of Se-
lymbria.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty formerly subsisting between the two powers would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying

any regard to the complaints and remonstrances of Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not destined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the superabundance of the fertile Chersonesus, to the rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

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The news of the capture of their ships occasioned much tumult and uneasiness among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this subject, a decree was framed for sending ambassadors to Philip, in order to re-demand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his instructions, should be punished with due severity. Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commission, repaired without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at their request, immediately released the captured vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip King of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to persuade me that these ships were intended to convey corn from the Chersonesus to the isle of Lemnos, and not destined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually besieged by me, and nowise included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjust commission Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others.

Philip restores the captured vessels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians. Olymp. cix. 4. A.C. 341.

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now in private stations, who are too busy in urging you to violate your engagements, and to commence hostilities against me ; a matter which they have more at heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagining that they may derive personal advantage from such a rupture. Deeply persuaded that our mutual interest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes, I have given orders to release the captured vessels ; do you, in return, remove such pernicious counsellors from the administration of your affairs ; and let them feel the severity of your justice. On my part, I shall endeavour to preserve and consolidate the treaty, by which we stand mutually engaged.”⁴⁵

Demos-
thenes per-
suades the
Athenians
to succour
the besieged
cities in
Thrace.

The moderate and friendly sentiments expressed in this letter afforded great advantage to the Macedonian partisans at Athens. But Demosthenes, and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip, who employed this humble and peaceful tone, during his operations against the cities of the Propontis, in order to stifle the resentment of the Athenians, at a crisis when they might act against him with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and powerful orations⁴⁶, in which, without urging any new matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and enlivened his former observations and reasonings, he convinced his countrymen of the expediency of being for once before-hand with their enemy, and of anticipating his designs against themselves by a

⁴⁵ Epist. Philip. in Demosth.

⁴⁶ Orat. iv. in Philip. et Orat. de Epist. Philip.

speedy and effectual assistance to their distressed brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium. By his convincing eloquence, the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendour, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

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It was decreed by the senate and people, to fit out a fleet of an hundred and twenty gallies ; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whose character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, off the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This disaster, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion⁴⁷, who, though ever ready to serve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Dishon-
ourable
expedition
of Chares.
Olymp.
cx. 1.
A. C. 340.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to storm Byzantium. That city was environed on three sides by the sea, and defended on the fourth by a strong wall, and a large and deep trench, crowned with lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium,

Philip fails
in his at-
tempt to
surprise
Byzan-
tium.

⁴⁷ Plutarch. in Phocion

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without risking a sally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually to make his approaches to their walls. During this inaction of the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and seemed determined to assault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper measures for gaining the place by surprise. For executing this design, he chose the gloom of a tempestuous night; a determined band of Macedonians passed the ditch; the scaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs, kept in the towers, even in time of peace, to secure them in the night. The alarm spread with rapidity among the several guards, who rushing tumultuously from their respective stations, as if the enemy had been already masters of the town, were on the point of blindly assaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flashes of lightning, enabled them to distinguish their friends and to discern the danger. Having formed in some degree of order, they advanced against the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart, from which they were with difficulty repulsed by superior numbers.⁴⁸

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion, save the Thracian cities; Olymp.
cx. 1.
A. C. 340.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterprise did not discourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigour. His perseverance must finally have prevailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received

⁴⁸ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

him with open arms, expecting that under such a commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less modest and inoffensive in their quarters than active and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded by similar address; nor could he expect by force or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent alike brave and vigilant.⁴⁰ The King of Macedon, who had as much flexibility in varying his measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes, was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune. In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it necessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to withdraw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating resolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell out, which prevented the execution of them from reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many important cities was principally owing, sailed from Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclamations of innumerable spectators. In his voyage to the Chersonesus he captured a fleet of victuallers and transports, carrying arms and provisions for the enemy. When he arrived in that peninsula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians, who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had recently undertaken an expedition against the city of Sestos. He

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and ravage
the Macedonian
territories.

⁴⁰ Plut. in Phocion.

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Extraordi-
nary ho-
nours con-
ferred on
the Athe-
nians and
Phocion,
by the ci-
ties which
they had
relieved.

recovered several places on the coast of Thrace, which had reluctantly submitted to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in concert with the inhabitants, embraced such measures as seemed most proper to protect the Athenian allies in those parts, from future danger. Instead of burdening the confederates with the maintenance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the wants of his soldiers from the enemy's country. He commanded in person the parties that went out to forage and to plunder; and in one of those expeditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did not embark for his return, until he had spread the terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip.⁵⁰

The meritorious services of Phocion were deeply felt and acknowledged by the communities whom he had protected and relieved.⁵¹ The deliverance and gratitude of the Chersonesus, of Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by crowns, statues, inscriptions, and altars; and are still recorded in an oration of Demosthenes⁵², which most justly survives those perishing monuments of gold and marble. The decree of the Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing the ancient and recent benefits conferred on them by Athens, enacted, "that in return for those favours the Athenians should be entitled to the right of intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in their territories, the freedom of their respective

⁵⁰ Plut. in Phocion. et Diodor. ubi supra.

⁵² Demosthen. de Corona.

⁵¹ Idem, ibid.

cities, and the first and most honourable place in all their entertainments and assemblies: That whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should be exempted from taxes: And that, further, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, should be erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines and Perinthians: That this crown should be proclaimed at the four principal festivals of Greece, in order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians." The inhabitants of the Chersonesus were not less forward in their acknowledgments and rewards. After a similar preamble, setting forth the manifold favours of their great and generous allies, they resolved to crown the senate and the people of Athens with a golden crown worth sixty talents; and to consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the Athenians. These public and solemn honours afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had advised, the measures, in consequence of which such just glory had been acquired. At the distance of several years, the orator still boasted of this important service. "You have frequently, Athenians! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most successful in conducting your affairs. But name, if you can, any other counsellor, any other statesman, by whose means the state itself hath been thus honoured." ⁵³

⁵³ Demosth. de Coron.

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Atheas
King of
Scythia
invites
Philip to
assist him
against the
Istrians.

The circumstance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rise from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling passion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœsia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninsula contained between the western waves of the Euxine and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the six mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Boristhenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times were named Little Scythia⁵⁴, and are still called Little Tartary.⁵⁵ A monarch less warlike and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already usurped as the barrier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized

⁵⁴ Herodotus & Strabo, *passim*.⁵⁵ Geograph. de D'Anville.

nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of sound policy, that, amidst his preparations against the cities on the Propontis, he received an invitation from Atheas⁵⁶, who styled himself King of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula above mentioned, against an invasion of the Istrians, which the domestic forces of Atheas were totally unable to resist. To this proposal was added a condition extremely alluring to the King of Macedon, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, according to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory little larger than the principality of Wales.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his ambition, Philip was not enough on his guard against the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a powerful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly weaken his exertions against the cities of the Propontis. With an ardour and alacrity too rapid for reflection, he eagerly closed with the propositions of Atheas, sent a great body of forces to the north, and promised to assist them in person at the head of his whole army, should they encounter any difficulty in the execution of their purpose. Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose courage alone animated, and whose con-

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Perfidy
and inso-
lence of
that Bar-
barian.

⁵⁶ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

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duct rendered successful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by sudden death: the dispirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, before any assistance from Macedon, Atheas once more regained possession of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution served to display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and subsistence. Their just remonstrances and complaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally disavowed the propositions and promises of those who styled themselves his ambassadors; observing "how unlikely it was, that he should have solicited the assistance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Scythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been still more unnatural to appoint Philip his successor, since he had a son of his own worthy to inherit his crown and dignity."⁵⁷

Philip remonstrates with him in vain.

Upon receiving an account of the insolent behaviour of a prince who had so recently solicited his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuccessfully, employed against the cities of the Propontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to satisfy the just demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the expence incurred in his defence. The ambassadors found the King of Sythia in his stable, currying his horse. When they testified surprise at

⁵⁷ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furnish a present becoming the greatness of their master; and that, therefore, it seemed more handsome to offer nothing at all, than such a gift as would be totally unworthy of his acceptance.⁵⁷

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This evasive and mortifying answer being brought to the King of Macedon when foiled and harassed, yet not disheartened, by his unprosperous expedition against Byzantium, furnished him with a very honourable pretence for raising the siege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chastise the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having over-reached him by fraud, now mocked him with insult. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourse to his usual arts, and sent a herald with the ensigns of peace and friendship, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a solemn vow which he had made during the siege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen statue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with similar address. Without

Philip determines to chastise his ingratitude and perfidy.

⁵⁷ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

C H A P. praising or blaming the pious intention of the
XXXVI. King, he coolly desired him to forward the statue,
 which he himself would take care to erect in the
 appointed place; that, should it be set up with his
 concurrence and direction, it would probably be
 allowed to stand; otherwise, he could give no as-
 surance that the Scythians would not pull it down,
 and melt it, to make points for their weapons.⁵⁸

Success of
 his Scy-
 thian ex-
 pedition.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the signal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and sword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and seizing the slaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He seems to have employed several weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they essential to the design of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a pastoral state are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with great rapidity the wandering hordes, separated from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and decided their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian soldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loss of several slain or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reside at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This distinguished cap-

⁵⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

tive was sent as a present to Atheas, who received so little delight from his accomplishments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music. The skirmish in which Ismenias was taken seems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whose constitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where overcome by the disciplined valour of the Macedonian phalanx.⁵⁹

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Philip reaped such fruits from his Scythian expedition as might be expected in vanquishing a people who had no King but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The spoil consisted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares destined to replenish the studs of Pella.⁶⁰ We are not informed whether Philip erected the promised statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their submission and dependence, purposing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great designs in Greece, to which country the silent operation of his intrigues now summoned his return.

The nature and quantity of the booty.

But while he marched southward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blast his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and

Philip, on his return, surprised by the Triballi.

⁵⁹ Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

⁶⁰ Compare Justin. l. ix. c. 2. & Strabo, p. 752.

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his life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly subdued, beset by ambush, and vigorously assaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœsia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the flower of a nation whose authority their own fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly condescended to obey. The confusion and the danger was increased by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, harassed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, seized the present opportunity to desert the standard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi. ⁶¹

Alexander
saves the
life of his
father,

The King of Macedon, too prudent to undertake superfluous danger, never acquired by valour what might be obtained by stratagem; but when a necessary occasion solicited his courage and his prowess, he knew how to assume the hero, and (if we may transpose an ancient proverb) “to eke out the fox’s with the lion’s skin.” ⁶² The urgency of the present emergence summoned all the firmness of his mind. With his voice and arm, he encouraged the astonished and disheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the same weapon which pierced his horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground. The young Alexander, who fought near him,

⁶¹ Justin. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. in Alexand.

⁶² Vid. Plut. in Lysand.

derived peculiar glory from saving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his sword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of safety⁶³; the son so worthily succeeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeased, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous son endeavoured to remove his chagrin, by asking, how he could be vexed at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valour?⁶⁴

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and de-
feats the
Triballi.

To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, the Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphictyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well as immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

Philip ap-
pointed
general of
the Am-
phictyons.
Olymp.
cx. 2.
A. C. 339.

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the successful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus King of Persia, who thought it impossible to employ his wealth more usefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the con-

The situa-
tion of
Philip's
affairs en-
courages
the Athe-
nians to
exert
themselves.

⁶³ Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. & Justin. l. ix. c. 3.

⁶⁴ Plut. in Alexand.

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with vi-
gour.

Olymp.

cx. 2.

A. C. 339.

tinual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long sunk, and animated them with a desire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece. In order to save the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent struggle) to abolish the very popular law, or rather abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amusements, so passionately idolised by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendour; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval strength of Macedon.⁶⁵ The troops and partisans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides, an orator second only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnesus and other parts of Greece, to persuade the several republics to second the generous ardour of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of those illustrious statesmen.⁶⁶

Difficul-
ties with
which
Philip had
to struggle.

Philip was accurately informed of all those transactions; and the alarm universally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate than to conceal the danger. Highly provoked against the Athenians, the

⁶⁵ Demosthen. de Corona.

⁶⁶ Idem, ibid.

continual opposers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Thessalians, who, ever selfish and capricious, would be ready to forsake him on the first reverse of fortune. His disgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavourable to such a hazardous design. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success, to attack the enemy by sea, since the Athenian fleet so far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almost totally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

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Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip shewed how well he understood the unsteady temper of the Greeks, by raising the siege of Byzantium, and burying himself in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animosity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two secret engines, which continued to work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular assembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that supine negligence with which Demosthenes so frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athe-

His intrigues
with the
incendiary
Antiphon;

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nians regarded an unqualified voter in the assembly as an usurper of sovereign power) was discovered, and arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his insolence and calumny had justly rendered him obnoxious ; in consequence of which impeachment, the supposititious Athenian was divested of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whose most sacred honours he had so unworthily assumed. Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourse to the King of Macedon, and offered himself for any enterprise, however bloody or desperate, by which, in serving the interest of Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too steadily in view, and pursued them with too much ardour and perseverance, to be very delicate in choosing the means by which he might distress his adversaries. He greedily closed, therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an instrument so fit for his service.

who attempts to set fire to the Athenian docks.

The superiority of the Athenians by sea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arsenals shewed them determined to maintain and increase, formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the design was suggested, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens in disguise, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the main hope of the republic.

While the artful King of Macedon eluded the storm of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked, like a serpent in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardour of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

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But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered this desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, divested him of his disguise, and produced him at the bar of the assembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion, were on this occasion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of such black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long absence, and accused, perhaps on vain presumptions, of such a horrid crime. They knew besides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to increase their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms and imaginary dangers. Æschines, and other partisans of Philip, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of Demosthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his insolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force

The design detected by Demosthenes.

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into the house where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his ^{or} sanctuary. Such was the effect of these clamours, that Antiphon was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have resumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the wiser senate of the Areopagus thought fit carefully to examine the information of Demosthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again seized, and tried. Torture, which the institution of domestic slavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and his enormous guilt was punished with as enormous severity. ^{or}

Philip's
intrigues
for em-
broiling
the affairs
of Greece.

Had the detestable enterprise of Antiphon been crowned with ill-merited success, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude stroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he set in motion for gaining the same end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened resentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the disgrace sustained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be easily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the several parts, or the

^{or} Lysias passim in Agorat. et Eratosth.

^{or} Demosthenes de Coron. who gives the honourable account of his own conduct described in the text.

unwearied dexterity with which the whole was carried into execution. It is on this occasion that Demosthenes might justly exclaim, " In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip distinguished above all his ambitious predecessors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age ; and, what is most worthy of remark, the principal instruments of his ambition were fashioned in the bosom of that state, whose public councils most openly opposed his greatness." ⁶⁹

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The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their just resentment against Philip, that they should send such deputies to the city of Apollo, as were most hostile to the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility ; and the negligent or factious multitude were persuaded, at a crisis which demanded the most faithful and incorrupt ministers, to employ as their representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æschines and Midias ; the former of whom had so often reproached, and the latter had, on one occasion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre ⁷⁰ ; and who were both not only

His partisans sent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons ;

⁶⁹ Demosth. de Coron.

⁷⁰ Demosth. in Mid. et Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

C H A P. the declared enemies of this illustrious patriot,
XXXVI. but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and
 Thrasicles, the warm and active partisans of the
 King of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at
 Delphi, Midias and Diognetus⁷¹ pretended sick-
 ness, that they might allow Æschines to display,
 uncontroled, his superior dexterity ; and to act
 a part, which, requiring the deepest dissimula-
 tion, might be performed most successfully by a
 single traitor. The Amphictyons were employed
 in repairing the temple ; the sacred offerings,
 which had been removed and sold by the im-
 piety of the Phocians, were collected from every
 quarter of Greece ; and new presents were made
 by several states, to supply the place of the old,
 which could not be recovered.

who pre-
 sent a de-
 dication to
 the temple
 highly of-
 fensive to
 the The-
 bans.

The Athenians particularly signalised their
 pious munificence, and sent, among other dedi-
 cations, several golden shields, with the follow-
 ing inscription : “ Taken from the Medes and
 Thebans, when they fought against Greece.”
 This offering, highly offensive to the Theban
 deputies, was prematurely suspended in the
 temple ; the Thebans murmured, the Amphic-
 tyons listened to their complaints, and it was
 whispered in the council, that the Athenians
 deserved punishment for presenting their gift to
 the god, before it had been regularly conse-
 crated, together with the other offerings. Pre-
 tending high indignation at these murmurs,

⁷¹ Æschines says, *Διογνητον πυρεττειν* ; “ That Diognetus was
 seized with a fever, and that the same misfortune happened to
 Midias,” p. 290.

Æschines⁷² rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa⁷³, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility.⁷⁴

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The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honour, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council.⁷⁵

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of ex-

⁷² Ἀρχόμενα δὲ μὲν λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερον πῶς εἰσεληλυθὸς εἰς τὸ συνέδριον. Æschin. p. 290.

⁷³ Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address: ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἄνθρωπος ἀσελγέστατος, καὶ ὅτι ἐμοὶ ἐφαινετο οὐδεμιᾶς παιδείας μετεσχέσκειν, ὥς τε καὶ δαίμωνος τινος ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προαγομένην. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended divinity."

⁷⁴ See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

⁷⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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Æschines
inveighs
against the
Locrians
for culti-
vating the
Cirrhean
plain ;

citing such tumults in the assembly as suited the views of Philip.⁷⁶ In the ardour of patriotic indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the innocence, but displayed with ostentation the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, "Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards of glory so justly earned?"⁷⁷ Shall men, themselves polluted by sacrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, presume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain, (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be seen from the temple,) behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisseans; behold the numerous buildings which they have erected there, and that accursed port of Cirrha, justly

⁷⁶ Demosthen. de Corona.

⁷⁷ The persuasive energy with which Æschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion, is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æschines (de falsa Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have been justly regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a second part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for fame:

Λαὸν ἀρεστέων καὶ ὑπειροχὸν ἐμμένει ἄλλων.

demolished by our ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified." Æschines here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned that harbour and those lands to perpetual desolation. Then proceeding with increased vehemence: "For myself, ye Grecians! I swear, that I in person, my children, my country, will discharge our duty to Heaven; and, with all the powers and faculties of mind and body, avenge the abominable violation of the consecrated territory. Do you, Amphictyons! determine as wisdom shall direct. Your offerings are prepared, your victims are brought to the altar; you are ready to offer solemn prayers for blessings on yourselves, and on the republics which you represent. But consider with what voice, with what heart, with what confidence, you can breathe out your petitions, while you suffer the profanation of the Amphisheans to pass unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation, not only against those who cultivate the consecrated ground, but against those who neglect to punish them: "May they never present an acceptable offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva the provident; but may all their sacrifices and religious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred!"⁷⁸

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The warmth of Æschines occasioned the utmost confusion in the assembly. The golden shields, irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no longer the subject of discourse. This slight impropriety disappeared amidst the enormous impieties of the Amphisheans, which had

which ex-
cites the
third sa-
cred war.

⁷⁸ Pausanias Phocic. et Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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been so forcibly painted to the superstitious fancies of the terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between those who accused, and those who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having summoned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi, should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations, which had so long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little opposition in performing this pious devastation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and assaulted by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who threw them into disorder, made several prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphi. The signal of war was now raised; the insulted Amphictyons, in whose persons the sanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their respective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphisseans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which possess only a delegated authority, the measures of the Amphictyons were extremely low and irresolute: and, when they at length raised an army under the command of Cottypheus, a Thessalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unsuccessful.⁷⁹

The Am-
phictyons
appoint

Affairs were thus brought to the issue which had been expected by Æschines, and the accomplices

⁷⁹ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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Philip
their gene-
ral.

who assisted him in promoting the interest of the King of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the council against the lukewarm indifference of the Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned the national religion. "It became the Amphictyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo, and the guardians of his temple, to seek out and employ some more powerful instrument of the Divine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had formerly given proof of his pious zeal in the Phocian war. That prince was now returning in triumph from his Scythian expedition. His assistance must again be demanded (nor would it be demanded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and the sacred shrine." This proposal being approved, a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in Thrace. He received their welcome message with well-affected surprise, but declared his veneration for the commands of the council, which he should be ever ready to obey.⁸⁰

The vigilant prince had already taken proper measures for acting as general of the Amphictyons, and provided a sufficient number of transports to convey his army into Greece. He understood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Æschines and his associates, the Athenians had been persuaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared to intercept his passage with a superior naval force. To baffle this opposition,

Philip
eludes the
Athenian
fleet by a
stratagem.

⁸⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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Philip employed a stratagem. A light brigantine was dispatched to Macedon with letters of such import as gave reason to believe that he purposed immediately returning into ⁸¹ Thrace. Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and minister, he took care to mask his artifice, by sending letters to his Queen Olympias. The brigantine fell designedly into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were seized and read; but the letter for the Queen was politely forwarded to its destination.⁸² The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes possession of Amphissa.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than seemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the King, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose designs they had lately become extremely jealous, sent a small body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long disgusted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public spirit to oppose, beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous disregard, obstinate in their pur-

⁸¹ Polyæn. l. iv. c. 2.

⁸² Plut. in Demetr.

pose of preserving a sullen neutrality. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her ministers of being bribed to Philippise, or to prophesy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while Æschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphissa.⁸³ The King of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory.⁸⁴

The news of these events occasioned dreadful consternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be persuaded to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious invader. After less altercation and delay than usually prevailed in their councils, they sent an embassy to Philip, craving a suspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine negligence,

The Athenians, while they negotiate with Philip, raise a confederacy against that prince.

⁸³ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

⁸⁴ Demosthen. de Corona.

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The The-
bans fluctuate be-
tween the
party of
Philip and
that of the
Athenians.

Philip
seizes
Elatæa.
Olymp.
cx. 3.
A. C. 338.

and to animate and unite them against a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the subjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favourably received the ambassadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The situation of the Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important.⁸⁵ To gain or to retain their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied assiduity. The Thebans temporised, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolutions. The partisans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamours and arguments of both parties with a stupid indifference, and took their measures with such lethargic slowness, as disgraced even the heavy character of *Bœotians*.⁸⁶

To fix their wavering irresolution, and to awaken their dull insensibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foresight and policy had spared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The citadel was built on an eminence, washed

⁸⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475.

⁸⁶ Demosthen. de Coron.

by the river Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of water, which, by several navigable streams, communicated with Attica. This valuable post, conveniently situate for receiving reinforcements from Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage into Bœotia, distant only two days' march from Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a powerful army, might continually alarm the safety both of Thebes and of Athens, Philip seized with equal boldness and celerity⁸⁷, drew the greater part of his troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls of the place, and having thus secured himself from surprise, watched a favourable opportunity of inflicting punishment on the Athenians, who had given him sufficient ground to represent them as the enemies of the Amphictyonic council⁸⁸, by whose authority the King of Macedon affected to be guided in all his operations.

We are not informed of the immediate effect of this vigorous measure on the resolutions of the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of the uncorrupt part of the citizens may be conjectured by what happened on the same occasion at Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had taken possession of Elatæa. The people had retired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad. Some hastened to the

Alarm
thereby
excited in
Athens.

⁸⁷ Diodor. & Demosth. ubi supra.

⁸⁸ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

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generals; others went in quest of the ⁸⁹ officer whose business it was to summon the citizens to council; most flocked to the market-place; and, in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen or artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased; the citizens were all assembled; the senators took their places; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice, "That he, who had any thing to offer on the present emergence, should mount the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the assistance of her children. ⁹⁰

Demos-
thenes ex-
horts the
Athenians
to oppose
Philip to
the utmost
of their
power by
sea and
land.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism; by urging, amidst universal consternation, an advice prudent, generous, and successful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the desponding citizens, and assuring them that were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the Thebans,

⁸⁹ Τον σαλπικτην εκαλουν, De Corona, p. 317.

⁹⁰ Καλουσθε δε της κοινης της πατριδος φωνης τον εραυντα υπερ σωτηριας ην γαρ ο κηρυξ κατα τους νομους φωνην αφησιν, ταυτην κοινην της πατριδος δικαιον εστι ηγχεισθαι, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

hostile to Philip, that prince would not be actually posted at Elataea, but on the Athenian frontier. C H A P.
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He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had surprised them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to show the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have sold their country are supported by the Macedonian forces at Elataea, so you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to assure the Thebans, that you do not consider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the present juncture. Assure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

These proposals being received with general approbation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a

The decree for that purpose.

CHAP.
XXXVI.dated
August.

decree which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people, who, agreeably to the unanimous counsel of Pericles, had determined, that when every thing earthly perished, the fame of Athens should be immortal.⁹¹ Having painted, in the most odious colours, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and having stigmatised with due severity the recent instances of his injustice

⁹¹ See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 229. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate consequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. *Βουλομαι τι και παριδοξον ειπειν και μου προς διος και δέων! μηδεις την υπερβολην δαυμασι, αλλα μετ' ευνοιας ο λεγω θεωρησάτω· ει γαρ απασι προδηλα τα μελλοντα γενησεσθαι, και προηδεσαν παυτες, και συ προυλεγε λισχυη, και διεμαρτερον, βων και κεκραγως, ος ουδε εφθεξα' ουδε οδως αποστατον τη πολει τουτων ην· επιρ η δοξης, η προγονων, η του μελλοντος αιωνος ειχε λογον.* The beauties of such passages, depending chiefly on collocation of words and sentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to say what is contrary to common opinion; and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreseen what was going to happen, had the consequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forsaken the cause of Grecian freedom, unless they forsook their glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers had been prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: *Αλλα ουκ εστι, οπως ημαρτετε, ανδρες Αθηναιοι τον υπερ της απαντων ελευθεριας και σωτηριας κινδυνον αραιμενοι· ου μα τους εν Μαραθωνι προκινδυνευσαντας των προγονων, &c.* See the passage, p. 345. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such passages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with such admirable symmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural size, so, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.

and lust of power, the orator concludes, " For such reasons, the senate and people of Athens, emulating the glory of their ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever dearer than the interest of their particular republic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes, guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose aid they now implore, have resolved to send to the coast of Boeotia a fleet of two hundred sail, to march to Eleusis with their whole military strength, to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encouraging them to remain untterrified amidst the dangers which threaten them, and to exert themselves manfully in defence of the common cause, with assurance that the people of Athens, unmindful of old or later differences which have prevailed between the two republics, are determined and ready to support them with all their faculties and resources ; their treasures, their navies, and their arms ; well knowing, that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks is an honourable contest ; but to be commanded by a foreigner, and to suffer a Barbarian to wrest the sovereignty from their hands, would tarnish their hereditary glory, and disgrace their country with the remotest ages of posterity."

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The same undaunted spirit which dictated this decree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the emissaries employed by Philip on this important

Demos-
thenes per-
suades the
Thebans
to join the
standard
of Athens.

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Prepara-
tions on
both sides
for the
battle of
Chæro-
næa.

occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered assistance of Athens; and the Athenian army, having soon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering distinctions of ancient hospitality.⁹²

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardless of these losses, to which, perhaps, he purposely submitted, as necessary stratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thousand strong, to the plain of Chæronæa. This place was considered by Philip as well adapted to the evolutions and exertions of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were chosen with equal sagacity; having in view, on one side, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal house, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a small river flowing into the Cephissus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the destined scene of desolation and woe to their unhappy country.⁹³ The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much less careful to avail themselves of the powerful

⁹² Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative, avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475. et seq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Justin. l. ix. c. 3. & Pausanias Bœotic.

⁹³ Plut. in Vit. Demosth.

sanctions of superstition. Unrestrained by in-
 auspicious sacrifices, the Athenians had left their
 city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait
 no other omen but the cause of their country.
 Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced
 to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the
 Thebans, and the scanty reinforcements raised
 by the islands, and by such states of Pelopon-
 nesus as had joined their alliance. Their army
 amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by
 the noblest cause for which men can fight, but
 commanded by the Athenians Lysicles and Chares,
 the first but little, and the second unfavourably,
 known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person
 strongly suspected of treachery; all three crea-
 tures of cabal, and tools of faction, slaves to
 interest or voluptuousness, whose characters (es-
 pecially as they had been appointed to command
 the only states whose shame, rather than virtue,
 yet opposed the public enemy) are alone sufficient
 to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

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When the day approached for abolishing the
 tottering independence of those turbulent repub-
 lics, which their own internal vices, and the
 arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually
 undermining for twenty-two years, both armies
 formed in battle array before the rising of the sun.
 The right wing of the Macedonians was headed
 by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in per-
 son the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His
 son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but
 surrounded by experienced officers, commanded
 the left wing, which faced the Sacred Band of the

Alexander
 routs the
 Thebans.

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Philip de-
feats the
Athenians.

Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy; but the youthful ardour of Alexander obliged the Thebans⁹⁴ to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their disorder, and pursued the scattered multitude with his Thessalian cavalry.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the King, they, instead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, pressed⁹⁵ forward against the fugitives, the insolent Lysicles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon." Philip observed this rash folly with contempt, and saying to those around him, "Our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of success had rendered them totally insensible to danger. But the resistless shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thousand fell, two thousand were taken prisoners; the rest escaped

⁹⁴ Plutarch. in Alexand.

⁹⁵ Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. 3.

by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honourable to his understanding than his heart; since his humanity thus subdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies.⁹⁶

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According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the King, presiding in person, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. This request, which served as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but, before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance, had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory; yet the sight of the slaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the sacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honourable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip

Philip
visits the
field of
battle.

⁹⁶ Pausan. Achaic. Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

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beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting silence, denounced a solemn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions.⁹⁷

His levity
reprimanded by
Demades.

But this serious temper of mind did not last long; for, having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the King abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boastful pretensions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies; and struck by this contrast, rehearsed, with the insolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Thersites, when fortune assigned him the part of Agamemnon?⁹⁸

The different treatment of the Athenians and Thebans.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand⁹⁹, it is certain that the King of Macedon indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain triumph over the vanquished. When advised by his generals to advance into Attica, and to render

⁹⁷ Plutarch. in Pelopid.

⁹⁸ Idem in Demosthen.

⁹⁹ Plutarch ascribes to this smart observation, the moderation of Philip's subsequent conduct.

himself master of Athens, he calmly replied, CHAP.
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 “Have I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory?”¹⁰⁰ His subsequent conduct corresponded with the moderation of this sentiment. He restored, without ransom, the Athenian prisoners; who, at departing, having demanded their baggage, were also gratified in this particular; the King pleasantly observing, that the Athenians seemed to think he had not conquered them in earnest.¹⁰¹ Soon afterwards he dispatched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace on such favourable terms as they had little reason to expect. They were required to send deputies to the Isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their respective contingents of troops for the Persian expedition, Philip purposed assembling, early in the spring, a general convention of all the Grecian states: they were ordered to surrender the Isle of Samos, which actually formed the principal station of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of all their maritime or insular possessions; but they were allowed to enjoy, unmolested, the Attic territory, with their hereditary form of government, and flattered by the acquisition of Oropus, for which they had so long contended with the unhappy Thebans.¹⁰² It was not merely in being deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the

¹⁰⁰ Plut. in Apoph.¹⁰¹ Idem, ibid.¹⁰² Pausanias Bæotic. Diodorus, ubi supra.

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conqueror. From the transactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip thought himself entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whose struggle for freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless and insidious rebels, who merited all the severity of his justice. He punished the republican party with unrelenting vigour; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honours of the republic; and, in order to support their government, placed a Macedonian garrison in the Theban citadel.¹⁰³

Causes
from
which it
proceeded.

In his opposite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by affection nor hatred: his generosity and his rigour were alike artificial, and both directed by his interest. Besides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were susceptible of gratitude and prone to eulogy, the Thebans had too long, and too early abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt to resist Philip, to which they had been at length roused less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince, though with

¹⁰³ Justin. l. ix. c. 4.

far less prudence and activity than their situation required ; who, through the whole course of his reign, had continued to traverse his measures, and to spurn his authority ; and who, previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa, had endeavoured to form a general confederacy, and when that proved impossible, had determined, almost unassisted and alone, to resist the common foe, seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause, as compassion bestows on ill-directed valour and unfortunate patriotism ; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments, and exasperated the hatred, of every citizen of Greece, who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles, or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Philip too well understood his interest, thus to tarnish the glory, and risk the fruits of victory, although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians, after the battle, might have served to justify the harshest measures. The first news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or consternation. But when the disorder ceased, the people shewed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms, none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides¹⁰⁴, a decree passed for sending to the Piræus their wives, children, and most valuable effects, together with the sacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the same decree, the rights and freedom of the city were bestowed on strangers and slaves,

Daring
measures
of the
Athenians
after their
defeat.

¹⁰⁴ Plut. in Vita Hiperid.

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and restored to persons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themselves in the public defence. Demosthenes, with equal success, proposed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himself appointed to superintend, he generously accomplished at the expence of his private ¹⁰⁵ fortune. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of impeaching the worthless Lysicles, whose misconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cause of the late fatal disaster. In a discourse calculated to revive the spirit of military enthusiasm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the speaker thus warmly apostrophised the conscious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and still *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the sun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your country." The quick resentment of the hearers supplied the consequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution.¹⁰⁶

Philip's
moderation
in
victory.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hostile preparations of Athens, could shake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the favourable terms of accommodation, which he had already proposed by his ambassadors. The

¹⁰⁵ Demosth. de Corónâ.

¹⁰⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

patriotic or republican party, headed by the orators just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this occasion acted suitably to the fame of its ancient wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion¹⁰⁷ was appointed to the chief command. The discernment of this statesman and general, whose merit had been neglected while there was yet time to perform any essential service, might easily perceive the vanity of attempting to recover the honour of a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by their own pernicious vices. Amidst the important events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the dreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its melancholy issue, hung over their country, a set of Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty, from the accidental number of their original institution, regularly assembled into a club, where all serious transactions were treated with levity and ridicule, and day after day spent in feasting, gaming, and the sprightly exercises of wit and pleasantry. This detestable society saw¹⁰⁸, without emotion, their countrymen arming for battle; with the most careless indifference they received accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the public calamities in any degree disturb their festivity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil course of their pleasures.

Extreme
corruption
of the
Athenians.

¹⁰⁷ Plutarch. in Phocion.

¹⁰⁸ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

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Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip sent them a sum of money, to support the expence of an association so favourable to his views. But what opinion must Phocion have formed of such an establishment; or how was it possible for any dispassionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic so totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy?

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

The arguments of the wisest portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip were strengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at Chæronæa, who unanimously blazed forth the praises of their generous conqueror. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to the King of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condescended to offer; and the only marks of deference shewn to the violent party, who still clamoured for war, were, that Demochares, who ostentatiously affected a rude boldness of speech against Philip, was named among the ambassadors; and that Demosthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honour of those slain at Chæronæa.

Insolence of Demochares.

Demochares acquitted himself of his commission with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the Grecian commonwealths, too frequently disgraced the decency of public transactions. At

their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, lavished on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them, "Is there any thing farther in which I can gratify the Athenians?" "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present broke forth against this unprovoked outrage; when Philip, with admirable coolness, silenced the clamour, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested;" and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such contumelies are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them."¹⁰⁹

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The honourable employment conferred on Demosthenes, which shewed that, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of his counsels, the Athenians still approved his principles and his patriotism, might have been expected to elevate his sentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the powers of the orator seem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous, parts of the Athenian story. One transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the

Oration of Demosthenes in honour of those slain at Chaeronea.

¹⁰⁹ Seneca de Ira.

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slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world ¹¹⁰; a figure bold, yet just; since after the battle of Chæronæa, there remained no further hopes of resisting the conqueror — the dignity of freedom was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece. ¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ὅσπερ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ καθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐβάλοντο, δυσχερὲς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λειπομενὸς ἡμῖν βίος· οὕτω τῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, ἐν σκοτει καὶ πολλῇ δυσκλείᾳ πᾶς ὁ πρῶτος ζῆλος τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονε. p. 155. "For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery; so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy." Of this discourse, which Libanius denies to be genuine, many passages are corrupt, and many interpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by the observation in the text, without having recourse to the defence of Wolfius: "Orationem Libanius Demosthenis esse negat ut vilem et imbecillem omnino. Quod quis miretur, cum et argumentum sit imbecille?" Demosthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

¹¹¹ Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. 3. Demosthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the same sentiment, and nearly in the same words.

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Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government. — Philip appointed General of the Greeks. — Rebellion of Illyria. — Assassination of Philip. — His Character. — Accession of Alexander. — His Expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi. — He passes the Danube. — Rebellion in Greece. — Destruction of Thebes. — Heroism of Timoclea. — Alexander crosses the Hellespont. — State of the Persian Empire. — Battle of the Granicus. — Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus. — Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers. — Alexander's judicious Plan of War. — Arts by which he secured his Conquests. — The Battle of Issus. — The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and sorrow, that by the decisive victory of Chæronæa, Philip became master of their country. But we should form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute

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Liberal spirit of the Macedonian government.

Demosth. Æschin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, passim. I shall cite only the words of Strabo: "Χαιρωνεία δὲ ἔπου Φιλίππου ὁ Ἀμυνίου μεγάλῃς νίκῃς Αῠθῆναιους τε καὶ Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους, κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος κύριος." And Chæronæa, where Philip, the son of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle rendered himself master of Greece." Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

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dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm, was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the *policies* of the heroic ages.² He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valour, of soldiers and³ freemen. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects⁴, ceased from that moment to be a king.

Nature
and extent
of Philip's
authority
in Greece.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more severe maxims of government than those which prevailed in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to preserve inviolate the ancient forms of

* When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honours, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, "Οἱ πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργεῶς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἦλθον, οὐδὲ βίη, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ Μακεδόνων ἀρχόντες διατέλεσαν. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

² In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil potestas regum valebat, nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;" scilicet populi. Curtius, l. x. c. 8. Conf. l. viii. c. 6.

⁴ A very mean subject literally told Philip, "If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." Plut. Apophth. Conf. Arist. politic. l. v. c. 10. Tit. Liv. l. xxxi. & xlii.

the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controuled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendence of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphictyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronæa over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people.⁵

That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronæa, had assembled a general convention of the Amphictyonic states.⁶ In this assembly, Dius of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations and oppression which the feeble colonies of

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Philip
named
general
of the
Greeks
Olymp.
cx. 4.
A. C. 537.

⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. *Τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλομένων αὐτὸν στρατηγόν, &c.*

⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

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Asia daily experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly re-echoed his complaint, while each member recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, insulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not satisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppressed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nourished those cruel animosities which had long filled every part of Greece with sedition and blood.⁷ Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred and jealousy had, on several occasions, thwarted his measures and disturbed his government. Yet he insisted chiefly on their public injuries and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honour of which could only be redeemed by a successful expedition into Asia.

Amount
of their
forces.

This expedition was determined with universal consent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians sullenly absented themselves from the convention) when the several states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse⁸; a prodigious force, of which the domestic dissensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them from forming an adequate notion.

⁷ Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. 6.

On no former occasion had the several republics appeared so thoroughly united in one common cause ; never had they shewn themselves so sensible of their combined strength ; never had they testified such general alacrity to take the field, or such unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

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It belongs to the biographers of the King of Macedon to examine the circumstances of the bloody transaction which clouded this glorious prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is sufficient to mention, that Philip, having dispatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Asiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an insurrection of the Illyrian tribes.⁹ This unseasonable diversion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domestic discord which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by the continual infidelities of her husband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceased to augment the number of his wives or concubines.¹⁰ The generous mind of Alexander must naturally have espoused the cause of his mother, although his own interest had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him so many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias and his own,

The expedition retarded by a rebellion in Illyria, and domestic dissensions in Macedon. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

⁹ Diodor. ad Olymp.

¹⁰ Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 558.

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with the impetuosity natural to his character : at the nuptials of Philip with Cassandra, niece to Attalus, one of his generals and favourites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty son ¹¹ ; and the latter concluding all those to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, sought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms against their sovereign.

Philip extricates himself from these difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1.
A. C. 336.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from these difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he softened Alexander by assuring him that his illustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory and in the merited affections of the ¹² Macedonians. Soothed by this condescension, Olympias and her son again appeared at court with the distinction due to their rank : and, to announce and confirm this happy reconciliation with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the King of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander ; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent festival which lasted several days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in shewing their obsequious respect towards their common general and master.

Is assassinated in going to the theatre.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festivity, Philip often appeared in public with un-

¹¹ Plutarch. in Alexander.

¹² Plut. Apophth.

guarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment of all his subjects : but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias¹³, a Macedonian; whether the assassin was stimulated merely by private resentment, or prompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olympias, or instigated to commit this enormity by the Persian satraps ; which last is asserted by Alexander¹⁴, who alleged the assassination of his father among his reasons for invading the Persian empire.

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Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign ; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumstantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character ; valour, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign ; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labours and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not he fallen unexpectedly by a premature fate,

His character.

¹³ Diodor. & Justin. ubi supra.

¹⁴ Arrian. l. ii. c. 3. & Curtius, l. iv. c. 1.

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there is good reason to believe that he might have subdued the Persian empire ; an enterprise more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendour of extensive foreign conquest ; Philip would have reached the height of such renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness ; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the King of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes ; and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

Difficulties
attending
the acces-
sion of
Alexander
to the Ma-
cedonian
throne.
Olymp.
cxi. 1.
A. C. 336.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the sole depository of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labours of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander ; but it was not the only circumstance that rendered his situation difficult. The regular order of succession had never been clearly established in Macedon, and was in some measure incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which,

as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promiscuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalry of his brothers, since Ptolemy, born of Arsinoë, and afterwards King of Egypt, was reputed to be the son of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arsinoë, while she was with child by himself; and Aridæus, the son of Philina, who, for six years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East through the glory of his brother's name, and the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed not vigour of mind eagerly to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, son to Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip so little feared the revival of his pretensions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a bold and enterprising commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his kinswoman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends

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He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the states at Corinth.

His character displayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

for crushing these dangerous enemies¹⁵; and, being acknowledged King of Macedon, hastened into Greece, to reap the fruits of his father's labours, which might be lost by delay.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconstancy of the Thessalians, whom he chastised with proper severity; and having assembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the same honours¹⁶ which had been conferred on his predecessor. During his residence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose singular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the sun¹⁷, and, having made himself known as the master of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the sun," was the answer of the cynic: upon which the King observed to his attendants, "that he would choose to be Diogenes¹⁸ if he were not Alexander." The observation was natural and sublime; since, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real resemblance. Both possessed that proud erect spirit which disdains

¹⁵ Diodorus, l. xvii. 2. et seq. & Justin. xi. 1. et seq.

¹⁶ Idem, *ibid.*

¹⁷ Pausan. l. ii. p. 88.

¹⁸ Laertius in Vit. Diogen.

authority, spurns controul, and aspires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his desires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

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Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had hastily taken arms to oppose, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his son. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving such formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had seized an eminence commanding the pass; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude the force of this unusual battery, Alexander commanded such of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free issue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending waggons might, harmless, bound over them. In conse-

His expedition
against the
Illyrians
and Triballi.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

He defeats
the independent
tribes of
Thrace.

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The Tri-
balli take
refuge in
Peucé.

Alexander
passes the
Danube;

quence of this contrivance, the hostile artillery was exhausted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their swiftness and knowledge of the country saved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for sale to the maritime cities on the Euxine.¹⁹

Alexander having committed this subordinate business to Lysanius and Philotas, passed the mountains, and pursued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and slingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Liginus, distant three days' march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valour of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, surrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to assault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honourable pretence for declining the siege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined resolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those signs of defiance, and

¹⁹ Arrian, Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2. et seq.

animated by the glory of passing the greatest of all European rivers, and that which was surrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through those rich fields²⁰ with transversed spears; while the infantry remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as soon as the former emerged into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the front, and both suddenly presenting an irresistible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post, and fled to their city, which was four miles distant. There, they at first purposed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, reflecting on his astonishing boldness in passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness of his phalanx, and the resistless impetuosity of his cavalry²¹, they regarded

²⁰ Πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρπίσαις επικλινάμεναι τὸν σίτον. The spears were transversed, not only for the purpose of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

²¹ Φοβερὰ δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἡ ξύνταξις, βία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἵππων ἐμβολή, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper use of cavalry, which was so little understood in the last century, that the three ranks fired successively before the charge; each, after firing, passing, by a caracol,

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farther opposition as vain, forsook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern desert.²²

The Macedonians entered, and sacked the town. The spoil was entrusted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of so many favours, returned sacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very submissive embassies from the surrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, sent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian and an enemy.²³

receives
the sub-
mission of
the neigh-
bouring
nations.

Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to subdue the Asiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chastise the boastful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), sent ambassadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, "what, of all things, they most feared?" not doubting, they would answer "yourself;" but they replied, "the fall of heaven."

behind the rest. Gustavus Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire; which was doubtless a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the service of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "*ἡ βία ἐμβολή*."

²² Arrian, l. i. p. 3. et seq.

²³ Idem, *ibid*.

The King declared them his friends and allies, but whispered to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people."²⁴ Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambassadors were really sent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleasant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, son of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewise an Illyrian nation, had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the lifetime of Philip, Langarus²⁵ had discerned the superior merit of his son, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important share in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive; the Autariadæ,

Alexander reduces the Taulantii, and other Illyrian tribes.

²⁴ Arrian, l. i. p. 5. & Strabo, l. vii. p. 208. & 209.

²⁵ Λαγγαρος . . . και φιλεππου ζωντος ασπαζομενος Αλεξανδρον δηλος ην, και ιδιαι εκρεσθευσε παρ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

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broken by domestic calamity, or alarmed by personal danger, abandoned the design of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander. That prince thus advanced without opposition to Pellion, the principal strong-hold of the Illyrians. His army encamped on the banks of the Eordai-cus. The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains, and concealed among thick woods, purposing to attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united assault. But their courage failed them in the moment of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their city, leaving behind them the horrid vestiges of their bloody superstition, three boys, three maids, and as many black rams, which, having just sacrificed, they wanted time to remove.²⁶

Meanwhile Glaucias, King of the Taulantii, approached with a great force²⁷ to relieve Pellion, and assist his ally. Alexander had dispatched Philotas to forage at the head of a strong body of cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of his army to awe Pellion, marched to the assistance of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a decisive action thus seemed inevitable, if the thickness of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding mountains, had afforded a proper scene for a general engagement. The

²⁶ Arrian, p. 5.

²⁷ Μετα πολλῶν δυνάμεων. Idem, p. 6. Neither Thrace nor Illyria were remarkably populous in those days; but as every man was a soldier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies into the field.

Barbarians excelled in knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, and ably supported. But the discipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By surprise, by stratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which destroyed at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres²⁸ as had never been before seen on the banks of the Apsus²⁹ and Erigonè, he totally dispersed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were slain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they despaired of ability to defend, sought refuge among the Taulantian mountains.³⁰

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Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had perished in Illyria; and as men's belief is often guided by their interest³¹, this vague rumour was greedily embraced by the partisans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues resumed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themselves heading the revolt³²; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having secretly recalled their exiles, treacherously³³ mur-

Rebellion
in Greece.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

²⁸ Those are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6., who, it must be acknowledged, appears sometimes too fond of displaying his skill in tactics.

²⁹ Otherwise called the Eordaicus.

³⁰ Arrian, p. 7.

³¹ Οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα, τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισιν εἰκαζον.

³² Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures." Idem, p. 8.

³³ The Lacedæmonians, says Arrian, were γυναικῶς ἀφεστηκότες, "revolted in their minds."

³³ They seized them without the garrison, οὐδεν ὑποτοπήσαντας πολέμων, "suspecting no hostility."

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Thebes.
Olymp.
cxl. 2.

A. C. 335.

dered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Alexander, when apprised of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Bœotia, and in the space of fourteen days after hearing the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and with terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of obstruction from rebellions in Europe.³⁴ But, notwithstanding this sagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction of Thebes was the

³⁴ Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Græcs, and the learned author of the *Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre*, who says, p. 46., "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grèce par quelque coup d'éclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. *Εκδιδους επι τοις Θηβαις τριθην, ει μεταγνοστας επι τοις κακως εγνωσμενοις, πρεσβευσαντο παρ' αυτον.* And again, *Επι γαρ τοις Θηβαις δια φιλιας ελθειν μαλλον τι η δια κινδυνου ηθυλε.* And still to the same purpose, *Αλεξανδρος δε ουδε ως τη πολει προσεβαλεν.* Arrian, p. 8.

effect, not of policy, but of obstinacy and accident. In approaching that unfortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to allow the insurgents time to repent of their rashness. The wiser part of the Thebans proposed to embrace the opportunity of sending ambassadors to crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of the sedition encouraged the multitude to persevere; and, instead of showing remorse for their past crimes, sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who assaulted and slew several of the Macedonian outguards.³⁵

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, commander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander. A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, son of Andromenes; but both were so warmly received by the enemy, that Alexander saw the necessity of reinforcing them, lest they should be surrounded and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in their turn; but soon rallying, beat back the assailants, and pursued them with disordered ranks. Alexander then seized the decisive moment for advancing with a close phalanx. His assault was irresistible. The Thebans fled amain; and such was their trepidation, that having entered their gates, they neglected to shut them against the pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place. A

The occasion and circumstances of that event.

³⁵ Arrian, p. 8. et seq.

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Cruelty of
the Greek
auxilia-
ries.

dreadful slaughter ensued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Plateans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number³⁶, were either put to the sword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for overawing the adjacent territory.

A few acts
of mercy,
owing to
Alexander.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries.³⁷ The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and, as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Plataea. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light, that dis-

³⁶ According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. *ibid.* Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. 7. Agatharchid, apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

³⁷ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 569.

played his magnanimity. It happened in the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The soldiers plundered her house; their brutal commander violated her person. Having gratified his lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and demanded her gold and silver. She conducted him to a garden, and showed him a well, into which she pretended to have thrown her most valuable treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp it, while the woman, being behind, pushed him headlong into the cistern, and covered him with stones. Timoclea was seized by the soldiers, and carried in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and intrepid aspect, commanded the attention of the conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander asked her, "Who she was, that could venture to commit so bold a deed?" — "I am," replied she, "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Chæronæa, fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian freedom." Alexander admired both her action and her answer, and desired her to depart free with her children.³⁸ While Alexander returned towards Macedon, he received many congratulatory embassies from the Greeks. Those affected most friendship in their speeches, who had most enmity in their hearts. The Athenians sent to deprecate his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives. Alexander demanded the persons of Demos-

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Heroism
of Timo-
clea.

Alexander
receives
the con-
gratula-
tory em-
bassies of
the
Greeks.

³⁸ Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

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XXXVII. orators, to whose inflammatory speeches he
 ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently
 prevailed in Athens. An assembly was im-
 mediately summoned to deliberate on this demand ;
 and a decree unanimously passed for trying the
 orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting
 on them such punishment as their offences should
 appear to merit. This pretended forwardness
 in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was
 highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful
 decree, which was immediately transmitted to
 him, became still more acceptable through the
 bearer Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon,
 whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with
 five talents to undertake this useful service.³⁰
 Amidst the various embassies to the King, the
 Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnani-
 mous silence. Alexander treated them with real,
 or well-affected contempt; and, without deigning
 to require their assistance, prepared for the
 boldest and noblest enterprise ever undertaken
 by the Grecian confederacy.

Transac-
 tions in
 Macedon,
 previous
 to Alex-
 ander's
 expedition
 to the
 East

The arrival of the army in Macedon was cele-
 brated with all the pomp of an elegant superstition.
 A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was
 exhibited in the ancient city of *Ægæ*. Continual
 games and sacrifices were performed in *Dium*,

³⁰ The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by
 all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498.
Æschin. in *Ctesiphont.* *Plut.* in *Vit. Alexand. & Arrian*, l. i. p. 11.
 In military affairs Arrian's authority stands unrivalled; but *Æschines*,
 a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning
 the civil transactions of the Athenians.

during the space of nine days, in honour of the Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander disdained every personal consideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father. ⁴⁰

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Olymp.
cxi. 1.
A. C. 334.

Having entrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand ⁴¹ men, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry. ⁴² In twenty days' march he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in an hundred and sixty galleys, and probably a still greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with his army.
Olymp.
cxi. 5.
A. C. 334.

⁴⁰ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

⁴¹ Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

⁴² Arrian, p. 12.

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State of
the Per-
sian em-
pire.

Asiatic coast; the Persians, though long ago apprised of the intended invasion, having totally neglected the defence of their western frontier.

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomanus had been raised by assassinations and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander succeeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in stifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying, the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recall the principles or manners which distinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characterise a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of those arts and improvements, which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspes, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damascus, Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but such was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to have given him an income of sixty

millions sterling⁴³; a sum which will admit of every allowance for exaggeration, and still appear sufficiently great.

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Although the extravagance and vices of Susa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Persians were prepared for destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved insufficient to keep in awe the distant satraps or viceroys. The ties of a common religion or language, or the sense of a public interest, had never united into one system this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When, to these unfavourable circumstances, we join the reflection that, under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia, our admiration will diminish for the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eastern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprised, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valour of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries.⁴⁴

Circumstances which prepared it for destruction.

Having arrived in Asia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more successfully the power of superstition⁴⁵, confirmed the confidence

Deliberation of the Persian satraps.

⁴³ Justin. xiii. 1.

⁴⁴ Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius.

⁴⁵ Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, *passim*.

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Judicious
advice of
Memnon,

rejected.

of his followers by many auspicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he pursued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, assembled for deliberation in the town of Zeleia, in Troas, distant sixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmolested, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealousy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He observed the danger of resisting the Macedonian infantry, who were superior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their King. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lose courage on the first disappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their safety depended on sudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war; above all, to avoid a general engagement. Without risking the event of a battle, they had other and surer means to check the progress of the invaders. For this purpose, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, destroy all other fruits of the ground, and desolate the whole country, without sparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia⁴⁶; Arsites, governor of Lesser

⁴⁶ *Αναξίων της Περσῶν μεγαλαφυχίας*, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Persia." Diodor. p. 501.

Phrygia, declared proudly, that he would never permit the property of *his* subjects to be ravaged with impunity. These sentiments the more easily prevailed, because many suspected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to assemble their respective forces with all possible expedition; and to encamp on the eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Hellespont) which, issuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

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The scouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's design, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line⁴⁷, the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young prince determined to pass the river. Having ad-

Alexander
prepares
to pass the
Granicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

⁴⁷ The δαλὴ φάλαγξ is explained in this sense by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of sixteen men. The δαλὴ φάλαγξ, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

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Rejects
the cau-
tious coun-
sels of
Parmenio.

vanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horse spread to the right and left, the massy column of infantry opened, and the whole formed along the bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided into eight sections, composed the main body, which occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated against passing the Granicus in the face of an enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it would be impossible, therefore, to march the Macedonians in line, and if they advanced in columns, their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless. To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unnecessary in the present juncture, because the Barbarians would certainly quit their station in the night, rather than remain encamped in the neighbourhood of so formidable an army." These prudential considerations prevailed not with Alexander, who declared that, in the first conflict, the Macedonians must act with equal promptitude and vigour, and perform something worthy of the terror which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his horse, assumed the command of the right wing, and committed the left to Parmenio.

Battle of
the Gra-
nicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the enemy, he disdained to employ his military engines. The balistas and catapults, by which, in a similar situation, he had repelled the Taulanti, were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander

distributed his orders; a dreadful silence ensued; the hostile armies beheld each other with resentment or terror. This solemn pause was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a signal given by Alexander, resounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers⁴⁸, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewise advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they successively reached the shore. The Persian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*⁴⁹ with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian combat which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their skilful evolutions

⁴⁸ I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeness of their defensive armour. Milton mentions them in *Sampson Agonistes*.

⁴⁹ Archers and slingers, *Cataphracts* and spears."

⁵⁰ The eight squadrons of chosen cavalry, which were of that kind called *Cataphracts*, were honoured with the name of *Companions* and friends of the King. Arrian & Diodor. *passim*.

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Personal
prowess of
Alexander
and the
Macedo-
nian cap-
tains.

and discipline⁵⁰; still more to their strength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree⁵¹, far surpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal success, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwise appeared insurmountable. The attention of the enemy was so deeply engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they seem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honours of the field. Alexander animated them by his presence, and, after discharging the duties of a great general, performed such personal acts of prowess as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be safely abandoned to the direction of their own resentment and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been trained from their youth, in the more conspicuous parts of the

⁵⁰ They derived great advantages, particularly from the light infantry intermixed with their squadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Persian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their lances.

⁵¹ *At Myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello*

Cornus.

VIRG. GEORG. II. v. 447.

field. Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armour, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midst of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his master of horse, Aretes shewed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the King with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and assaulted Mithridates, son-in-law to Darius, who exulted before the hostile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Ræsaces with a hatchet. The firmness of his helmet saved his life. He pierced the breast of Ræsaces; but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grasped weapon.

The heroism of Alexander animated the valour of the *companions*, and the enemy first fled where the King commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way, before the Macedonian infantry had completely passed the river.⁵² The stern aspect of the

The Persians defeated.

⁵² Guischart, p. 208. says, " Aussitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemie, avec tout son front hérissé de piques, la victoire cessa d'être douteuse." It appears not, however, that the phalanx at all acted against the Persian cavalry. The battle of Granicus.

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phalanx, shining in steel and bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit. The foot, consisting chiefly in Greek mercenaries, still continued in their first position, not firm but inactive, rapt in fixed wonder, not steady through resolution.⁵³ While the phalanx attacked them in front, the victorious cavalry assailed their flanks. Surrounded on all sides, they fell an easy prey: two thousand surrendered prisoners, the rest all perished, unless a few stragglers perchance lurked among the slain.

Loss on
both sides.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes, Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of Cappadocia, Mithridates son-in-law of Darius, and Arbupales son of Artaxerxes, were

was entirely an equestrian engagement, as had been prophesied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

⁵³ Εκπληζει πολλον τι του παραλογου, η λογισμυ, δεδοσιν. Arrian. It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves till they beheld the issue of the equestrian engagement. This is conjectured by Guischart in his admired *Memoires Militaires*, p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment which they met with in the present battle, seem sufficient to remove that dishonourable suspicion. Their conduct, seemingly unaccountable, is ascribed, by Arrian, to their astonishment, that Alexander's cavalry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian horse, four times more numerous than his own.

numbered among the slain. Such illustrious names might lead us to suspect, that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian⁵⁴ represents them : and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in such an important engagement, Alexander should have lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry.⁵⁵ Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their statues in bronze were moulded by the art of his admired Lysippus⁵⁶, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceased thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute.⁵⁷ He carefully visited the wounded, attentively asked how each of them had received

Humanity
and prudence of
Alexander.

⁵⁴ Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Persians, he says, were six hundred thousand.

⁵⁵ Others diminished the loss to thirty-five horsemen and nine foot soldiers. Aristobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

⁵⁶ Arrian says, *ὅτι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον μόνος προκράθειστος ἐποίησεν*. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtless, increased the honour conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have spoken more accurately, had he said, "to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artists represented him in marble, in gems, medals, &c. of which hereafter.

⁵⁷ Arrian distinguishes *τῶν σωματικῶν λειτουργιῶν*; καὶ *κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις* *μισθορίας*, personal services; and contributions, in proportion to their property.

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harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boasted exploits. The Persian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. But even this severity Alexander softened by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he sent three hundred suits of Persian armour, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively associated to his honours, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his service.

Immediate
consequence of
the victory.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns surrendered at his approach. Sardes, the

splendid capital of Croesus, opened its gates to a deliverer, and once more recovered its ancient laws and municipal government, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppression of garrisons; and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired their pristine glory in arts and arms, resumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Persian expedition of Alexander, the Ephesians were still employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been set on fire by Herostratus, twenty years before that period, and on the same night, it is said, which gave birth to the destined conqueror of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and honourable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progress, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana.⁶⁸

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Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the progress of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down before it, when the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their

Siege of
Miletus
and Hali-
carnassus.

⁶⁸ Comp. Arrian, p. 18. & Strab. p. 949.

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Bold ad-
venture of
two Mace-
donian
soldiers.

wall. This being effected, he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But his labours were interrupted by a nocturnal sally; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies. ⁴⁰

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than by an ambition to display their respective prowess. The centinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first man who approached, and threw javelins at others who advanced in succession. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers belonging to the same battalion hastened to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also, reinforced their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall, attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown

⁴⁰ Arrian, p. 20.

down; and had greater numbers joined in the assault, the town must have been taken by storm.⁶⁰

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The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigour. The defence was as obstinate as before; two desperate sallies were made, and repelled with consummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious soldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the besieged would finally surrender, and thus save their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perished, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer resistance was impossible. In this emergency they displayed the same decisive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having summoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, set fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arsenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately sent a detachment to punish those who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with strict orders to spare such of the townsmen as

Halicarnassus taken and reluctantly demolished. Olymp. cxi. 3. A. C. 334.

⁶⁰ Arrian, p. 22.

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Alexander
commits
the go-
vernment
of Caria
to Ada.

were found in their houses. Next day, he examined the castles, and perceived that they could not be taken without much loss of time or blood; but that, independently of the town, they were not in themselves of any value; circumstances which obliged him, reluctantly, to demolish Halicarnassus, that it might never thenceforth serve as a retreat to his enemies. ⁶¹

The inactive season of the year was employed by Alexander in securing and improving his advantages. The inferior cities were committed to the discretion of his lieutenants; the King in person visited his more important conquests; and few places were honoured with his presence without experiencing his bounty. Before leaving Caria, where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his impatient activity, he committed the administration to Ada, the hereditary governess of that province. Ada was the sister, and the wife of Hidrieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign, both by the Carian laws and those of Upper Asia, where female succession had been established ever since the age of Semiramis. But the great King, with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the just claim of Ada, and seated a pretender on her tributary throne. The injured princess, however, still maintained possession of the strongly fortified city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria, Ada hastened to meet him, addressed him by the name of son, and voluntarily surrendered

⁶¹ Arrian, p. 25.

to him Alinda. The King neither rejected her present, nor declined her friendship; and, as he always repaid favours with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

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The measures of Alexander were equally decisive and prudent. The Persian fleet, supplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times out-numbered his own, which, small as it was, still appeared too expensive for his treasury. Alexander determined to discharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy.⁶² Agreeably to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was dispatched into Greece to raise new levies; and such soldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were sent home to winter with their wives; an indulgence which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the utmost alacrity of his European subjects, in furnishing supplies towards the ensuing campaign.

His judicious plan of war.

⁶² It will appear in the sequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to pursue, with security, his conquests in the East.

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The arts
by which
he secured
his con-
quests.

Accompanied by such winning arts, the valour and prudence of Alexander seemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of sentiment; but it could not have been more subservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. The tributary princes and satraps readily submitted to a milder and more magnanimous master; and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favourite institutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animosity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry, and alleviated public burdens. His taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He considered the Barbarians, not as slaves, but as subjects; the Greeks, not as subjects, but allies; and both perceived in his administration such equity and lenity as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta. ⁶³

⁶³ Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius & Arrian, passim; & Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. & Diodor.

Having received the submission of Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the sake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lycian and Pamphlian mountains, while the King in person, pursued the still more dangerous track, leading along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore, the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march the wind blew from the south. Yet he advanced fearless, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies⁶⁴ which announced success to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the

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Singular felicity of Alexander's march from Phaselis to Perga.

⁶⁴ While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promised glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the sea-coast, and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedon with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, signifying that the time was come when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, *τούτοις ἐπαρθεῖς, ᾠκείγρητο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνακαθίστασθαι*. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he hastened to subdue the coast." It would perhaps have been more worthy of an historian to say, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

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main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; a brisk gale sprang up from the north; the sea retired; and their march thus became alike easy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Josephus inconsiderately compares with the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philosophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring instances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, seemed to be produced by the immediate interposition of Divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, subservient to the secret purposes of its providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. The Aspendians offered to surrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garrison. Alexander granted their request, on condition of their raising fifty talents to pay his soldiers, and delivering to him the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambassadors accepted these terms; but their countrymen, who were distinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still more than by their commerce and their wealth, discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery, while he examined the walls of Syllius, another strong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aspendus, the

greater part of which was situate on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon. Several streets, however, were likewise built on the plain, surrounded only by a slight wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inhabitants of the lower part of the town ascended the mountain. Alexander entered the place, and encamped within the walls. The Aspendians, alarmed by the apprehension of a siege, intreated him to accept the former conditions. He commanded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on; to pay, instead of fifty, an hundred talents; and to surrender their principal citizens as securities, that they would, thenceforth obey the governor set over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon; and submit to arbitration a dispute concerning some lands which they were accused of having unjustly wrested from their neighbours.⁶⁵

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He punishes the treachery of Aspendus.

Having chastised the insolence and treachery of Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio, whom he had commanded to meet him in that country. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were likewise ordered to assemble in the same province; from which it was intended, early in the spring, to proceed eastward, and achieve still more important conquests. To reach the southern frontier of Phrygia, Alexander was under the necessity of traversing the inhospitable mountains of the warlike Pisidians. Amidst those rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians lost several

Alexander enters Phrygia. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 26.

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His adven-
ture at
Gordium.

brave men; but the undisciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Pisidians, was unable to check the progress of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur.⁶⁶ Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a desire seized him of ascending to the ancient castle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Asia. Gordius, as the story went, was a man of slender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains⁶⁷ in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his er-

⁶⁶ See vol. i. c. vii. p. 290.

⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 27. calls it *υπερυψηλον, και παντη αποτομον*. "Exceedingly high and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at least, the Telmessians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

rand, she ordered him to ascend the hill, and there sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius intreated her to accompany him, that the sacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a son, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was distinguished by his beauty and valour. It should seem that the father of Midas had, in consequence of his marriage, settled among the Telmessians, with whose arts his son would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were harassed by cruel seditions; they consulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot should soon bring them a King, who would appease their tumults. While the assembly still deliberated on the answer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot⁶⁸, accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him King; their seditions ceased; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's chariot, and suspended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by historians⁶⁹; but all agree that his followers retired with complete conviction that he

⁶⁸ The Greek word *ἀμαξα* expresses either a chariot or a waggon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us this *ἀμαξα* was "*cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens*," l. ii. c. i. p. 10.

⁶⁹ Curtius, l. iii. c. i. says, he cut it with his sword. Plutarch says he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both accounts;

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Treachery
of Alexander,
the son of
Æropus.

had fulfilled the oracle. A seasonable storm of thunder confirmed their credulity⁷⁰; and the belief, that their master was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

The rapid progress of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that season of the year when armies are little accustomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our surprise at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had signalised his valour against the fiercest nations of Asia. But Darius, corrupted by the honours of royalty, employed very different weapons against Alexander, from those by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardusians.⁷¹ Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he hoped to destroy him by the arm of an assassin. Many traitors were suborned for this infamous purpose, but none with greater prospect of success than Alexander, the son of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as accessory to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been entrusted with the command of the Thessalian cavalry, after the nomination of Calas,

and the latter on the authority of Aristobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

⁷⁰ Arrian, p. 31.

⁷¹ Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Persian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

who held that high office, to the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and seduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the vigilance of ⁷² Parmenio, who communicated the intelligence to his master, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy son of Æropus was seized, and committed to safe custody.

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Darius, without desisting from his intrigues, finally had recourse to arms. His troops were assembled in the plains of Babylon. They consisted of an hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure or more remote, sent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Persian service, is said to have amounted to six hundred thousand

The army
of Darius
marches
from Up-
per Asia.

⁷² According to Arrian, p. 25. a swallow shared the honour with Parmenio. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, the swallow hovered around his head, perching sometimes on one side of his couch, and sometimes on another. Its incessant chattering roused the King from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noisy and troublesome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Aristander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the King by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

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men. The magnificence of the Persians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their muster was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monarch.⁷³ Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a palisade. The whole army, passing successively into this inclosure, were rather measured than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the splendour that surrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress and even the armour of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treasures, and his concubines, all escorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their master.⁷⁴

Alexander
passes the
northern
Gate of
Cilicia.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, slowly advanced towards Lower Asia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city in that part of Phrygia afterwards called Galatia. In that place, he received an embassy from the Paphlagonians, who surrendered to him the sovereignty of their province, but intreated that his army might not enter their borders.

⁷³ See vol. i. c. ix. p. 419. et seq.

⁷⁴ Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges, huic agmini proximæ.
Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. 3. & Diodor. l. xvi. p. 580.

He granted their request, and commanded them to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province, the army encamped at the distance of six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's camp. Towards the south, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three sides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arsames, governor of that country, had sent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprised of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to surprise the Persian forces stationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the pusillanimous Arsames, to whom the whole province was entrusted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarsus. But he had only time to save his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

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At Tarsus, Alexander was detained by a malady occasioned by excessive fatigue; or, as others say, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

Falls sick
at Tarsus.

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city, in a clear and rocky channel.⁷⁵ Philip, the Acarnanian, was the only person who despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; so that the physician read, while the King drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity⁷⁶, has been construed into a proof of both.

Alexander
marches to
Mallos.

The sickness of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to seize the only pass on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Syria. The King soon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiosity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, distinguished by the statue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Assyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of *modern* Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpose: "Sardanapalus, son of Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarsus in

⁷⁵ Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness: "*Frigidissimus quippe nulla riparum amœnitate inumbratus*," l. iii. c. iv. From his laboured description of this river, it seems as if he imagined *that* water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which could do harm to Alexander.

⁷⁶ See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. 5.

one day. As to you, stranger! eat, drink, and sport⁷⁷, for other human things are not worth *this*," alluding to the clap of his hands.⁷⁸

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Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at the eastern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, distant only two days' march from the Cilician frontier. The hostile armies were separated by the mountains which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander hastened to pass the straits called the Syrian Gates, proceeded southwards along the bay of Issus, and encamped before the city Mariandrus. At this place he received a very extraordinary piece of intelligence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occasioned by sickness, and by the many pious ceremonies⁷⁹ with which he gratefully thanked Heaven for his recovery, was ascribed to very different motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfidious race, the eternal bane of kings⁸⁰, easily persuaded the vain credulity of their master, that

Alexander passes the Syrian straits; and Darius, in an opposite direction, the defiles of Amanus.

⁷⁷ The word translated "sport," is *παίζει* in Arrian, p. 32. But that author says, the Assyrian original had a more lascivious meaning, Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. translates it *αφροδισιαζε*, "veneri indulgo."

⁷⁸ Mr. de Guignes, so deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inscription to be entirely conformable to the style and manners of the East. See Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscript. tom. xxxiv. p. 416, et seq.

⁷⁹ Processions with lighted torches, sacrifices to Æsculapius, gymnastic and musical contests. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

⁸⁰ Arrian expresses this sentiment with more than his usual energy: *των κατα ηδωτην ζυνοτων τε και ζυνεσομενων επι κακη τοις αιε βασιλευσιν.*

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Alexander shunned his approach. The proud resentment of Darius was exasperated by the imagined fears of his adversary: with the impatience of a despot he longed to come to action; and not suspecting that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates in search of the enemy, he hastily determined to pass, in an opposite direction⁸¹, the straits of Amanus, in quest of Alexander. This fatal measure was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding the strong representations of Amyntas⁸² the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counsellors⁸³, who unanimously exhorted him to wait the enemy in his present advantageous position. In the language of antiquity⁸⁴, an irresistible fate, which had determined that the Greeks should conquer the Persians, as the Persians had conquered the Medes, and the Medes the Assyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march southward to the bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march

⁸¹ These movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconsistent and unintelligible.

⁸² Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He assured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Persians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

⁸³ Aristomenes the Phœnean, Bianor the Aœarnanian, Thymonides the son of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Arrian, Plut., Diodor., Curt.

across the mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men to death, with shocking circumstances of cruelty⁸⁵, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

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That enlightened prince who could scarcely believe the folly of Darius, sent a small flat-bottomed vessel to reconnoitre his motions. This vessel speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having summoned an assembly, the King forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion so naturally suggested, since the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no essential service. In preparing for this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian isles with his fleet, was since dead; and his successors in command, after irritating the islanders by their insolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of

Circumstances which encouraged the Macedonian army.

⁸⁵ Χαλεπῶς αἰκισαμένους ἀποκτείνει, Arrian, p. 54. It is remarkable, that he ascribes this barbarity to Darius himself.

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Alexander had lately increased, by many voluntary accessions of the Asiatics, who admired his courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the soldiers, who the preceding year had been sent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus disposed to indulge the most sanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardour. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle.⁸⁶

Disposition
of
both
parties.

Alexander commanded them first to refresh their bodies; but immediately dispatched some horse and archers to clear the road to Issus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight, took possession of the Syrian straits. The soldiers were then allowed a short repose, sufficient guards being posted on the surrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the passage continued narrow; and new columns being successively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left

⁸⁶ Arrian, p. 83—36.

by the sea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being apprised of the enemy's approach, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left sloped inwards, Darius placed on that sinuosity twenty thousand men, who could see the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could approach or annoy it. Behind the first line the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield.⁸⁷

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His pusillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep; where the access seemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions which shewed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered.⁸⁸ Alexander, meanwhile,

The battle
of Issus.
Olymp.
cxi. 4.
A. C. 333.

⁸⁷ Arrian. p. 36.

⁸⁸ Καὶ ταυτὴ εὐθὺς θηλος ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφὶ Ἀλεξάνδρον τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένους. "And thence he immediately appeared to those about

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rode along the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the several brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even such captains of the auxiliaries as were distinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardour that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and slow step, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened, as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then sprung into the river. Their impetuosity frightened the Barbarians, who scarcely waited the first shock.⁸⁹ But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and success of Alexander's assault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement ensued, the Greeks eager to regain the honour of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unsullied glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and other officers of distinction, to the number of an hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian

Alexander to be already enslaved in his mind." In those times, slavery was the natural consequence of being conquered in battle.

⁸⁹ They did, however, wait it; for Arrian says, *εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶ μάχῃ ἐγενετο*. The "*μάχῃ ἐν χερσὶ ἐγενετο*;" when the darts and javelins ceased, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile, weapons.

right wing having repelled the enemy with great slaughter, wheeled to the left, and animated by recent victory, finally prevailed against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of Persian horse still maintained the battle against the Thessalian cavalry, and did not quit the field, till informed that Darius had betaken himself to flight.⁹⁰

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The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest on all sides. Their cavalry and infantry suffered equally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus⁹¹, says, that the pursuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the slain was computed at an hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles.

Rout of
the Per-
sians.

The Great King had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects at stake. His left wing was no sooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound in the thigh⁹², judged it improper to pursue him till the Greek mercenaries were dis-

Escape of
Darius.

⁹⁰ Arrian, l. ii. p. 36, et seq.

⁹¹ Idem, *ibid.*

⁹² Chares, cited by Plutarch, says, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the silence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable report.

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The cap-
tives and
booty.

persed; the approach of night facilitated Darius's escape.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence.⁹³ It contained, however, in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the Great King, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This rich booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Sysigambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his captives according to their respective ages, with filial duty or with parental tenderness.⁹⁴ In his chaste attention to Statira, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valour, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian soldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion,

⁹³ Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes.—Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the *Iliad* of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ραβήκος, "the *Iliad* of the casket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 88. Plut. in *Alexand.*

⁹⁴ Arrian, iii. c. 22. Conf. Arrian. l. iv. c. 20.

the most affectionate of his friends.⁹⁴ Sysigambis approached to prostrate⁹⁵ herself before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the King, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion. Hephestion suddenly stepping back, Sysigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, madam," said the King, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander."⁹⁶

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great than after the battle of Issus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the same generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus, a favour which he had sternly refused, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambassadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his presence. Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, the Thebans, he instantly declared free, observing, that the misfortunes of their city justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to

The virtues of Alexander expand with his prosperity.

⁹⁴ Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterised the personal affection of Hephestion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

⁹⁵ Προσελθειν και προσκνησαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

⁹⁶ Curtius, l. iii. c. 12. Arrian, p. 39.

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XXXVII. Iphicrates, the Athenian, he treated with the respect which appeared due both to his country and to his father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained in safe custody, because Sparta sullenly rejected the friendship of Macedon. But as his clemency still increased with his power²⁷, he afterwards released Euthycles.

²⁷ Arrian, p. 42.

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Siege of Tyre. — Desperate Resistance of Gaza. — Easy Conquest of Egypt. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. — Marches into Assyria. — Battle of Gaugamela. — Darius betrayed and slain. — Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius. — Bactrian and Scythian War. — Siege of the Sogdian Fortress. — Surrender of Chorienes. — Commotions in Greece. — Checked by Antipater. — The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. — Æschines banished. — State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsachus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror.¹ Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent to

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Alexander receives an embassy from Tyre. Olymp. cxi. 4. A. C. 333.

¹ Ως ταχιστα μεσον αυτου τε και του Αλεξανδρου τον Ευφρατην ποταμον. Arrian, p. 40.

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attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; because, should he be carried with an unseasonable celerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy commanded the sea, the war might be removed to Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends. Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cælo-Syria, he therefore directed his march southward along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus, and Sidon², readily opened their gates. The Tyrians sent a submissive embassy of their most illustrious citizens, among whom was the son of Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They humbly informed Alexander, that the³ community from which they came, was prepared to obey his commands. Having complimented the city and the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules.⁴

* I omit the story of Abdelermius, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener, to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

² Arrian says, that these ambassadors were ἀπο τοῦ κοινου ἐσταλμένοι. It should seem that the King of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

⁴ The reader may recollect, that Philip sent a similar message to Atheas, King of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered much firmness. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This message appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war.⁵ But the resources of their wealth and commerce seemed to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon⁶, had long reigned queen of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which was found in great abundance on their coast⁷, or rather their exclusive knowledge of the kermes, which affords a beautiful red colour, put them in possession of a most lucrative branch of trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilised countries of antiquity.⁸ Tyre was separated from the

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Description
and
state of
Tyre.

⁵ Old Tyre was built on the continent by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmanesar, 1719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezar, 578 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. l. viii. cap. 2. l. ix. cap. 14. & l. x. cap. 11.

⁶ Isaiah, xxiii. 18.

⁷ Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

⁸ Homer, Herodot. &c. passim. See likewise vol. i. p. 336. Mr. Bruce, in his Travels, treats the story of the purple shell-fish with contempt; and supposes the Phœnicians concealed under this disguise their knowledge of cochineal: had he said kermes, his supposition might be approved, as according well with the artful character of the Phœnicians.

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continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls were an hundred feet⁹ in height, and of proportionate solidity. The convenience of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron.¹⁰

Alexander
besieges
Tyre.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the siege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which seemed necessary in itself, and essential to the success of still more important enterprises, only stimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldness is the greatest prudence.

Throws a
mole
across the
frith;

The first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure arose from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by every kind of missile weapon from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewise, having the command of the sea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the comple-

⁹ Arrian says one hundred and fifty feet. The numbers probably are erroneous.

¹⁰ Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

tion of their labours. To resist these assaults, Alexander erected, on the furthest projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to resist the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adversaries soon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raised two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon instrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favourable wind. The hulk was then towed into the sea by two gallies. As she approached the mole, the rowers set her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were soon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, sailing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the flames; and the labour of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins.¹¹

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which is
destroyed
by the
Tyrians.

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against such accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raised, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toils exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were sure

Alexander
raises a
new mole.

¹¹ Arrian, p. 44. et seq.

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His mili-
tary and
naval re-
inforce-
ments.

of being heard with respect and obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of stone; wood was brought from Anti-Libanus¹²; and it should seem that a roving party of Arabs having disturbed the Macedonian workmen, were repelled by Alexander, which gave rise to the idle report of his Arabian conquest. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forces seasonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhausted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the same time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had subdued, came to offer their assistance in an undertaking, which could scarcely have proved successful, while the Tyrians commanded the sea. The squadrons of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels¹³, so that the Tyrians, who hitherto

¹² Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endless to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this siege, which is one of the most romantic passages in his history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taste the picturesque beauties of his style will atone for errors in matter of fact. *He* may be allowed to raise an imaginary storm, who can describe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorrescens mare paullatim levare, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus cedere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruere tabulata, & cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose actions he disfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that has just cause of anger with Curtius.

¹³ Curtius, l. iv. c. 3. says, that it consisted of one hundred and eighty sail. Plutarch. in Alexand. says, that the haven of

confided in their fleet, now retired behind the defences of their ports for safety.

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But these persevering islanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulks and gallies¹⁴, destined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows¹⁵, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these incumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water,

Singular
operations
of the
siege.

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he says, a vessel of fifty oars, *πεντηκοντορος*; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

¹⁴ Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest sailers. Arrian, p. 46.

¹⁵ *Πυρροποιούς.*

C H A P. and again cutting the cables, set the Macedonian
XXXVIII. vessels adrift. It thus became necessary to pre-
 pare chains, which were used instead of ropes ;
 by which contrivance the hulks were secured
 in firm anchorage, the bank of stones was re-
 moved, and the battering engines advanced to
 the walls.

The Ty-
 rians de-
 feated at
 sea.

In this extremity the Tyrians ventured to at-
 tack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the
 mouth of the harbour which looked towards
 Sidon. The boldness of this measure could only
 be surpassed by the deliberate valour with which
 it was carried into execution. The mouth of
 the haven they had previously covered with
 spread sails, to conceal their operations from the
 enemy. Mid-day was fixed for the hour of at-
 tack, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians
 reposed and refreshed themselves, and Alexander
 commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near
 the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The
 best sailing vessels were carefully selected from
 the whole fleet¹⁶, and manned with the most ex-
 pert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all
 enured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At
 first they came forth in a line, slowly and silent-
 ly ; but having proceeded within sight of the
 Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised
 a shout, and advanced a-breast of each other to
 the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were
 sunk at the first shock ; others were dashed in

¹⁶ They consisted, says Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 208. et seq.

pieces against the shore. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a short time in his pavilion, was no sooner informed of this desperate sally, than, with admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered such vessels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with several quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The besieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recall their ships. They had scarcely changed their course, when they were assailed by the besiegers, and soon rendered unserviceable. The men saved themselves by swimming; few vessels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

The issue of these naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines on all sides. Amidst repeated assaults during two days, the besiegers displayed the ardour of enthusiasm¹⁷, the besieged the fury

Tyretaken
by assault.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.
July.

¹⁷ From the beginning, the difficulties of the siege had appeared almost unsurmountable to the soldiers. "But Alexander," says Curtius, "*haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentis.*" The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labour. Alexander continued throughout the siege to employ the aids of superstition. At one time it was said, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him with golden chains to

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of despair. From towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the enemy. By throwing spontoons across, the bravest sometimes passed over, even to the battlements. In other parts, the Tyrians successfully employed hooks and grappling-irons to remove the assailants. On those who attempted scaling-ladders, they poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated to the bone. The vigour of the attack was opposed by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the battering engines was deadened by green hides and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which exhausted the vigour of the enemy, only confirmed the perseverance of Alexander. On the third day, his engines assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided into two squadrons, attacked the opposite harbours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander commanded the hulks, which carried the engines, to retire, and others, bearing the scaling-ladders, to advance, that his soldiers might enter the town over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Admetus, first mounted the breach. This gallant commander was slain by a spear; but Alexander, who was

prevent his elopement. At another, Alexander dreamed that a satyr playing before him, long eluded his grasp, but finally allowed himself to be caught. The augurs divided the word *Xarupes*, a Satyr, into two syllables, *Xa Tupes*, Tyre is thine. By such coarse artifices, varied according to circumstances, have the greatest achievements been effected.

present wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*. At the same time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the siege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain; thirty thousand were reduced to servitude.¹⁸ The principal magistrates, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were saved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months.¹⁹

The conquest of Phœnicia was followed by the submission of the neighbouring province of Judæa.²⁰ But in the road leading to Egypt, the

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Submission
of
Judæa.

¹⁸ Curtius, l. iv. c. 4. says, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were saved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon. This circumstance, omitted by Arrian, derives some probability from the vigorous resistance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702—704.

¹⁹ Arrian, l. ii. p. 44—50.

²⁰ The Greek historians of Alexander are silent concerning his

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Desperate
resistance
of Gaza.

progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert.²¹ This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis²², an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by providing copious maga-

journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there, described by Josephus, l. xi. c. 8. This story, very flattering to the Jews, is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "*Τα μὲν ἅλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης προσεχωρηκότες ἤδη.*" Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewise at variance with well-authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master, "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the *προσκύνησις*) till long after the period alluded to by Josephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldeans, as that writer alleges; much less could the high-priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

²¹ Εσχάτη δὲ αὖτις ἐκ Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φωινίκης ἰστέ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρημίας. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

²² Curtius, l. iv. c. 6. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. ix. c. 8. Bahameses.

zines. The Macedonian engineers²³ declared their opinion that Gaza was impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised on the south side of the wall, which seemed least secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely erected, when the garrison made a furious sally, and threw them into flames. It required the presence of the King to save the rampart, and to prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians. Warned by a heavenly admonition²⁴, he had hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's darts; and when the danger of his troops made him forget the Divine omen, a weapon, thrown from a catapult, pierced his shield and breast-plate, and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon afterwards the engines, which had been used in the siege of Tyre, arrived by sea. A wall of incredible height and breadth²⁵ was run entirely round the city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the²⁶ miners were busy at the foundation; breaches were effected; and, after repeated assaults, the city

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²³ 'Οι μηχανοποιοί, the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

²⁴ While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

²⁵ *Ευρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς ποδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους*, "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous.

²⁶ *Ἵππομοναί τε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλὰ οὐρυσσομένων*. Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and used only on great emergencies.

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Easy con-
quest of
Egypt.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

was taken by storm. When their wall was undermined, and their gates in possession of the enemy, the inhabitants still fought desperately, and, without losing ground²⁷, perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved; and Gaza, being re-peopled from the neighbouring territory, served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In seven days' march, Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium, to which he had previously sent his fleet, with an injunction, after seizing the ships in the harbour, carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts, lakes, and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus, the shameful flight of Darius, the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia, together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt, (Mazaces, the satrap of that large province, having no Persian, and scarcely any regular troops,) opened a ready passage to Memphis, the wealthy capital. There, Alexander was received as sovereign, and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another, always ready to obey the first summons of an invader, and ever willing to betray him for a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success, the conqueror sacrificed at

²⁷ Καὶ ἀπεθάνον πάντες αὐτοῦ μαχομένοι, ὡς ἑκατοὶ ἐταχθήσαν.
The highest panegyric, being the very words applied by Lysias, Herodotus, &c. to those who fell at Thermopylæ.

Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, under the direction of Grecian artists, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium; he embarked with the remainder of his forces and sailed down the Nile to Canopus.²⁸

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At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercising his valour. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving his conquests, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favour of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation²⁹, but traced

Founda-
tion of
Alexan-
dria.

²⁸ Arrian, p. 51. et seq.

²⁹ "Egypt," says Baron Tott, who lately surveyed that country, with the eye of an engineer and a statesman, "was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It stood in need of a harbour, vast, and of easy access. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages: the only proper situation was distant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a desert. On this spot, which none but a great genius could have pitched on, Alexander built a city, which being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth still respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarism, and which

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the plan of his intended capital, described the circuit of its walls, and assigned the ground for its squares, market-places, and temples.³⁰ Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East, and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

Alexander
visits the
temple of
Ammon.
Olymp.
cxli. 1.
A. C. 332.

In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean, that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a deso-

require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive." *Mém. du Baron de Tott*, t. ii. p. 179.

³⁰ *Arrian*, l. iii. sub. init.

late country, but not destitute of water. He then boldly penetrated towards the south, into the midland territory, despising the danger of traversing an ocean of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any other object that might direct his course, or vary this gloomy scene of uniform sterility.⁸¹ The superstition of the ancients believed him to have been conducted by ravens, or serpents; which, without supposing a miracle, may, agreeably to the natural instinct of animals, have sometimes bent their course through the desert, towards a well-watered and fertile spot, covered with palms and olives. The fountain, which was the source of this fertility, formed not the least curiosity of the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day, and warm at midnight; and, in the intervening time, regularly, every day, underwent all the intermediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent territory produced a fossile salt, which was often dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal. The priests of Ammon inclosed it in boxes of palm-tree, and bestowed it in presents on kings and other illustrious personages; such salt being regarded as purer than that procured from seawater, and therefore preferred for the purpose of sacrifice, by persons curious in their worship.⁸²

Alexander admired the nature of the place, consulted the oracle concerning the success of his expedition, and received, as was universally

Alexander settles the government of Egypt.

⁸¹ Arrian, p. 53. & seq. & Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.

⁸² Arrian, *ibid.*

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reported, a very favourable answer.³³ Having thus effected his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to settle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were reinstated in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to administer the civil government : but the principal garrisons Alexander prudently entrusted to the command of his most confidential friends³⁴ ; a policy alike recommended by the strength and importance of the country, and by the restless temper of its inhabitants.

Darius
collects an
army from
his eastern
provinces.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria and Egypt ; countries which anciently formed the seat of arts and empire, and which actually compose the strength and centre of the Turkish power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vanished with a conqueror who demanded unconditional submission to his clemency³⁵) still

³³ Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The priest or prophet, meant to address Alexander by the affectionate title of *παῖδιον*, child, son ; but not being sufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he said, *παῖς διος*, son of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretensions to divinity. Plut. *ibid.* & Zonar. *Annal.* i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconsistent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

³⁴ Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealousy of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not senators, but men of the Equestrian order, to be proconsuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

³⁵ In this Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers.

found resources in his eastern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan, Korosan, and the wide extent of territory between the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the subjects of the empire, but the independent tribes in those remote regions, which in ancient and modern times have ever been the abode of courage and barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalise their restless valour. At the first summons, they poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and increased the army of Darius far beyond any proportion of force which he had hitherto collected.

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Meanwhile Alexander, having received considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon, and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from Phœnicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus³⁶, boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris, and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius had pitched his tents on the level banks of the Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela; but the famous battle, which finally decided the empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela, a town in the same province, sixty miles distant from the former, better known, and of easier pronunciation.³⁷

Alexander
marches
into Assy-
ria.
Olymp.
cxii. 2.
A. C. 331.

In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each other, there are internal marks of falsehood.

³⁶ Darius had entrusted the defence of the pass to Mazæcus, with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks. But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Mazæcus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian, p. 56.

³⁷ This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 151.

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Ap-
proaches
the enemy.

Their
numbers.

The fourth day after passing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his scouts, that they had seen some bodies of the enemy's horse, but could not ascertain their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other scouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to slacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pœonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with such celerity, that several of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the force of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours' march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indus.³⁸ Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to six hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to an hundred and forty-five thousand.³⁹ But all agreed, that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Issus.⁴⁰

³⁸ Arrian, p. 57.

³⁹ Curtius, l. iv. c. 12, 13., edit Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

⁴⁰ Arrian & Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. 12. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. 39. & 53. Orasius, l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in Alexand.

Alexander received this information without testifying surprise. Having commanded an halt, he encamped four days to give his men rest and refreshment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage ; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was said to consist of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unincumbered with any thing but their provisions and armour. The march was undertaken at the second watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hostile camps, some eminences mutually intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle-array, and perhaps more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, summoned a council of war; and different measures being proposed, acceded to the single opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle⁴¹, and carefully examined the disposition of the

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Examines
the field of
battle.

⁴¹ Τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ἵνα τὸ ἔργον εὐσεῖς ἐμελλέν. "The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 8.

C H A P. enemy. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled
XXXVIII. by his courage, and both surpassed by his acti-
 vity, performed those important duties in person,
 at the head of his light horse, and royal cohort.
 Having returned with unexampled celerity he
 again assembled his captains, and encouraged
 them by a short speech. Their ardour corre-
 sponded with his own; and the soldiers, confident
 of victory, were commanded to take rest and re-
 freshment.⁴²

Disposi-
 tion of the
 enemy;

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's
 approach, kept his men prepared for action.
 Notwithstanding the great length of the plain,
 he was obliged to contract his front, and form in
 two lines; each of which was extremely deep.
 According to the Persian custom, the King oc-
 cupied the centre of the first line, surrounded by
 the princes of the blood, and the great officers of
 his court; and defended by his horse and foot
 guards, amounting to fifteen thousand chosen
 men. These splendid troops, which seemed fitter
 for parade than battle, were flanked, on either
 side, by the Greek mercenaries, and other war-

⁴² Δεικνυσθαισθαι και αναπαυεσθαι εκελευσε τον στρατον. "He commanded his army to sup and rest." Arrian, p. 58. This does not well agree with what is said, p. 57., ουδεν αλλο οτι μη οπλα φερουσι. "That the soldiers carried nothing but their armour." I have therefore supplied the word "provisions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.) and Curtius (l. iv. c. 15.) say, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the King answered, that he disdained κλεψαι την νικην "to steal the victory;" an answer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; since the day and the light were more favourable to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and courage.

like battalions, carefully selected from the whole army. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians. The various nations composing this immense host were differently armed, with swords, spears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horse and foot of each division were blended with such irregularity as seemed the result of accident rather than of design. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or, after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

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The unexpected approach of Alexander within sight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal assault, from enemies who often veiled their designs in darkness, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

who remain all night under arms.

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in a manner suggested by the superior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body consisted in two heavy-armed phalanxes,

Alexander's order of battle;

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each amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line; behind which, he placed the remainder of phalangites reinforced by targeteers, with orders, that when the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them.⁴⁸ The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on the wings, that while one part resisted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

and mode
of attack.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with superior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius also extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile

⁴⁸ Επεταιε δε και δευτεραν ταξιν ως ειναι την φαλαγγα αμφιστομον. Arrian, p. 60. The φαλαγγ αμφιστομος is defined by Ælian, as described in the text.

line. Alexander immediately detached a body of horse to oppose them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians finally repelled. The armed chariots then issued forth with impetuous violence; but their appearance, only, was formidable; for the precautions taken by Alexander rendered their assault harmless. Darius next moved his main body, but with so little order, that the horse, mixed with the infantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line, which his generals wanted time or vigilance to supply. Alexander seized the decisive moment, and penetrated into the void with a wedge of squadrons. He was followed by the nearest sections of the phalanx, who rushed forward with loud shouts, as if they had already pursued the enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was not long doubtful: after a feeble resistance, the Barbarians gave way: the pusillanimous Darius was foremost in the flight.⁴⁴

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Battle of
Gaugamela.
Olymp.
cxii. 2.
A. C. 331.
October.

The battle, however, was not yet decided. The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon receiving intelligence that the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not immediately followed Alexander. A vacant space was thus left in the Macedonian line, through which some squadrons of Persian and Indian horse penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile camp.⁴⁵ It was then that

⁴⁴ Εφύγε εν τοις πρωτοις αισχυροι. "He fled shamefully among the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

⁴⁵ The words of Arrian are, ΑΛΛ' επιστραφοντες την φελαγγα

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Alexander derived signal and well-earned advantages from his judicious order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and targeteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry, already entangled among the baggage. The enemy, thus surprised, were destroyed or put to flight. Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In advancing

(viz. the sections on the left), *ἡγωνίζοντο ὅτε το εὐνομημον πυνεῖσθαι ἡγγελλετο. Καὶ ταύτη παραρραγειῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς τάξεως, κατὰ το διαχόν, διεκπαύονσι τῶν τε Ἰνδῶν τύπες, καὶ τῆς Περσικῆς ἱππῶς, ὡς ἐπὶ τα σκευοφορὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων, &c.* The learned Guischart's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by the text. "Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent aussi de marcher en avant, & de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de la droite des Perses, voyant le fort de combat au centre, se presserent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mutuellement, & la foule embarrassa tellement les soldats de la phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jeta sur les derrières de ces ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de Darius, & de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier; les Perses se voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre, qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la phalange. Ils se jetterent à corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt quatre de hauteur, elle ne put resister au poids de cette masse. Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections de celle-ci poussèrent en avant, & n'observerent pas que, depuis la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite de l'ennemi, & que des corps nombreux de cavalerie & d'infanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout-à-coup par la crevasse, & poussèrent jusques derrière la ligne des Macédoniens." See *Mémoires Militaires*, c. v. p. 221.

against the enemy's right, he was met by the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who maintained a sharp conflict. Sixty of the *Companions* fell; Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded. Having at length dissipated this cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the foot in that wing. But the business was already effected, chiefly by the Thessalian horse; and nothing remained to be done, but to pursue the fugitives, and to render the victory as decisive as possible.⁴⁶

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According to the least extravagant accounts, with the loss of five hundred men, he destroyed forty thousand of the barbarians⁴⁷, who never

Consequences of
the vic-
tory.

⁴⁶ Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspicuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not to be found in the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endeavoured to explain this difference, by observing the immense disproportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome. But the difficulty will be better solved, by reflecting on the changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms; which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles are involved in smoke and confusion. 2. From the same cause modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more difficult to observe and ascertain their manœuvres. 3. The immense train of artillery, ammunition, &c. required in the practice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies, which renders it impossible to perform, without great danger, those rapid evolutions in sight of an enemy, which so often decided the battles of the ancients. With us, almost every thing depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of historical description.

⁴⁷ In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary

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thenceforth assembled in sufficient numbers to dispute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis⁴⁸, formed the prize of his skill and valour. Alexander had not yet attained the summit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown.⁴⁹ The burning of the royal palace of Persepolis⁵⁰, to retaliate the ravages

disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not missile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached so nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various facilities for escape. The sphere of military action is so widely extended, that before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardour of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be said to have saved the effusion of human blood. Equestrian engagements (since the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the same in every age) are still distinguished by similar circumstances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

⁴⁸ The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

⁴⁹ After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deserve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be justly blamed.

⁵⁰ Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. & Strabo, l. xv. p. 507. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the palace. Plutarch tells us that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diochorus says, inaccurately, *ὅτι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦτο* "the place

of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favourably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary.

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The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure ⁵¹ flight across the Armenian mountains into Media. Being gradually joined by the scat-

Measures
of Darius.

around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. 7., with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, is at pains to prove that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mussulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See *Examen Critique*, p. 125. & seq. Mr. D'Hankerville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mussulmen. See his supplement to his *Recherches sur les Arts, &c. de la Grèce*.

⁵¹ Arrian observes, that Darius shewed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. 1. are too absurd to merit refutation.

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tered remnant of his army, amounting to several thousand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mercenaries, he purposed to have established his court in Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Babylon⁵²; but in case he were still pursued by the conqueror, his resolution was to proceed eastward, through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable province of Bactria, laying waste the intermediate country, that he might thus interpose a desert between himself and the Macedonians. In this design, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the waggons conveying his women, and such instruments of convenience or luxury as still softened his misfortunes; and remained in person at Ecbatana with his army. Alexander, when apprised of these measures, hastened into Media. In his way he subdued the Paraetacaeni; and having reached within three days' march of the Median capital, was met by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, Darius's predecessor.⁵³ This Prince informed him, that Darius had fled from thence five days before, attended by three thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot.

⁵² The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; since the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptations to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

⁵³ Arrian, p. 66. speaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predecessor, neglecting the short reign of Arces, the son of Ochus, who was poisoned soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 8.

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treasures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and several auxiliary squadrons; paying them, besides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his standard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlist; a permission which many embraced. A strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left sick at Susa, was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia: while the King, with a well appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition ³⁴ in pursuit of Darius. Having passed the Caspian Straits, he was met by Bagistanes, a Babylonian of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, satrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aside all respect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he hastened forward with a few select bands, carrying only

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Alexander
pursues
Darius;

³⁴ He made forced marches of thirty and forty miles. In eleven days, he advanced from Ecbatana to Rages, the Caspian gates, which was at the rate of nineteen miles per day. The common march of a Greek army was one hundred and fifty stadia, fourteen and a half British miles. See Rennell's Expedition of Cyrus, &c. p. 9.

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their arms, and two days' provisions. In that space of time, he reached the camp from which Bagistanes had deserted ; and finding some parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being seized and bound, was actually carried prisoner in his chariot ; that Bessus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed imperial honours ; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his sons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper ; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their fidelity inviolate ; and, being unable to endure the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the designs, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius ; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

who is
treache-
rously
slain.
Olymp.
cxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback ; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to pursue the great road which Bessus had followed, advanced in person with his chosen band by a nearer way, which was almost desert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guide. From

the close of the evening till day-break, he had rode nearly fifty miles, when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Nabarzanes and Barzaentes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by six hundred horse. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him.⁵⁵ Darius was the last king of the house of Hystaspes, and the tenth in succession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct sufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predecessors.⁵⁶

In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm esteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He gave orders, that the body of Darius

Alexander
pursues
the mur-
derers
of Darius.

⁵⁵ Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in *Alexand. & Curtius*, l. v. c. 12. & Justin, l. xi. c. 15. are inconsistent with each other, and all of them betray the desire to contrast the exaltation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," says Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praise of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

⁵⁶ Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions representing Darius as a monster of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orientale*, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian?

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should be transported to Persia, and interred in the royal mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince were uniformly treated with those distinctions which belonged to their birth; and Statira⁵⁷, his eldest daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries who were admitted into the Macedonian service, and the honourable reception of Artabazus and his sons, well became the character of a prince, who could discern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then pursued the murderers of Darius through the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zarangæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of six hundred furlongs. Having received the submission of Aornos⁵⁸ and Bactra, he passed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks of this river, that Bessus, who had betrayed his master, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was surprised by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity⁵⁹ better merited by his own crimes, then becoming the character of Alexander.

The Bac-
trian and
Scythian
war.

Spitamenes succeeded to his ambition and danger. In pursuit of this daring rebel, the resentment of Alexander hurried him through the

⁵⁷ Diodor. xviii. 107. Arrian, vii. 4. Plutarch in Alexand.

⁵⁸ We shall meet with another place of this name, between the Suastus and the Indus.

⁵⁹ He was stripped naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated, &c. Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other murderers of Darius.

vast but undescribed⁶⁰ provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. These rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obstinately resisting, retreated skillfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians on several occasions surprised his advanced parties and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable.⁶¹ But the enlightened intrepidity,

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Olymp.
cxii. 4.
cxiii. 1.
A. C. 328

⁶⁰ The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subsequent discoveries in the learned work intitled *Examen des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, usually prefixed to Quintus Curtius, with those of D'Anville.

⁶¹ In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. Curtius, l. vii. c. 7. Alexander was not present in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the King hit with an arrow, which broke the fibula,

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and inimitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and desultory fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians^a on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs soon recalled him from an inhospitable desert.

Alexander
finally re-
duces the
provinces
between

The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to submission. The Barbarians fighting singly

or lesser bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. sub fin.

^a Before Alexander passed the Jaxartes, he received an embassy probably from the *Abies* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preserved in Curtius, l. vii. c. 8. It is remarkable for the bold elevated style, in which these Barbarians display their own advantages, and describe the destructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing sentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," say the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow; the labour of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, least, in climbing to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have seized. Grasp Fortune with both your hands; she is slippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Those to whom she stretches out her hand, she allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may the more easily manage it. Our poverty will be swifter, than your army loaded with spoil. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and desire not to command." The figurative style of the Scythians is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See *Principii di Scienza nuova*, vol. i. p. 156. et seq. See likewise Chapters fifth and sixth of the present History. Le Clerc, therefore, speaks inconsiderately when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "Scythæ ipsi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamistro inusti, in medium prodeunt." Judic. Curt. p. 326.

were successively subdued ; their bravest troops were gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks ; and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive countries, by dividing his army into five formidable brigades commanded by Hephæstion, Ptolemy, Perdikkas, Cænus⁶³, and himself. Near Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cænus attacked and defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bactrians deserted their unfortunate general, and surrendered their arms to the conqueror. The Massagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the desert ; but being apprised, that the Macedonians prepared to pursue them, they slew this active and daring chief, whose courage deserved a better fate ; and, in hopes of making their own peace, sent his head to the conqueror.

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the Cas-
pian and
the Jax-
artes.
Olymp.
cxiii. 2.
A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly resisted Alexander in the open country : but in the provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacené, two important fortresses, long deemed impregnable, still bade defiance to the invader. Into the former, Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the *rebellion* (for so the Macedonians termed the brave defence of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children. The rock was steep, rugged, almost inaccessible, and provided with corn for a long siege. The deep snow, by which it was surrounded, increased the difficulty of assaulting

Siege of
the Sog-
dian for-
tress ;
Olymp.
cxiii. 2.
A. C. 327.

⁶³ Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus. Arrian.

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it, and supplied the garrison with water. Alexander, having summoned the Bactrians to surrender, was asked in derision, Whether he had furnished himself with winged soldiers? This insolence piqued his pride; and he determined to make himself master of the place, with whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking might be attended. This resolution was consonant to his character. His success in arms, owing to the resources of his active and comprehensive mind, sometimes encouraged him to enterprises, neither justified by necessity, nor warranted by prudence. Fond of war, not only as an instrument of ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to excel, he began to regard the means as more valuable than the end, and sacrificed the lives of his men to military experiments alike hazardous and useless: yet, on the present occasion, sound policy seems to have directed his measures. Having determined soon to depart from those provinces, he might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy behind; it might seem necessary to destroy the seeds of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled and almost incredible, to impress such terror of his name, as would astonish and overawe his most distant and warlike dependencies.

which is
taken by a
contrivance
equally

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fortress, and proposed a reward of twelve "talents to the man who should first mount the top of the

⁶¹ Above £2000, equal in value to near £20,000 in the present age.

rock on which it was situated. The second and third were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the last of ten was to be gratified with the sum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honourable and lucrative, stimulated the love of adventure, so conspicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully selected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with small pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might serve as a signal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprise, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this simple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the summit of the rock, which overlooked the fortress; and waving their signal in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous sight, he summoned the besieged to surrender to his winged soldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and represented

C H A P.
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ingenious
and dar-
ing.

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Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

them as completely armed; Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortress. ⁶⁵

This obscure and even nameless castle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments; but even in the fervour of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condescending affection raised her to the throne, choosing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to transgress the laws of humanity. ⁶⁶

The fortress of Chorienes surrenders. Olymp. cxliii. 2. A. C. 327.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætaceni were in arms, and that many of his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the fortress or rock of Chorienes. Upon this intelligence, he hastened to the Parætacéné hills. The height of the rock, which was every where steep and craggy, he found to be nearly three miles, and its circumference above seven. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir trees, of extraordinary height, which surrounded the mountain, should be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which,

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 91. et seq.

⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.*

his men descending the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom. These, being placed at proper distances, were covered with hurdles of osier consolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at first derided this seemingly useless labour. But their insults were soon answered by Macedonian arrows. By these, and other missile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, so much annoyed the besieged, that the latter became desirous to capitulate. For this purpose, Chorieneſ, from whom the place derived its name, deſired to conſeſs with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, ſince the taking of his wife and children, had ſubmitted to Alexander. His requeſt being granted, Oxyartes ſtrongly exhorted him to ſurrender his fortress and himſelf, aſſuring him of Alexander's goodneſs, of which his own treatment furniſhed an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to ſuch troops and ſuch a general. Chorieneſ prudently followed this advice; and, by his ſpeedy ſubmiſſion, not only obtained pardon, but gained the frieudſhip of Alexander, who again entrusted him with the command of his fortress, and the government of his province. The vaſt magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Paræta-ceni for a long ſiege, afforded a ſeaſonable ſupply to the Macedonian army, eſpecially during the ſeverity of winter, in a country covered with ſnow many feet deep.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 92.

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The virtues displayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquests.

By such memorable achievements, Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which supply the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous warfare, the great abilities of the general were conspicuously distinguished. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger : neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity ; his courage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have passed for temerity. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigours of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged ; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest ⁶⁸ subjects. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus ; and those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the discernment of this extraordinary man, not only essential to the security of the conquests which he had already made, but necessary pre-

⁶⁸ Plutarch, Arrian, & Curtius, *passim*.

parations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

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During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by the warlike ambition of their King Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnesus, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to King Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to send ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From this generous prince, the rebellious republics received promise of pardon, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt. *

Commo-
tions in
Greece
checked by
Antipater.
Olymp.
cxii. 5.
A. C. 330.

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual

Tranquil-
lity of that
country

* Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. 1.

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during the
subsequent
years of
Alexander's
reign.

degree of tranquillity and happiness. The suspicious and severe temper of Antipater was restrained by the commands of his master, who, provided the several republics sent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of submission. Under the protection of this indulgent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests they were associated, the Greeks still preserved the forms, and displayed the image, of that free constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

Ctesiphon
accused by
Æschines,
and de-
fended by
Demos-
thenes.
Olymp.
cxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

While Alexander pursued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold a long prepared intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalry in power and fame had for many years divided the affections of their countrymen. In consequence of a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, we have seen Demosthenes honoured with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country. 1. Because he had decreed public honours to a man actually entrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts. 2. Because, contrary to law, he had advised that the crown conferred on Demosthenes should be proclaimed in the theatre. 3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a crown, he ought

to be punished as a traitor. Various circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, retarded the hearing of this important cause, till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magnanimous son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctesiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

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In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument combined with the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions⁷⁰, by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his audience; when, to justify his advising the fatal battle of Chæronæa, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No; I swear it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the same cause at Marathon and Plataea." What sublime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at this lofty or rather gigantic sentiment, which, in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was surrounded, would appear altogether extravagant.

Æschines
banished
for cal-
lumnny.

The orator not only justified Ctesiphon and himself, but procured the banishment of his ad-

Genero-
sity of De-
mosthe-
nes.

⁷⁰ See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

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versary, as the author of a malignant and calumnious accusation. Honourable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more solid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before Æschines set sail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generosity which made the banished man feel severely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, "How deeply must I regret the loss of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elsewhere!" Æschines retired to the isle of Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the answer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himself!"

His death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.

Demosthenes survived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more suspicious policy of Antipater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassins to the little island of Calauria, he ended his life by poison.⁷¹

The sentence of
the Athe-

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Persian empire would have little leisure, or incli-

⁷¹ Plut. in Demosthen. & Lucian. Demosthen. Encom.

nation, to attend to a personal altercation between two Athenian orators ; and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be considered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the successful, opponent of the greatness of his family ; and, in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconsolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honours of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the sentence of the Athenian people ; a sentence which reversed the decision of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never resented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation ; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and security which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

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nians in
favour of
Demo-
sthenes, ho-
nourable
to the mo-
deration of
Alexan-
der.

Deprived indeed of the honour, but also delivered from the cares, of independent sovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dissensions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propensity to the social embellishments of life ; a propensity by which they were honourably distinguished above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with

State of
Greece
during the
latter years
of the
reign of
Alexan-
der.

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more pomp than at any former period. The schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardour and success. Many improvements were made in the sciences; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their ancestors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotism and true valour were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honours were revived and brightened by an association with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boasted trophies of Marathon and Platæa. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony; and, to revenge the wrongs of that nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.

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Alexander's Indian Expedition. — Route pursued by the Army. — Aornos taken. — Nysa and Mount Meros. — Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes. — Defeats Porus. — Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia. — Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes. — Sangala taken. — Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests. — He sails down the Hydaspes. — Takes the Mallian fortress. — His march through the Gedrosian Desert. — Voyage of Nearchus. — Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests. — Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians. — Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics. — Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon. — His Death, and Character. — Division of his Conquests. — Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria. — The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. — State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

By just views of policy, rather than the madness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Asia. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror could not have securely enjoyed the splendour of Susa and Babylon; nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could

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Alexander under-takes his Indian expedition. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

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Traverses
the Paro-
pamisus.

he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and entrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days' march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded¹ with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bucharia, is far more elevated than any other portion of the ancient continent²; and the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated

¹ The errors of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724. See also Arrian. Indic. c. 2.

² That is, the Asia known to the ancients; for, by barometrical observations, many parts of Chinese Tartary are 15,000 feet above the Yellow sea; and the highlands there are far more elevated than those of Bucharia. Conf. Pallas Act. Petropol. an. 1777. Staunton's China, vol. ii. p. 206. Kirwan's Geological Essays, p. 26. et seq.

journey have, perhaps, been rather exaggerated than described, by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful² expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Those mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I suffered was extreme; the country presents a melancholy image of death and horror."³

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to struggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage⁴; and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts.

Difficulty
of pene-
trating in-
to India
by land.

The experienced leader seems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdicas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing that river. After many severe conflicts, he subdued the Aspîi, Thyræi, Arasaci, and Assaceni; scoured

Route
pursued
by Alex-
ander..

² Curtius, l. vii. c. 3.

³ See "Le Voyage du Pere Desideri." It was performed in the year 1715. *Lettres Edifiantes*, xv. 185.

⁴ Arrian, p. 97. et seq.

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Aornos
taken.

the banks of the Choas and Cophenes ; expelled the Barbarians from their fastnesses ; and drove them towards their northern mountains, which supply the sources of the Oxus and the Indus.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place, defended by the Baziri ⁴, still defied his assaults. This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the most warlike of their neighbours, after their other strong-holds had surrendered. From its description, it appears to have been admirably adapted to the purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit ; eleven in height, where lowest ; accessible by only one dangerous path cut in the rock by art ; containing, near the top, a plentiful spring of water, a thick and lofty wood, together with a sufficient quantity of arable land to employ the labour of a thousand men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander to make himself master of a place, which fable described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of antiquity. ⁵ By the volun-

⁴ It is worthy of remark, that the descendants of Alexander's followers have been recognised in Bijore, the country of the Baziri. Several oriental writers, particularly the author of the *Ayin Acharee*, maintain this fact ; the bare report of which argues a perfect conviction in the minds of the natives, that Alexander subjected Bijore, and transferred his conquests to his countrymen. Rennell's *Memoir*, 2d edition, p. 162.

⁵ Arrian, p. 98. who supplies the particulars in the text, says, that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or Egyptian Hercules, who laid siege unsuccessfully to Aornos. He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India ; adding, that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed, on this occasion, as on many others, " *εις περιποιησιν του λογου*," " as an ostentatious fiction."

tary assistance and direction of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the Baziri, Ptolemy ascended part of the rock unperceived; Alexander, with his usual diligence, raised a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the resources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to protract negotiation during the whole day, and at night to effect their escape. Alexander, who suspected this intention, met their art with similar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians descended the mountain, he took possession of the strong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile district, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nysa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony under Bacchus⁶ at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nysa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian soil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preserved

Alexander
marches to
Nysa and
Mount
Meros.

⁶ Arrian Indic. c. 1.

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the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered with sweat and dust, and still armed with his casque and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The King having raised them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condescension, they recovered sufficient boldness to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties, for the sake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they insisted on the name Nysa, derived from the nurse⁷ of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretension, which might attest to succeeding ages that he had carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus⁸, readily granted their request.

⁷ The respect shewn by the Greeks to their nurses is well known, and is attested by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks still imitate their ancestors. The word employed to signify a nurse, properly denotes "a second mother." See Monsieur Guy's *Voyage Litteraire de la Grèce*, Lettre v.

⁸ Eratosthenes the Cyrenian, and many other ancient writers, asserted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the East, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo justly observes that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the son of Philip. To justify this observation, he cites the verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, saying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιπὼν δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρύσας γυναι-
 κας, φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν δ' ἡλιοβλήτους πλάκας,
 Βακτρῶν τε τειχὴ τὴν τε δυσχείμον χθονά,
 Μῆδων, ἐπελθὼν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαιμόνα

Having understood that Nysa was governed by an aristocracy, he demanded, as hostages, an hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who headed the embassy. Alexander desired him to interpret his smile. He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen, and more, should you require them. But can you believe it possible that any city should long continue safe, after losing an hundred of its most virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the best, should you be contented with two hundred of the worst, men in

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Λισαν τε πασαν, ἢ παρ ἄλλωσαν ἅλα
Κεῖται, μεγάσιν Ἑλλήσι Βαρβαροῖς δ' ὁμον
Πληρεὶς ἐχούσα καλλιπυργωτοῦς πόλεις.

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the sun-beat plains of Phrygia and Persia, the Bactrian fortresses, and the wintry storms of the Medes—having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Asia, crowned with fair turretted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Earbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyssa in particular, *Βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νύσσαν*. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Because the relations of authors on this subject are totally inconsistent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether silent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, possess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosophical historian discovers his sentiments to be the same with Strabo's, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, "*οὐκ ἀκριβῆ ἐξέτασιν χρη εἰναι τῶν ὑπερ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐκ παλαιον, μεμνημένων*;" "that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully sifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyse, the Grecian mythology.

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Nysa, be assured that, at your return, you will find this country in as flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased with his address, Alexander remitted his demand of the magistrates; he was accompanied by the cavalry, and by the son and nephew of Acuphis, who were ambitious to learn the art of war under such an accomplished general.

Alexander passes the Indus, and receives the submission of Taxiles.

The transactions which we have described, and a march of sixteen days from the Oxus to the Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdicas to make the preparations necessary for passing the latter river, probably by a bridge of boats.⁹ On the eastern bank, Alexander received the submission of the neighbouring princes. Of these, Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought, besides other valuable presents, the assistance of seven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous city between the Indus and Hy-

⁹ Arrian, p. 100 & 103. leaves it uncertain in what manner the bridge was constructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander, ascertain the pass of the Indus, at which the Macedonians crossed that river. Major Rennell, late surveyor-general of Bengal, has the following observations in his admirable memoir on the map of Indostan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now stands; as it appears to have been in all ages the pass on the Indus leading from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India. . . . Attock must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander. From thence, as his intention seems to have been to penetrate by the shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behat) where the fortress of Rotas now stands; and here he put in execution his stratagem for crossing the river, whilst the opposite shore was possessed by Porus." - Of which more in the text.

daspes. But the King, who never allowed himself to be outdone in generosity, restored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

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The army crossed the Indus about the time of the summer solstice, at which season the Indian rivers are swelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted snow, which descends in torrents from Paropamisus. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaspes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his son commanded a detachment, consisting of the same kind of forces, which were all well accoutred and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of passing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable host; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favourable season. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his post. The King next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having posted his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raise in the night loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus

Prepares
to pass the
Hydaspes,
notwith-
standing
the opposi-
tion of
Porus.

C H A P. conducted his elephants wherever the danger
XXXIX. threatened. This scene was repeated several successive nights ; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and harassed by perpetual alarms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noise, but merely to disturb his repose, at length desisted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank.¹⁰

Disposi-
 tions for
 that pur-
 pose.

The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpose. At the distance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there stood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees ; and near to this rock, an island, likewise over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such scenery was favourable for concealment : it immediately suggested to Alexander the design of passing the river with a strong detachment, which he resolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform ; and, amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamisus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly, during day time, to cross the Hydaspes. While these

¹⁰ Arrian, l. v. p. 107. et seq.

operations were carrying on by Craterus, Alexander having collected hides and boats, marched up the country with a choice body of light infantry, the Archers and Agrians, the Bactrian, Scythian, and Parthian " cavalry, together with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops ; the whole a well-assorted brigade, adapted to every mode of warfare required by the nature of the ground, the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he advanced towards the rock and island ; and in this secure post prepared to embark, after taking such precautions against the vicissitudes of war and fortune, as could be suggested only by the most profound military genius. The orders given to Craterus were precise : should the Indians perceive, and endeavour to interrupt the passage to the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten over with his cavalry ; otherwise not to stir from his post, until he observed Porus advancing against Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal distance between the bank where Alexander meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay, Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful body of mercenaries, consisting chiefly of Indian mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Macedonians, and taken into pay by the conqueror. To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels

" Arrian calls them the Dahæ ; they were *ἰπποτοξοται*, " archers on horseback." Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

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The passage effected.

were placed along the bank, at convenient distances, to observe and repeat signals.

Fortune favoured these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's outguards the tumult of preparation ; the clash of armour and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Lysimachus ; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the overwhelming greatness of their master's glory.

The King first reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle ; but, before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which he landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering, that should Porus offer battle, these forces would resist till joined by the heavy infantry ; but should the Indians

be struck with panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus be in time to attack and pursue them with advantage.

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Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his son to oppose the landing of the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain; most of the chariots were taken, the slime of the river, which rendered them unserviceable in the action, likewise interrupting their flight.

Porus's
son de-
feated and
slain.

The sad news of this discomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared to pass the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated assault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten rather than resist, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of his enemies, commanded by their King. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred ele-

Disposi-
tions made
by Porus
for resist-
ing the
enemy.

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Skilful
manœu-
vres of the
Macedoni-
an army.

phants. With these forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain sufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of an hundred feet : in these intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, since their horse, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants ; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they must be themselves exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by those terrible animals. At either extremity of the line, the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort, and equestrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops should join. This being effected, he allowed them time to rest and recover strength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry ; and meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the disposition of the Indians. Upon observing their order of battle, he immediately determined not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way ; and at once resolved on an operation, which, with such troops as those whom he commanded, could scarcely fail to prove decisive. By intricate and skilful manœuvres,

altogether unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, stretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in its post, waiting the event of this complicated assault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise observance of time and distance.

The battle
of the Hy-
daspes.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian archers, and exposed to the danger of being surrounded, were obliged to form into two divisions, of which one prepared to resist Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution so much disordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to stand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which surpassed them as much in strength and spirit, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no sooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the assailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous to resist them with a close and deep phalanx. Mean-

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while, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat ; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost entirely surrounded, by the Macedonian horse ; at the same time that the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow space, and furious through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury. ¹¹

The Indians defeated.

The battle was decided before the division, under Craterus, passed the river. But the arrival of these fresh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken ; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved formidable in show only, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that conqueror. ¹² With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valour and resistance of his enemies ; but,

¹¹ Arrian, p. 112.

¹² See Arrian, p. 113. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, but rather to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom he derived his materials ; nor could it be expected that those generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

in computing the numbers of the slain, they become averse to allow this valour and resistance to have produced their adequate effects.

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The Indian King, having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the last to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander entrusted with the care of seizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who had long been his enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroé, an Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendship. By the entreaties of Meroé, the high-minded prince, spent with thirst and fatigue, was finally persuaded to surrender; and being refreshed with drink and repose, was conducted into the presence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his stature (for he was above seven feet high) and the majesty of his person; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked in what he could oblige him? Porus answered, "By acting like a King." — "That," said Alexander with a smile, "I should do for my own sake, but what can I do for yours?" Porus replied, "All my wishes are contained in that one request."¹³ None ever discerned virtue

Courage
and magnanimity
of Porus.

Rewarded
by Alexander.

¹³ The modern histories of Alexander universally misrepresent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus say, "that he desires to be treated like a King;" an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, *Τουτο μὲν εἶμι σοὶ Πωρεῖ μὲν ἕνεκα· σὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα ὁ, τί σοὶ φίλον αἰοῦ;* "I will act towards

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Founda-
tion of
Nicaea and
Bucephalia.

better than Alexander, or was more studious to reward it. Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him reinstated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and, having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glaucæ, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, the least of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the slain, performed the accustomed sacrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicaea and Bucephalia: the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it stood: the latter, situate on the opposite bank, was named in honour of his horse Bucephalus¹⁴, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify these new cities.

you, O Porus! as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you desire that I should do on yours?"

¹⁴ This generous animal, who had so long shared the toils and dangers of his master, had formerly received signal marks of royal regard. Having disappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander issued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and sword. This command was immediately obeyed. "So dear," says Arrian, "was Bucephalus to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians." Arrian, p. 114.

In promoting the success of Alexander, the fame of his generosity conspired with the force of his arms. Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conquest, the obstacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies with whom he had to contend. The river Acesines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks, which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally frightful, and still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to pass in boats, many drove against the rocks, and perished; but such as employed hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The Hydraotes is of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eastern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to resist his progress. They had encamped on the side of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days' march from the Hydraotes; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians stirred not from their post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for such a warfare, immediately dismounted, and

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conducted a battalion of foot against the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakest ; some passages were opened ; the Macedonians rushed in ; and the Indians, being successively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

Sangala
besieged
and taken.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invested. On one side, the town was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be surrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with success. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse ; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then surrounded the greatest part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by some deserters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake ; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy the son of Lagus, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the spot where he sagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first sound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the assistance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger. By this judicious

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disposition, the enemy were successfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the scaling ladders were fixed; several breaches were made; and the town was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand Indians are said to have perished in the sack of Sangala; above seventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was razed: its confederates submitted or fled. Above an hundred Macedonians fell in the siege or assault; twelve hundred were wounded.

The persevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him master of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus.¹⁵ The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which he actually intended to cross, allured

Eastern
boundary
of Alex-
ander's
conquests.

¹⁵ The Gentoos distinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Koonneah, "the great robber and assassin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honourable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowess. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their ascribing to his taste and magnificence the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143. & seq. M. Anquetil's Zend Avesta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

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by the flattering description of the adjoining territory, were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest towers in that country. These monuments, erected midway between Dehli and Lahor¹⁶, marked the extremity of Alexander's em-

¹⁶ Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. c. 2. Major Rennell, however, in his admirable Memoir on the new Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not so high up the river. "After crossing," says he, "the Acesines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now stands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct rout towards the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphasis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumstance of the deserts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile, and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges has really a desert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with this opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty-six Roman miles, which, by a proper proportional scale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty such miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recrossing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acesines, in a low situation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and these are also the

pire; an empire thus limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or the opposition of enemies, but by the immoveable and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

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Invincible by his enemies, Alexander submitted to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his trophies in the East. But his restless curiosity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the sake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæstion (for Cænus was now dead), had orders to march southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus.

Alexander
sails down
the Hydaspes, accompanied by his army. Olymp. cxlii. 3.
A. C. 326.

parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, between which places, I suppose, Alexander's altars were erected." The desert on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found in Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612., and in the romantic description of Curtius, l. ix. c. 2. The existence of such a desert, at the extremity of Alexander's conquests, is scarcely reconcilable with Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who says, "that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave; governed by a moderate aristocracy; flourishing in peace and plenty; possessing a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and stature."

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Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phoenicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, above two thousand vessels¹⁷, for sailing down the Hydaspes till its junction with the Indus, and thence along that majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On board this fleet the King

¹⁷ "It may appear extraordinary," says Mr. Rennell, "that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which, communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable, too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the gulf of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of one hundred and eighty tons' burden are sometimes used in the Ganges; and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennell is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of vessels, he says, *και οσα αλλα ποταμα, η των παλαι πλεοντων κατα τους τοταμους, η εν τη τοτε κοιηθεντων*, p. 124. The vessels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, 1. Long ships for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships, for carrying provisions, baggage, &c; and, 3. *επιπλωμα πλοια*, vessels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennell's conjecture can only relate to the ships of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and islanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124. and 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconsistent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. 3. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Justin, l. xii. c. 9. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each side the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus

embarked in person with the third division of his forces. His navigation employed several months, being frequently retarded by hostilities with the natives, particularly the warlike tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were driven from the open country ; their cities were successively besieged and taken ; but, at the storm of their capital, a scene was transacted which betrayed temerity in Alexander, and which would have indicated madness in any other general.

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When their streets were filled with the enemy, the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fortress was defended by a thick wall, which, being thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was extremely lofty without, but towards the inner circumference of an inconsiderable height. Alexander, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians, commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with all possible expedition. But this service being performed more tardily than usual, the King, in his anger, snatched a ladder from one who carried it, and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their general, followed in such numbers, that the ladder broke as Alexander reached the summit ; the same accident happened to other ladders which were hastily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For some moments, the King thus remained alone on the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his arms, and the *extrava-*

Extraordinary adventure in besieging the Mallian fortress.

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*gance*¹⁸ of his valour, exposed to thick volleys of hostile darts from the adjacent towers. His resolution, more than daring, was in his circumstances wise. At one bound he sprang into the place, and posting himself at the wall, slew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to assault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peucestes, the Macedonians who next reached the summit, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardless of their own safety, defended the King, whose breast had been pierced with an arrow. They were soon covered with wounds, and Alexander seemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burst through the gates of the place. Their first concern was to carry off the King; the second to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Côs; others, that no surgeon being near, Perdicas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his sword, by his master's command. The great effusion of blood threatened his immediate dissolution; but a seasonable fainting fit, suspending the circulation, stopped the discharge of blood, and saved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in

¹⁸ Τῇ ἀτοπῇ τῆς τολμῆς; literally, "the absurdity of his valour," could our idiom admit such an expression; ἀτοπος properly signifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly translated *absurd*, but may here mean *supernatural*.

their gloomy sadness during his danger, and their immoderate joy at his recovery.¹⁹

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided necessities for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Persepolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosia. This arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water, the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus²⁰, whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the King, both were

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Marches
through
the Gedro-
sian de-
sert.
Olymp.
cxiii. 4.
A. C. 325.

Voyage of
Nearchus.

¹⁹ The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is said by Curtius, l. ix. c. 4. to have happened in storming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) & Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 127. & seq. & Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

²⁰ Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Five months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates, Arrian, Hist. Indic. c. 20. & seq. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. 23. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and Huet; but its authenticity is asserted by the best critics, and confirmed by all the best modern geographers.

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Alexander
is joined in
Carmania
by various
divisions of
his army.

taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armour, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier²¹; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrathernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and other beasts of burthen, to relieve the exigencies of an army enfeebled by disease and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this unhappy expedition²², was repaired by

²¹ Parties were continually employed, on all sides, in searching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the sun was excessive, and reflected by the scorching sand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances, some soldiers discovering a small quantity of turbid water brought it in great haste to the King. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

²² Plutarch says, that the march through Gedrosia cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, since he supposes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrosian deserts.

the arrival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the standard of Alexander sufficiently respectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the Medes of despoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other detestable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own soldiers confirmed the accusation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction, and served as a salutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practised by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and consolidate his empire, than his vigilance to restrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppression.²³

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He punishes the misconduct of his generals.

Among the fables which gave the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is said to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and indulging, with his followers, the utmost extravagance of disorder and folly.²⁴ The revel continued seven days, during which a small body of sober men might have overwhelmed this

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

²³ Καὶ τοῦτο, εἰπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δορυλαῖτα, ἢ ἔκοντα προσχωρήσαντα, τούτοις μὲν πλεῖσθ' ὄντα, τοσούτων δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκότα' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 145. "This, especially, kept in awe the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were); that under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed."

²⁴ Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

C H A P. army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of
XXXIX. Darius and of Asia.²⁵ Were not this improba-
 ble fiction discountenanced by the silence of con-
 temporary writers²⁶, it would be refuted by its
 own absurdity. Instead of yielding to the trans-
 ports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was
 extremely susceptible of compassion, must have
 been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of so many
 brave men; and the necessity of his affairs, to
 which he was ever duly attentive, admitted not
 of unseasonable delay.

Punish-
 ment of
 the gover-
 nors of
 Babylon,
 Persepolis,
 and Susa.

Encouraged by the long absence of their mas-
 ter, and the perils to which his too adventurous
 character continually exposed his life, Harpalus,
 Orsines, and Abulites, who were respectively
 governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, began
 to despise his orders, and to act as independent
 princes, rather than accountable ministers. In
 such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience
 the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided
 his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed
 troops were entrusted to Hephæstion, with orders
 to proceed along the sea-coast, and to attend the
 motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus.
 With the remainder, the King hastened to Pasar-
 gadæ. Orsines was convicted of many enormous
 crimes, which were punished with as enormous
 severity.²⁷ Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed

²⁵ Curtius, l. ix. c. 10.

²⁶ Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

²⁷ Arrian, who excuses Alexander's adopting the Persian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.

the royal tiara, suffered death ; his numerous adherents shared his fate. The return of Alexander from the east proved fatal to Abulites, and his son Oxathres, who, during the absence of their master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had proved equally flagitious, escaped with his treasures to Athens ; the avarice of the Athenians engaged them to receive this wealthy fugitive ; but their fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alexander. By a decree of the people, he was expelled from Attica, and this traitor to the most generous of princes seems himself to have been soon afterwards treacherously slain.²⁸ The brave Peucestes, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the government of Persia. In this important command he shewed that the virtues of sound policy are not incompatible with the most adventurous valour. By conforming to the customs,

Peucestes rewarded.

²⁸ Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. 2. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor. l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the pardon of which does great honour to the clemency of Alexander. Harpalus, even in the life-time of Philip, had gained the friendship of his illustrious son, who, soon after mounting the throne, employed him as his treasurer. But before the battle of Issus, this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara. Alexander unwilling hastily to condemn an old friend, who had for his sake incurred the resentment of Philip, ascribed the misconduct of Harpalus to the bad counsels of Tauriscus, a daring villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of Tauriscus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his service, and again entrusted him with the custody of his treasures. Arrian, l. iii. c. vi.

CHAP. adopting the manners, and using the language
XXXIX. of the vanquished, he acquired the affectionate
 respect of the people committed to his care. His
 pliant condescension, directed by sound policy,
 was highly approved by the discernment of Alex-
 ander; but his affectation of foreign manners
 greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian
 countrymen.

Alexander
 improves
 the inter-
 nal state of
 his con-
 quests.
 Olymp.
 cxiii. 4.
 A. C. 325.

In the central provinces of his empire, which
 from time immemorial had been the seat of Asiatic
 pomp and luxury, Alexander spent the last, and
 not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the
 nervous language of antiquity, the world was silent
 in his presence; and his only remaining care was
 to improve and consolidate his conquests. For
 these important purposes, he carefully examined
 the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the
 Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his
 troops was judiciously employed in removing the
 weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of
 the Persian Kings, and their jealousy of the mu-
 tinous Babylonians, had obstructed the navigation
 of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no
 reason to dread fleets of war, wished to invite
 those of commerce. The harbours were repaired;
 arsenals were constructed; a bason was formed
 at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand gal-
 lies. By these and similar improvements, he ex-
 pected to facilitate internal intercourse among
 his central provinces, while, by opening new chan-
 nels of communication, he hoped to unite the
 wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with
 the most remote regions of the earth. His ships
 were sent to explore the Persian and Arabian

gulphs. Archias brought him such accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its shores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in examining the Arabian coast; but he found it impossible to double the southern extremity of that immense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis in Egypt. This daring enterprise seemed to be reserved for the King in person. It is certain, that shortly before his death, he took measures for examining this great southern gulph, as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian Sea, which, though described as a vast lake by Herodotus, was by many believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean.²⁹

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Sends vessels to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs.

But objects, less remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter season, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Assyria³⁰, are confined within their lofty channel. But in spring and summer, and especially towards the summer solstice, they overflow their banks, and, instead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unless the superfluous moisture were discharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences an hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by springs, nor replenished from mountain

Restrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

²⁹ Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

³⁰ "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is said, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

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snows, but branching from the great trunk of the Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the sea, through lakes and marshes, by various, and for the most part invisible outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the season when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian snows. The diminution of the river rendered it insufficient to water the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience severely felt in a country seldom refreshed by rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unsuccessfully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he sailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the inosculatation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this essential service to Assyria, he followed the course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being

Builds a
city near
the canal
of Palla-
copas.

built and fortified, was peopled with those superannuated Greeks, who seemed no longer capable of military service, and with such others of their countrymen as thought proper to settle in this fertile, though remote, country. ³¹

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Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. These places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with signal marks of his taste, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened, views of policy. The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, such of the Barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raise new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being associated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of those recruits, whose improvements in arts and arms fully answered his expectations, and justly rewarded his foresight.

Incorporates the Barbarian levies with the Greeks and Macedonians.

³¹ Arrian, ubi supra.

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Pays the
debts of
his sol-
diers.

The arrival of such numerous auxiliaries enabled him to discharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, such Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the service, worn out with age, or enfeebled by sickness. After an interesting scene, which we shall have occasion to describe, he dismissed those respectable veterans, loaded with wealth and honours. They were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed to succeed Antipater in the administration of his European dominions; and Antipater, who had long administered that important trust with equal prudence and fidelity, was commanded to join his master with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and Macedon.³²

At Susa, Alexander learned that his soldiers, indulging the extravagance too natural to their profession, had contracted immense debts, which they had neither ability nor inclination to pay. Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each man should give an exact account of what he owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring, that he was determined to satisfy them at his own expence. The troops suspected an intention merely to discover their characters, and to learn their oeconomy or profusion. At first, therefore, many denied, and all diminished, their debts. But Alexander issued a second declaration, "That it became not a prince to deceive his people, nor a people to suppose their prince capable of deceit." Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the whole debts discharged, to the amount, it is said, of four millions sterling.

³² Arrian, ubi supra.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of a different kind, which discovers, however, the same spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Asiatic subjects. In the royal palace of Susa, he publicly espoused Statira³³, the daughter of Darius; and bestowed her sister Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, Perdikkas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favour, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names presented to the King, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women.³⁴

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Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics.

In all the cities which he visited, he was careful to celebrate the musical and gymnastic games; those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the senses, as well as to please the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the most ignorant Barbarians. Con-

Alexander prepares to exhibit dramatic entertainments at Ecbatana. Olymp. cxiv. 1.

³³ Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

³⁴ Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, exclaims, Ὁ βαρβαρε ἑρκῆς, καὶ ἀνοήτης, καὶ ματὴν πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλησποντίαν ποιηθεὶς γεφυραν, οὕτως ἐμφρονεῖς βασιλεῖς Ἀσίαν Ἑυρώπῃ συνάπτουσι, οὐ ξύλοις, οὐδὲ σχεδίαις, οὐδὲ ἀψύχοις καὶ ἀσυνπαθεσὶ δεσμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτὶ καὶ γάμοις, καὶ γάμοις σωφροσὶ, καὶ κοινωνίαις παιδὸν τὰ γένη συνάπτουτες. "O! barbarous and foolish Xerxes, thou who labouredst in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, it is thus that wise kings join Asia to Europe, not by boards, ships, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewise above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

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Death of
Hephæstion.

vinced that nothing has a more direct tendency to unite and harmonise the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleasures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose, above three thousand players and musicians, collected from all parts of Greece, assembled in Ecbatana, the capital of Media, which was chosen for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions.³⁵ But the sickness and death of Hephæstion changed this splendid spectacle into melancholy obsequies. In the moment of his triumph, the King was deprived of his dearest friend.³⁶ This irreparable loss he felt and expressed with an affectionate ardour congenial to his character, and justified his immoderate sorrow by the inconsolable³⁷ grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved Patroclus. During three days and nights after the death of Hephæstion,

³⁵ It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were soon diffused through other parts of Asia, *Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημερουντος, Ὀμηρὸς ἦν ἀναγνώσιμα, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Σουσιανῶν καὶ Γεδροσιανῶν παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίας ῥέον.* "Alexander having tamed Asia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosia, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. *ibid.*

³⁶ Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's confidence; yet he often said, "Craterus loves the King, Hephæstion loves Alexander." Plutarch, in *Alexand.* In passing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. *Ælian. Var. Hist.* xii. 7.

³⁷ If, in the melancholy shades below,
The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,
Yet mine shall sacred last; and, undecay'd,
Burn on through death, and animate my shade.

Pope's *Iliad.*

Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tasted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæstion³⁸; and the lofty genius of Stasicrates erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy of *him*, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deserving of *heroic* worship. To appease the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armour at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the King's secretary, who shortly before Hephæstion's death, had offended this illustrious favourite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercised power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favour, and whose virtues disarmed envy.³⁹

³⁸ According to Plutarch, Stasicrates proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. & Lucian, t. ii. p. 489. ascribes this design to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, *Εα δε μανει τον Αθω κατα χειραν' αρκει γαρ ενος βασιλεως ανδρισσαςτος ειναι μνημειον*. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. i. c. ix. p. 420.

³⁹ Arrian, p. 156. tells us, that concerning the funeral honours of Hephæstion, innumerable and absurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the same falsehoods were sometimes authorised by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.

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Alexander
reduces
and chastises the
Cossæans.

To moderate and divert his sorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once business and amusement, undertook an expedition in person, which perhaps would otherwise have been committed to the valour of his lieutenants. The Cossæans, a rude and untractable nation, inhabited the southern frontier of Media. Secure amidst their rocks and fastnesses, they had ever defied the arms of the Persians; and the degenerate successors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchase their friendship than to repel their hostility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ecbatana, the pride of these magnificent but pusillanimous princes condescended to bestow presents on the Cossæans, that they might procure an undisturbed passage for themselves and their train; and this impolitic meanness only increased the audacity of fierce mountaineers, who often ravaged the Susian plains, and often retired to their fastnesses, loaded with the richest spoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of such indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally subdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Cossæans were driven from their last retreats, and compelled to surrender their territory. After obtaining sufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ransom their prisoners; and, at his departure from their country, took care to erect such fortresses as seemed necessary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headstrong people. ⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Such is the account of the expedition given by Arrian, l. vii.

In returning from this successful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Asia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the southern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, says his historian, that he appeared master of the world, both to his followers and to himself; and, as if the known parts of it had been insufficient to satisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian forest, with a design to build ships, and explore the undiscovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas. But neither these lofty designs, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes Alexander enjoyed in the greatest "splendour,"

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Glory of
Alexander.

His melancholy.

p. 157. and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795. and by Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, most unwarrantably and absurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amusement of *man hunting*, and massacred the whole Coasian nation, without distinction of age or sex. Plut. p. 94.

"Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. & l. xii. p. 537—541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained an hundred couches; that the pillars which supported it were encrusted with gold: that he gave audience, surrounded with guards, and seated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the master of both continents" found it necessary to unite the pomp of the East with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious essences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices, of Alexander, we discover the credulous, or rather criminal sophist, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which disgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted assertions of the obscure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppose the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch.—Could he who so severely censured the effeminate and luxurious lives of others, be himself effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," says Arrian, "Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleasures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167. Even in the use of wine he was habitually sparing. Id. l. vii. sub fin.

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could appease his grief for the loss of Hephestion. The death of his beloved friend is said, by Arrian, to have hastened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him susceptible of such impressions as the firmness of his manly soul would otherwise have resisted and repelled.

Artifice
to prevent
his return
to Baby-
lon.

He, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to feel the power of that miserable passion. The servants of princes, ever quick in discerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their masters, soon discovered and abused the weakness of Alexander. Alarmed at the severe treatment of several of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been entrusted with the government of Babylon, practised with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatness of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine displeasure against the king, should he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Cossæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan priests, who conjured him to change his resolution, because they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The interests of the Chaldæans conspired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a stupendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Assyrian kings. But the produce

of the consecrated ground, instead of being applied to its original destination of repairing the temple, and offering sacrifices to the gods, had, ever since the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan priests. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priests, he discerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best prophet that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldæans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least not to enter it on the eastern side, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rising sun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

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During his short stay at Babylon, his mind was disturbed by superstitious fears⁴², awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well fitted to operate on a disordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had conversed with the Gymnosophists, Brachmans, men who *practised* the philosophy which Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent

His short stay in this city disturbed by superstitious fears.

Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

⁴² He became, says Plutarch, δουλις προς το θεον.

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Prophecy
and death
of Calanus.

state of existence. To those sages, the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of derision or pity. At sight of the conqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the world, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for insulting the son of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by saying, "That all were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained, and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curiosity, or irresistibly captivated by the soothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his brethren. Alexander treated this eastern sage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had passed his seventy-second year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell sick in Persia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horseback) was conveyed in a litter. In sight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to assist at this awful solemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre; the music struck up; the soldiers raised a shout of war; and the Indian, with a serene countenance, expired amidst the

flames, singing a hymn to the gods of his country. ⁴³ CHAP.
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The curiosity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewise was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline witnessing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his sake, had abandoned his native land. But, before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take leave of Alexander, saying that "he should again see him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetic. Those of Calanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impression which they had made hastened his departure from a city, in which so many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside. ⁴⁴

His superstitious terrors, however, seem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having resumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to some Grecian ambassadors, who presented him with golden crowns from the submissive flattery of their several republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had so long meditated. But his designs and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer this melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already

Death of
Alexander
at Baby-
lon.
Olymp.
cxiv. 1.
A. C. 334.
May 28th.

⁴³ Arrian, l. vii. c. 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid. c. 18.

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gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, he had often shown himself too much addicted; and a fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation and of his family, put a period to his life in the thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign. After the first days of the disorder, he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a beautiful garden; but the malady increasing, he was soon brought back to the palace. The last remains of strength he spent in assistance at daily sacrifices to the gods. During his illness he spoke but little, and that only concerning his intended expeditions. The temples were crowded by his friends; the generals waited in the hall; the soldiers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of many, and the respectful admiration of all, that none ventured to announce to him his approaching dissolution, none ventured to demand his last orders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished, his favourite troops were admitted to behold him. He was speechless, but had still strength to stretch forth his hand. ⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Arrian says, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, such as, that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedon; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the "strongest;" and that he had foretold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumours receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which seems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whose character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be fitly drawn by relating his actions. He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labour, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impressions of cold and heat, hunger and thirst ⁴⁴, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of ⁴⁶ mankind.

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His character.

⁴⁴ Plut. Orat. i. & ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁴⁶ Plutarch says, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in consequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and honour in Asia. "Ο παῖδες ἀπωλομένα, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλομένα." "O my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone." In the same manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilized, Egypt would not boast her Alexandria; Mesopotamia, her Seleucia, &c. And again, "Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arochosii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead." Plut. *ibid.*

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In his extensive dominions, he built, or founded, not less than seventy cities⁴⁶, the situation of which being chosen with consummate wisdom, tended to facilitate communication, to promote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the greatest nations of the earth.⁴⁷ It may be suspected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of human power, when, in the course of one reign, he hoped to change the face of the world; and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ignorance, and the force of habit, when he attempted to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to transplant the improvements of Greece into an African and Asiatic soil, where they have never been known to flourish. Yet, let not the designs of Alexander be too hastily accused of extravagance. Whoever seriously considers what he actually performed before his thirty-third year, will be cautious of determining what he might have accomplished, had he reached the ordinary term of human life. His resources were peculiar to himself; and such views, as well as actions, became him, as would have become none besides. In the language of a philosophical historian, “he seems to have been given to the world by a peculiar dispensation of Providence, being a man like to none other of the human kind.”⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tom. ii. p. 337. In the language of Plutarch, he *sowed Asia with Greek cities*.

⁴⁷ Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephen. Byzant. in voc. Αλεξανδρεια.

⁴⁸ Οὐδέ μοι εἴω θεὸς φανταῖν ὡς δοκεῖ ἄνθρωπος, οὐδὲν ἄλλω ἀνθρώπων σκῆπτρῳ. Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of

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The faults
or crimes
of which
he is ac-
cused,

resulted
from his
situation
rather than
from his
character.

From the part which his father Philip and himself acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has been transmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which disgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic account of his reign, and inconsistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the present work, it seemed unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to select and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose, can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge that Alexander's actions were not always blameless; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and resulted from his situation, rather than from his character.

From the first year of his reign, he experienced the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired at independence; others formed conspiracies against the life of their master. The first criminals were treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity becoming the generous spirit of

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of profane history to enquire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, xix. 18., and xxiv. 14.

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Olymp.
cxii. 4.
A. C. 329.

Alexander. But when Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and even Parmenio⁴⁹ himself, afforded reason to suspect their fidelity; when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the institution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their sovereign⁵⁰, he

⁴⁹ Philotas was punished in the country of the Arii; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. 7. et seq.), who has given the fullest account of these executions, says, that Philotas deserved not the compassion of his friends: "*Amicorum misericordiam non meruit.*" He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a sacrifice to his own treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety. — Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who disdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously assassinating his friends.

⁵⁰ This conspiracy is related by Arrian, l. ix. c. 13. and 14. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the King, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The disgrace seemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conspiracy was formed to destroy Alexander in his sleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The youths confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Calisthenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to respect. (Arrian, p. 871.) The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when persons accused were tried before numerous assemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth, and destroyed atrocious offenders on the spot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Calisthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. 14. Curtius, l. viii. c. 8. Seneca Suasor, i. Justin, l. xv. c. 3. Philostratus, l. viii. c. 1. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356. & 358. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injustice done

found it necessary to depart from his lenient system, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled prosperity, and the submissive reverence of vanquished nations, his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions than subjects. The pretensions which sound policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honours ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to prostrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal sovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects. With a view to reconcile

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the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca; "Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsam quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit." Yet this Callisthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian, loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 335. & t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. & Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotism of the Greeks and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendent glory of Alexander, which eclipsed their own. In speaking of Philip and his son, even Cicero (de Offic.) says, "Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." See likewise Livy, l. ix. c. 18. The last mentioned writer (l. ix. c. 17.) goes out of his way to allege very inconclusive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would certainly have been conquered by the Romans.

C H A P. XXXIX the discordant principles of the victors and vanquished, he affected an immediate descent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which, he had reason to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the success of this design, which might have entitled him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obeisance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of several of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterised the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which disgraced his age and country.

Murder of
Clitus.
Olymp.
cxliii. 1.
A.C. 328.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their Kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to tolerate. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his

pretensions to divinity. The King, being likewise intoxicated, was no longer master of himself, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his presence, returned a second time to the charge, and behaved more insolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thrust a spear into the breast of his friend⁵¹; but instantly repenting his fury, would have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorse, which neither flattery could soften, nor sophistry appease⁵², rendered his life burdensome, and his actions inconsistent. At times, he assumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of Oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in several passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beset with flatterers, surrounded by conspirators, adored by the passive submission of his eastern subjects, and in-

⁵¹ Montesquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit deux mauvaises actions: il brula Persepolis et tua Clitus," (*Esprit des Loix*, l. x. c. 16.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, ascribes entirely to the insolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blameable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

⁵² Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophist, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Justice was described by the ancients as seated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whose actions ought to be held just by themselves and others. This flagitious servility Arrian spurs with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

C H A P. sulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks
 XXXIX. and Macedonians.

Difficulties
 of Alexan-
 der's situ-
 ation, and
 the mag-
 nanimity
 by which
 he over-
 came
 them.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colours. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shews the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honourably discharged from the service, and safely conducted to their respective provinces. This proposal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with anger. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The King, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for *them*; his father Ammon could fight his battles." At these words, the King sprung from the tribunal on which he sat, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt severity appeased the rising

tumult. The soldiers remained motionless and silent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the tribunal, and spoke as follows: "It is not my wish, Macedonians, to change your resolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, first learn to know your King and yourselves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains some wretched herds which you had neither strength nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illyrians, and Triballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your fastnesses, but in your valour. By his wisdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, instructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to those nations, at whose names you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chastised the Phocians, reduced the Thessalians, and, while I shared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been successively tributaries, subjects, and slaves. But my father rendered you their masters; and having entered the Peloponnesus, and regulated at discretion the affairs of that

C H A P.
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His own
account of
the reign
of Philip
and him-
self.

C H A P. peninsula, he was appointed, by universal con-
 XXXIX. sent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honourable to himself than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarcely sixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, safely crossed the Hellespont, though the Persians then commanded the sea. By one victory, we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia were added to your empire. Yours, now, are Bactra and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Assyria, the wealth of Susa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, satraps. What have I reserved for myself, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures?²⁸ Or why should I collect them? Are *my* pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than any of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breast, and I will bare mine. My body, the fore part of my body, is covered with honourable wounds from every sort of weapon. I often watch,

²⁸ It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these, as distinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing such public designs as seemed conducive to the prosperity of the empire.

that you may repose safely; and, to testify my unremitting attention to your happiness, had determined to send home the aged and infirm among you, loaded with wealth and honour. But since you are all desirous to leave me, Go! Report to your countrymen, that, unmindful of the signal bounty of your King, you entrusted him to the vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless, will bespeak your gratitude and piety.”⁵⁴

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Having thus said, he sprang from the tribunal, and hastened to the palace, accompanied only by his guards. During two days, none were admitted to his presence. On the third, he called the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed among them the principal departments of military command. He then issued orders, that certain bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort, and by such other names as commanded greatest respect. Apprised of these innovations, the Macedonians, who had long remained in confusion before the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked around the palace, and deposited their arms at the gate, humbly requesting to see their King, and declaring that they would never stir from the place, till their tears had moved his compassion. Alexander came forth, beheld their abasement, and wept. The affecting silence, marked by alternate emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was at length broke by Callines, a man highly esteemed

Affecting
scene at
Opis on
the Tigris.
Olymp.
cxlii. 4.
A. C. 325.

⁵⁴ Arrian, p. 152. & seq.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O King! are grieved that the Persians alone should be called thy kindred, and entitled as such to embrace thee, while none of themselves are allowed to taste that honour."⁵⁵ Alexander replied, "From this moment you are all my kindred." Callines then stepped forward and embraced him; and several others having followed the example, they all took up their arms, and returned to the camp with shouts of joy, and songs.

A festival celebrated in common by the Macedonians and Persians.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring testimony of his historians) Alexander was the most mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank Heaven for the happy issue of this transaction, he celebrated a solemn sacrifice, and, after the sacrifice, an entertainment for the principal of his European and Asiatic subjects. The Macedonians were next to his person; the Persians next the Macedonians; the Grecian priests and Persian magi joined in common libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal union of empire, to the Macedonians and Persians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose dismissal had produced the mutiny, gladly returned home. Alexander discharged their arrears, allowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon, and granted each soldier a gratuity of two hundred pounds sterling. He again shed tears at parting with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served him in so many glorious campaigns; and as a testimony of his affectionate concern for their safety,

⁵⁵ Arrian says, "while none of themselves ever tasted that honour." *Μακεδόνων ἑκὼς τις γεγενηται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.* Arrian, p. 154.

appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own soul⁵⁶, to be their conductor.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Division of
Alexander's con-
quests.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the state of the ancient world. But the spirit of improvement is transient, and demands perpetual efforts; the sources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Arridhæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Arridhæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability. Perdiccas, in virtue of possessing the ring or seal of his deceased master, assumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly the equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of

⁵⁶ Arrian, p. 155.

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XXXIX.

Perdiccas. Each general trusted in his sword for an independent establishment; new troops were raised and disciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became successively prisoners in different hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any cessation of crimes and calamities⁵⁷, or any permanent settlement of the provinces, until the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Asia.⁵⁸ The issue of the same battle gave Macedon and Greece to Cassander, and Thrace, with several provinces of Lower Asia, to Lysimachus.

Subse-
quent his-
tory of
Egypt and
Syria.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till subdued by the Romans, to be governed by the respective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally⁵⁹ adopted the language or manners of their Grecian sove-

⁵⁷ Diodor. Sicul. xix. & xx. passim.

⁵⁸ Arrian, pp. 160. & 164.

⁵⁹ Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Christian æra, it was spoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judæa, since the inspired writers employed it in propagating the Gospel, which was to be first preached to the Jews. For this universality, the Greek seems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander, whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the social and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.), whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; so that, from the time of Homér, it subsisted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and four hundred years.

reigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander carried into execution the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation is far more prominent than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form in themselves a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

In the history of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts⁶⁰, and its vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedonia freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

⁶⁰ Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Apelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, &c. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, &c. But of this, more in the next chapter.

C H A P. acquisition of Syria doubled the revenues of that
XXXIX. republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled
 the price of commodities in Italy. Yet what-
 ever might be the wealth⁶¹ of those nations, they
 have not acquired much fame with posterity,
 since, amidst all their external advantages, they
 are not distinguished by any invention that im-
 proved the practice of war, or greatly increased
 the enjoyments of peace.⁶²

State of
 Greece af-
 ter the age
 of Alex-
 ander.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization
 diffused through the East, was sufficient, indeed,
 to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assi-
 milate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the
 principle of degeneracy is often stronger than
 that of improvement, the sloth and servility of
 Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfor-
 tunate country, drained of its most enterprising
 inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or
 opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally in-
 sulted by the severity and the indulgence of his
 successors, since, in either case, the Greeks felt
 and acknowledged their dependence. Reluc-
 tantly compelled to submit to a master, they
 lost that elevation of character, and that enthu-
 siasm of valour, which had been produced by
 freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed
 by the just sense of national pre-eminence.
 Their domestic dissensions, by carrying them
 in great numbers into the service of foreign
 princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their

⁶¹ Of which see an account extracted from the public registers, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

⁶² For the history of arts and sciences under the Ptolemies, see the Second Part of this Work, chapters viii. xi. xvi. xxv.

tactics and discipline through countries far more extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the Captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them the deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League⁶², the unfortunate issue of which I had occasion before to mention⁶³, Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

⁶² Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his Roman history in forty books, of which only five have come down to us. Other writers, whose works are entirely lost, considered the Greek affairs as principal, and interwove with them those of the Romans, Jews, Parthians and Carthaginians. See the Second Part of this work, c. xxv.

⁶³ See vol. ii. p. 15.

CHAP. XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander. — Poetry — Music — Arts of Design — Geography — Astronomy — Natural History. — Works of Aristotle. — Philosophical Sects established at Athens. — Decline of Genius. — Tenets of the different Sects. — Peripatetic Philosophy. Estimate of that Philosophy. — Its Fate in the World. — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus. — The Stoic Philosophy. — Estimate of that Philosophy. — The Epicurean Philosophy. — Character of Epicurus. — Philosophy of Pyrrho. — Conclusion.

CHAP.
XL.

State of
literature
in the age
of Alex-
ander.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature, philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; yet the source of that health and vigour, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of this matchless conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus¹, who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled success, which far eclipsed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and servile superstition.² Exaggera-

¹ Arrian, in Præm.

² Lucian. de Scribend. Histor.

tion in matters of fact produced that swelling amplification of style, those meretricious ornaments and affected graces, which characterised the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Clitarchus, Onesicritus, and Hegesias.³ The false taste of these rash innovators, to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many contemporary historians. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece in the age which had applauded the chaste and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes.⁴ So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those, who are incapable of excellence, still covet distinction, and, despairing to surpass their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, vainly solicit praise by false conceits and artificial refinements, by empty exaggerations and boastful loquacity.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the serious kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and

³ Strabo, l. xiv. 648. Conf. Polybius, l. xii. c. 17.

⁴ Dionys. Halicarn. de Structura Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. et de Clar. Orator. passim.

CHAP.

XL

Improvement of
comedy.

Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poem appeared, qualified to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts, who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the Thersites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus.⁵ Yet in the same age Philemon, Antiphanes⁶, Lycon⁷, above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks were unfavourable to the best improvement of this species of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humour into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due respect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their discernment, and gradually made them sensible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than said, and to those more interesting, because juster, delineations of character, which distinguished the comic strains of Philemon and Menander.⁸

⁵ Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii. c. 5.

⁶ Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

⁷ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁸ Vid. Plut. Comp. Aristoph. & Menand.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Thessalus was his favourite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magistrates, who, according to ancient custom, were appointed to decide the pretensions between rivals for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loss of his inheritance.⁹ The musicians Timotheus¹⁰ and Antigenides¹¹ still displayed the wonderful powers of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, it was observed that music, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times universally employed to seduce and inflame the passions.¹²

CHAP.
XL.
Music.

The arts of design, painting, sculpture, and architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge¹³, than munificence to promote them. The eastern expedition of Alexander introduced, or at least greatly multiplied in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited some of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of Pyrgoteles were distinguished in this

Arts of
design.

⁹ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹⁰ Hephest. de Metr.

¹¹ Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹² Aristot. Politic. l. viii. c. 6.

¹³ Judicium subtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

CHAP.

XL.

Lysippus.

Apelles
and other
contempo-
rary art-
ists.

valuable, though minute art.¹⁴ He enjoyed the exclusive honour of representing the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lysippus of casting it in bronze, and Apelles of exhibiting it in colours.¹⁵ Lysippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predecessors in ideal beauty.¹⁶ We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is said to have made six hundred and ten figures in bronze¹⁷; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far surpassed that of all statuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous list of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; since no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed.¹⁸ The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus¹⁹, whom Apelles acknowledged as his superiors in some points of composition; Aristides the Theban, who was inimitable in expression²⁰; and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted to paint the

¹⁴ Plin. l. vii. c. 37. & Plutarch. in Alexand.¹⁵ Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217—228.¹⁶ Plin. iii. 194. et seq.¹⁷ The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous statue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Lausanne.¹⁸ Plin. iii. 222.¹⁹ Idem, iii. 226.²⁰ Idem, iii. 215—225.

exploits of Alexander on account of the unpérishing dignity of the subject.²¹ The inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus²² confined himself to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus²³ to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting were explained in many works, the loss of which is much to be regretted.²⁴

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XL.

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his renown.²⁵ His picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to restore the parts that had been effaced; so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favourite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation in passing from the bed of a king

Works of
Apelles.

²¹ "Propter eternitatem rerum." Plin. *ibid.*

²² Plin. *iii.* 226.

²³ *Idem*, *iii.* 229.

²⁴ *Idem*, *ibid.*

²⁵ Plin. *iii.* 222. *et seq.*

CHAP. into that of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, **XL¹** who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness²⁶ of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this miserable passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity, raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the same talents in their fellow-citizen which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit.²⁷

Decline of
the arts
after the
death of
Alexander.

Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased.²⁸ By this expression, Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated, but to make farther progress; since neither the scholars of Apelles and Lysippus, nor those who came after them, were able to reach the glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria should seem to have bent their attention rather to literature, than to the

²⁶ "Deesse iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigisse; sed hæc solâ sibi neminem parem." Plin. iii. 222. et seq.

²⁷ Plin. *ibid.*

²⁸ "Cessavit deinde ars." Plin. *ibid.*

arts. But, in both, the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aspired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia ; and, from the same circumstance, they are said to have flourished longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt.²⁹

CHAP.
XL.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the sciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully measured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers³⁰ were employed to survey the more remote parts of the countries which he traversed ; and the exact description of his conquests, which, from these and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the science of geography.³¹

Geography.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the astronomical observations, which had been carefully preserved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully transcribed, and

Astronomy.

²⁹ Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, p. 711. et seq.

³⁰ Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

³¹ Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, &c. *Academ. des Sciences*, l. viii. p. 13.

CHAP. transmitted to Aristotle³², who was probably
 { XL. prevented by his infirm state of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Natural
 history.

Nor was this the only present to his preceptor, by which Alexander displayed at once his gratitude and love of science. Natural history was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expence of nearly two hundred thousand pounds, but equivalent to two millions in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals³³, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision³⁴ in his work on that subject.

Moral
 know-
 ledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests.³⁵ The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of men and manners; nor was this advantage, perhaps, confined to those who per-

³² Porphy. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

³³ Plin. l. viii. c. 16.

³⁴ See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

³⁵ The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, διὰ Ἀλεξάνδρον. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, Καρτερὸν μὲν γὰρ εὐφροσύνην, &c. should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

formed the expedition, whose works have unfortunately perished; since the moral and political treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

“Aristotle,” says Lord Bacon³⁶, “thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his brethren; nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions

Works of
Aristotle.

³⁶ De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. 4.

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XL.

beyond all human research, with the same confidence that his pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

His philosophy.

He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics³⁷, is, from the imperfection in which the text has come down to us, obscure throughout, and often unintelligible. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence, substance, quality, genus, species, &c.* which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names,

³⁷ By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his *Physics*, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were considered as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and criticism; and ethics, including oeconomics and politics. See Strabo, p. 609.; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the new Analysis of Aristotle's speculative works, prefixed to my translation of his Practical Philosophy.

rather than new discoveries ; and the doctrine of the immortality is no where better elucidated by this philosopher, than in the writings of his master, Plato.

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The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the name of metaphysic, in the modern sense of that word, since he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abstract ideas, not by observation and experience. When he descends to particulars, he speaks less decisively concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, considering the gross errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not yet cultivated as a science. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to *observe* nature ; it could not therefore be expected that they should *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Aristotle appears to have been less versed than his precursors, Pythagoras and Plato ; although in the invention of the art of syllogism, he displays a perseverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical sciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries.

Physics.

The scepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, and still more the captious sophistry of the Eristics, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with particular attention the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation and the snares of subtlety. He undertook, therefore, the arduous task, of resolving

Logic.

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all reasoning into its primary elements, and of deducting from thence the rules by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises, in order to render it legitimate. This bold design he accomplished; having erected, on a single axiom, a larger system of abstract truths, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he sets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the most part sufficiently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtleties of the Sophists and *Eristics*, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.³⁷

His critical
and moral
writings.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Aristotle's writings perished³⁸, had nothing been saved but the works above mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of history. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we have often to lament vast efforts mispent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his

³⁷ I speak here according to popular and approved opinion: but, after long and patient examination, I have been compelled, by the force of truth, to give a new and far more favourable view of Aristotle's logic and of his speculative philosophy in general. See Aristotle's *Ethics and Politics* translated, &c. Vol. ii. p. 64. third edit.

³⁸ See Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion; and the *Life of Aristotle* prefixed to my translation of his *Ethics and Politics*.

critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind, the same subtlety of reasoning, and vigour of intellect, directed to objects of the greatest importance and most extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himself, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

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He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedon, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician. In his early youth, he was sent to Athens, and remained there twenty years, an assiduous scholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with singular success, and where the philosophic spirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigour. Selected by the discernment of Philip to guide and confirm the promising dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, several proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library³⁰, a work of prodigious expence in that and the succeeding

His great
opportunities of im-
prove-
ment.
A. C. 368.

³⁰ Strabo.

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XL.

His long
residence
at Athens;

and death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.
Ætat. 63.

age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Aristotle was collected for use, not merely for ostentation.⁴⁰

The last fourteen years of his life he spent mostly at Athens, surrounded with every assistance which men⁴¹ and books could afford him, for prosecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, ensured tranquillity and respect to the man whom he distinguished as his friend; but, after the premature death of that awful protector, the invidious jealousy of priests and sophists inflamed the malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the same odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive⁴² virtue of Socrates, fiercely assailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of persecution, he secretly withdrew himself to Chalcis in Eubœa. This measure was sufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal safety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrasted with the firmness of Socrates in a similar situation, he condescended to apologise for his flight, by saying, that he was unwilling to afford the Athenians a second op-

⁴⁰ The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They considered a great library as contributing to the superfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. ii. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

⁴¹ Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical inquiries and compositions. 'Ο δε σοφός, και καθ' αὐτὸν ὢν, δύναται θεωρεῖν βελτίον δ' ὡς συνεργούς ἔχων. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.

⁴² Virtutem incolumen odimus

Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi. HORACE.

portunity "to sin against philosophy."⁴³ He seems to have survived his retreat from Athens only a few months: vexation and regret probably shortened his days.⁴⁴

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Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of speculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the temporary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theophrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripaton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place their followers retained the name of Peripatetics.⁴⁵ At the same time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa, or Portico, from which his disciples derived the appellation of Stoics.⁴⁶ Epicurus explained *pleasure* in those well-known gardens which were distinguished by his name.⁴⁷ The followers of Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cynosarges⁴⁸; Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded Plato in the academy⁴⁹; and even Pyrrho of Elis, founder of the sceptical sect, who had accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition, and shared the munificence of that prince⁵⁰, became, after the death of his

Philosophical
sects es-
tablished
at Athens.

Olymp.
cxxx.

⁴³ Ἀμαρτάνειν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Ælian, l. iii. c. 6.

⁴⁴ Laert. l. v. in Aristot. & Auctor. citat. apud Brucker. Histor. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 787. et seq.

⁴⁵ The common opinion, that the followers of Aristotle were called Peripatetics, ἐκ τοῦ Περιπατεῖν, "ex deambulatione," adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by Brucker, v. l. p. 787.

⁴⁶ Laert. vii. 5.

⁴⁷ Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 24.

⁴⁸ Idem, ibid.

⁴⁹ Suidas in Speusipp. Laert. l. iv. c. 1. et seq.

⁵⁰ Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l. i. c. 3.

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A. D. 396.
Decline of
genius.

benefactor, a citizen of Athens.⁵¹ Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the seat of learning, assumed that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths. For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the several sects, submissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius disappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new sect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted⁵²: and thus the period, which has been assigned for the termination of the present work, seems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and singularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence⁵³; or because, in the words of a great philosopher, “there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which, when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction.”

⁵¹ Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁵² See supplement to my New Analysis of Aristotle's speculative Philosophy.

⁵³ Long. de Sublim. sect. 44.

Instead of examining this speculative question, which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better suit the design of an historical work to explain the tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various success in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperturbed sentiment, and impartial reason.

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Tenets of
the differ-
ent sects.

Aristotle; the founder of the Peripatetic school, recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happiness of man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise⁵⁴ of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Aristotle, the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the same manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, resulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, consisting of mind and matter, it seemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his body, and on the

Tenets of
the Peri-
patetic
sect.

⁵⁴ The stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. *Ὁ μὲν φιλοδοξῶς ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνεργεῖαν ἰδίῳ ἀγαθῷ ὑπολαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ φιληδόνος, ἰδίαν πρῆξιν· ὁ δὲ νόον ἔχων, ἰδίαν πρᾶξιν.* M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the sentiments and actions of others: the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wise man, in his own active exertions."

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means necessary to maintain this inferior part of his nature in its most perfect state. The absence of disease and infirmity, and the proper constitution of all our bodily organs; are things desirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means of exerting those mental energies, from which our principal felicity results. In the same manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are desirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wise man is enabled to exercise his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities⁵⁵, Aristotle required not that perfect self-command to which some philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as suitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain sensibility of passion not only excusable, but necessary; since resentment enabled us to repel injuries⁵⁶, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the future evils that might otherwise overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmness of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam⁵⁷; he maintained, how-

⁵⁵ Ουτε γαρ εκ της ευδαιμονιας κωπησεται ραδισ, ουτε υπο των τυ-
χουτων ατυχηματων, αλλ' υπο μεγαλων και πολλων. Ethic. Nicom. l. i.
c. 10.

⁵⁶ To bear insults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and
becoming only the character of a slave. Τοδε προσηλακισμενον ανε-
χεσθαι ανδραποδωδες. Ethic. Nicom. iv. 2.

⁵⁷ Εν τυχαις Πριαμικαις. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. p. 40.

ever, that we ourselves were the principal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately present with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure subject to our own direction and controul, than on our external situation and circumstances, which only affected us incidentally, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and sometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar lustre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleasure often destroyed, always deadened the smart of external wounds. Assaulted by the most terrible afflictions, a wise man would not deserve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miserable*, since he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and controul. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of these we possess some in common with other animals⁵⁰, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of na-

Division of
the mental
powers.

⁵⁰ The *το αισθητικον*, the powers of sensation, &c.

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Intellectual and moral virtues.

ture.⁶⁰ In none of those, it is evident, can the proper employment of man consist, but rather in such faculties as, being peculiar to himself, distinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellencies of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will⁶¹; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and assimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wisdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit⁶² of the intellectual part of the soul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the desires and affections, which being formed subordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their sovereign. The intellectual virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name.⁶³ It is by practising justice, that we be-

⁶⁰ The *το θρεωτικον*, &c. the powers of nutrition, &c.

⁶¹ I have ventured to use this word to express the *το ορεκτικον* of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

⁶² *Επαινούμεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξη' των εξην δε τας επαυρετας, αρετας λεγομεν.* Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

⁶³ In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have translated, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. *Ηθικος εθος*; *moralis, mos*. The

come just; by practising temperance, that we
become temperate; by practising courage, that

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same holds not in English. The words *apern* in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind, intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings, enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue; and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, &c. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterises moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. 15. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89., and the Ethics to Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for saying, "that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie goes too far in asserting, "that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and sometimes discoursed of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and insignificant, or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as distinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. Ethic. Nicom. passim; and particularly, l. lii. c. 2. Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former

CHAP. we become courageous. Hence the wonderful
 {
 XL.
 } power of legislation, and early institution, by
 which the Cretans, the Spartans, and some other
 nations were honourably distinguished among the
 rest of mankind; and by which such states as
 shall wisely imitate their example, may still reach
 the same elevation of character, and still acquire
 the same renown: "For it is not a matter of
 little moment how we are accustomed in youth;
 much depends on that, or rather all."

Moral vir-
 tue nei-
 ther natu-
 ral nor
 contrary
 to nature.

The moral virtues, it is evident, are not im-
 planted by nature; for that which is established
 by nature cannot be essentially changed by cus-
 tom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature,
 descend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards;
 nor can fire, which naturally ascends, be taught
 by habit to move in a contrary direction. The
 same holds concerning all the other laws by which
 nature governs her works. Our senses, and other
 natural gifts, have the *power* of performing their
 several functions, before they exert it; and they
 retain this power, although we should allow them
 to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical
 arts, can be acquired and preserved by practice
 only. It is neither natural nor contrary to na-
 ture. We are born capable of attaining it, but
 the invaluable attainment must be made and per-
 fected by action. Yet the greater part of those
 who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse
 to vain speculations, flattering themselves that

independently of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection
 and happiness. Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.

this is philosophy. Their conduct resembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his physician, but do nothing which he prescribed. By such medicine, it is not possible to cure the disorders of the body, nor, by such philosophy, those of the mind.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphysical precision. It is to be observed, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind resembles bodily health and strength, which are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment or of exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we should fear only such objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the same manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and seizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called intemperate; he who is too little affected by such objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy them, may be called *insensible*.⁶³ Temperance teaches us to pursue only such pleasures as we ought, at proper times, in proper

Wherein
it consists.

⁶³ *Αναισθητος*, and the abstract thence derived, denoted the particular vice described in the text.

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places, and on proper occasions. According to the same view of things, generosity lies in the middle between avarice and profusion ; modesty, between pride and diffidence ; mildness, between irascibility and softness ; magnificence, between ostentation and parsimony ; *popularity*, between forbidding disdain and officious adulation ; in a word, every virtue consists in a mean, equally remote from two vicious extremes.⁶⁴

How it
must be
attained.

Considered as the quality of an action, virtue consists in the propriety of that affection from which the action proceeds ; when the affection is neither too strong nor too weak, but has precisely that degree of strength, which right reason teaches us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue consists, therefore, in mediocrity ; but as the quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this mediocrity, since in judging persons and characters, we regard not particular acts and feelings, but such acts and feelings as are frequent and habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions, without being virtuous men. The most worthless of human kind sometimes indulge the propensity to pity and humanity. But whoever acts right, merely from feeling, will also, from feeling, more frequently act wrong. The sentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in distress, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewise prompt us to gratify the vilest and most brutal of our passions. Besides this, there are many, and those the most important virtues, the

⁶⁴ Ethic. Nicom. l. ii. c. 1. et seq.

exercise of which is not primarily attended with pleasure. To support labour, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wisdom and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not obviously recommended by any natural desire; nor is the practice of such duties immediately agreeable. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance, to curb and restrain our natural appetites for pleasure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumspection, and ever watchful attention to the most remote consequences of our actions, which is essential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all these virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice, patriotism, and friendship, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only sure test that we have acquired them, is, that they be practised with pleasure. With good reason, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve *as they ought*; for, though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleasant, the honourable, and useful; yet honour and utility are likewise pursued as pleasures.⁶⁵

The most extensive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our desire of pleasure, and aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat pleasure than anger. The irascible passions are always moved by some appearance of reason; and,

The
hardest
task of
moral vir-
tue.

⁶⁵ Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. 11. et seq.

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in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their sovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes ingrained in our constitution, every part of which it pervades and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonourable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honourable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, "there is a long continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature."*

Intellectual virtues the purest and most permanent source of happiness.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual; but the latter may subsist alone and independent; and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the purest and most permanent felicity of

* Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are,

Φημι πολυχρονον μελετην φιλε^α και δε
Ταυτην ανθρωποις τελευτωσαν φυσιν ειναι.

Habits, by long-continued care are imprinted,
Are strong as nature in the human breast.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: 'Ελευ βιον αριστον, ηδυν δε αυτον η συνηθεια ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p. 602. "Choose the best life, and custom will render it agreeable."

which man is susceptible, results from the exercise of his rational powers upon subjects of abstract speculation. The labours of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of men. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and supposes a variety of situations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may extend the effects of his justice or generosity; he must possess the means by which to exercise those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; since, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigencies of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wisdom are perennial and pure, like the intellectual source from which they spring. Not subservient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every side, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercise of every member or faculty enlivens the sense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleasure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect, which renders us sensible of the divine principle within us? To live according to nature, is to live according to the noblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To

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live thus, is the life of a god ; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things ; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality⁶⁷ ; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods.⁶⁸

Estimate
of Aristotle's
philosophy.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him ; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed ; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Its fate in
the world.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued many centuries. The Peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens ; but the Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Aca-

⁶⁷ Χρη δε ου κατα τους περαινοντας, ανθρωπινα φρονειν, ανθρωπων οντα, ουδε δητητα τον δητητον· αλλ' εφ' οσον ανδεχεται απαθανατιζειν, και απωτα ποιειν κατα το κρατισον των εν αυτω. *Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. 7.*

⁶⁸ Ο δε κατα νουν ενεργων, και τουτον διερικνεων, και διακειμενος αριστα, και δεοφιλεστατος εοικεν ειναι. *Id. c. x. c. viii.*

demy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and science generally preferred Plato to Aristotle⁶⁹; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zenô or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the doctrines best adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty, without the genius, of Plato.⁷⁰ During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, physic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the arrogance of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and practical works of Aristotle were neglected, his specula-

⁶⁹ Cicero, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult, on this subject, Professor Meiner's *Beytrag uber die Neu Platonische Philosophie*. Leipsig, 1782.

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Coincidence in the opinions of Zeno and Epicurus.

tive philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romish superstition, they long conspired, with astonishing success, to enthrall the human mind.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less perspicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path, should have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil, and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good; the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and desirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely desirable for the sake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride, loudly asserting, that the philosophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary sage an absolute command over his passions; and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their system; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods; and, in proportion as their principles re-

ceded from truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity incident to the human heart, they were diffused with greater rapidity, more zealously embraced, and more obstinately defended.⁷¹

In examining by what shew of reason, men, whose wisdom was revered by their contemporaries, could arrive at such extraordinary conclusions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the precedence for Zeno. That philosopher affected to examine, with great accuracy, the natural propensities of the human race; to observe the various changes which individuals underwent in their progress from infancy to manhood; to contemplate the effects produced by external causes on our internal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior animals, to display the illustrious prerogatives which he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature had assigned him. Self-preservation, he observed, was the universal and primary desire of all animals. In man, this desire respected his body, and all its different members, his mind, and all its different faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole fabric of his complex being in the most perfect condition of which it is capable. Nature had generally attached a pleasure to the means necessary for this purpose; but, that we desired pleasure for the sake of preservation, not preservation for the sake of pleasure, he thought evident from the first motions and efforts of all animals, tending to prevent dissolution

The stoic
philoso-
phy.

⁷¹ Laert. in Zenon. & Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i. ii. iii. Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

CHAP. antecedently to any distinct notions of pain or
 {
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 } pleasure.⁷²

Love of
 truth.

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he shewed himself endowed with desires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his senses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to denote these objects, as well as the reflections of his own mind concerning them; and had no sooner made this important acquisition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, the relations, and dependencies of the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and sincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he conversed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the source of innumerable errors and prejudices, served, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be reared.

⁷² The principles of the stoical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the stoics.

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Social af-
fection.

Universa
system.

In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became sensible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleasure of beholding it. The sentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary sentiments to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his sentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great society of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views still farther, he perceived, that every species is fashioned relatively to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally subservient to, each other, while all of them essentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that universal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrowness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connections and dependencies of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehen-

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sion, we shall find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one scheme or constitution of things. The individuals of the human race were doubtless formed not for themselves alone. In the different sexes, the external organization, and still more the inward frame ; the correspondence of parts, and still more the sympathy of sentiments, indicate the male and female mutually destined for each other. The naked helplessness of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in small communities, must have fallen a prey to the savages of the desert ; and, with the growth of these communities, social affection naturally makes progress ; since, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are multiplied and strengthened.

Rules of
duty
thence de-
rived.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he stands, man becomes sensible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her universal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the lesser, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our choice, we live consistently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred to those of the body ; and what is called private interest must yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the same class, the general law must be observed. We must *prefer* and *reject*, according to the rules of right reason, not according to

caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of desire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to strength, and strength to agility; and in the secondary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleasures, and ward off bodily pains, such as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumstances of a similar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection.⁷³ In thus appreciating the objects of desire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honourable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which essentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of desire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of sentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are introduced are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, so the duties of wisdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by the original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable

⁷³ The technical terms of the stoical philosophy, like all terms of art, sound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, *εργεσθαι* and *εκκλινειν*.

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in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonised to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote: this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the sole, end of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and sickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleasure, are finally considered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of shaking the stability of our happiness.

The pleasure of observing them.

It is in vain that men seek felicity in those objects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they possess, they fear to lose; and which fortune can either give or take away.²⁴ The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal source of our happiness or misery. To a wise man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, since there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favour, and to be sensible, that whatever may be the consequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules

²⁴ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ φύσει ἐλευθέρᾳ, ἀκώλυτα, ἀναρρηκόμενα· τὰ δὲ οὐχ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ἀσθενή, δούλα, κώλυτα, ἀλλοτρίᾳ. Epictet. Enchir. c. ii.

which the Divinity prescribes, affords a degree of inward satisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the *Ægæan*, as a single step is disregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian sun ⁷⁵, so the external conveniences of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost, in the transcendant excellence and incomparable splendour of virtue.

Those dangers which appear most formidable, and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or afflict the man who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingencies, but depends on himself alone; a consideration sufficient to support him against the combined strength of countless enemies. ⁷⁶ When the firm probity of *Regulus* submitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the *Carthaginians*, he well knew that those revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotism, his magnanimity. His

⁷⁵ The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.

⁷⁶ Ανίκητος είναι δύνασαι, εαν εις μηδεν αγωγα καταδωης, ον ουκ επι σι
σαι νικησαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

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mind, guarded by such an assemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every assault. The mind of Regulus still triumphed; and amidst the painful discription of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside.

Resignation.

From the enthusiasm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the stoics again returned to the speculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a constitution or system, the good of each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, considered as something separate and independent, consisted in preserving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneasiness. But considered as the part of a system, in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member must often submit to great inconveniences. For the sake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and sometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when such operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refusing to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot; in the same manner do *you* cease to be a man, in shrinking from the hardest duties required by the

interest of society. But that society itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a largersystem, that grand harmonious whole, whose consummate order and perfect beauty evince the superintendence of infinite wisdom and infinite goodness. Under such government, no absolute evil can exist; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wise man will therefore be alike satisfied with every situation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that, were he acquainted with the whole connections and dependencies of events, his actual situation would, even to himself, appear the most proper that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully submits to the wise dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wise purposes concerning him: he prays that they would shew him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed; that, by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness, and his perfect resignation to their sovereign will.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Ἀγε δὴ με, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ ἡ Περσεφονέη,
Ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος,
'Ὡς εἶναι σπουδαῖος ἦδε ἀκνός.

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Command
over the
passions.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to create in us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connections so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our controul, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at the sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonourable to *ourselves*.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity⁷⁸, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general, those perturbations and diseases of the mind, which a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred, that all duties were alike easy to him. *His ac-*

This reason is subjoined,

Εαν δη μη εθελω ουκ ηπταν εφουαι.

"We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we *must* obey them whether we are willing or not."

⁷⁸ Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of sympathy with objects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. Μεχρι μεν τοι λογου μη οκνει συμπεριφερεσθαι αυτη (viz. the person afflicted) και οδω τυχη, συνεπισυναξαι, προσεχε μεν τει μη και εσωθεν συνεπισυναξης. Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

tions were continually regulated by propriety, and all of them therefore equally laudable; whereas those of a fool, or one who substituted passion and caprice in the stead of reason and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which so nearly resembles that of some Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathens were but splendid vices," is the source to which all the other paradoxes of the stoics may be traced. Both these Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the consequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and, as such, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

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The ignorant vulgar, indeed, and as such the stoics considered all those who were unacquainted with their philosophy, allowed such contingent circumstances to influence their appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or entrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron

Vulgar
estimations of ac-
tions and
characters.

C H A P. rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the
XL. second appears a greater monster than the first.
 To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm which spends its rage in vacuity; the second a cloud, not more tempestuous, that destroys many fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence. In the same manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavourable circumstances in which he is placed, may resemble a clear stream rolling through a lonesome solitude, while the other, more advantageously situate with respect to external objects, may resemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, supplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the contiguous country, which it fertilises and adorns.

Corrected
 by the
 stoics.

The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the source of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which universally characterise the judgments of the vulgar. But a wise man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendour of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge against illustrious criminals.⁷⁹ The civil magistrate, who is intrusted with the interest of society, and who has that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and consi-

⁷⁹ Σημεία προσηγορίας οὐδὲν φέγει, οὐδὲν ἐπαινεῖ, &c. Enchir. c. lxii.

der *them* as sufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify the hearts, of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard.⁸⁰ To avert his anger, superstition commands us to repair, or compensate, the bad consequences of our misconduct, a thing often impracticable : to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent ; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to destroy the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward.⁸¹

Such is the philosophy of the Stoics, which beside containing several contradictions which all the subtlety of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus, not less artificial in its texture, though humbler in its origin, is equally magni-

Philoso-
phy of
Epicurus.

⁸⁰ Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

⁸¹ Quod si ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, et omnes boni beati sint ; quid philosophiâ magis coleudum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

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ficient in its conclusions.⁸² Like the lowly plant, which, at first feebly emerging from the ground, gradually rises to a stately tree towering to the sky, the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the primary objects of natural desire and aversion to bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands itself into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the severest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain are the universal objects of desire and aversion is a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the consenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute beasts, could they emit articulate sounds, would declare and cry out, that pleasure is the sovereign good, and pain the greatest evil.⁸³ That they are, not only the greatest and most universal, but the *sole* ultimate objects of desire and aversion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analysing our passions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleasure, and avoid bodily pain. If we desire power and wealth, it is because power and wealth furnish us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Sensible that the good-will of the society in which we live is necessary to our security, we strive assiduously to acquire it, cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and practise with diligence and alacrity all those social virtues essential to the public safety, in which our own is included. When it is necessary to reject a present pleasure, in order to

⁸² Diogen. Laert. in *Aristip.* & *Epicur.*

⁸³ Cicero de *Finibus*, l. i. c. 9. et *passim*.

attain a greater in future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of desire; and, when it is necessary to encounter a present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must controul the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abstain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance, and fortitude, are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to consist in the practice of virtue; so that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-sighted levity, and weakest folly.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the sensations of bodily pleasure or pain, yet the pleasures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the sensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our sentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies may be disposed; we shall despise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without be-

His analysis of pleasure and pain.

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Bold pre-
tensions of
his philo-
sophy.

coming moderate, and admitting many intervals of ease ; besides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden.

By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus extracted from the grossest materials, the most sublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the passions ; since no state, and, therefore, not the little republic of man, can be happy in sedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boasted a felicity which external pleasures might vary, but could not increase ; and his security of enjoyment he asserted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, since the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleasures and pains are confined within a narrow span. Having adopted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he rendered it subservient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied, might be explained by the figures and motions of the small particles of matter ; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, those celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither gratified by our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under-foot the superstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Lucretius, *passim*.

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His character.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philosopher was ever more admired and beloved by his disciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the same loose doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleasure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that disease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus⁸⁵, and recommended to him the children of his favourite disciple Metrodorus, assuring him, at the same time, that as to himself, he still was happy, since the smart of his bodily sufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honourable to the man.

Such were the philosophical systems respecting life and happiness, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their sentiments and conduct. The excessive scepti-

Philosophy of Pyrrho.

⁸⁵ Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. sect. 9. & Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. 30. et seq.

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cism of Pyrrho, which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of insanity, seems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the speculatists of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent suspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrâtes, enforced by Plato, and extended to subjects of every kind by their followers Arcesilas and Carneades.⁸⁶ These philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought sufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus⁸⁷, Protagoras⁸⁸, and Aristippus⁸⁹, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the schoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colours, had no external existence in

⁸⁶ Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all. Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called the New Academy, which held the same tenets with the old, only asserting them less positively.

⁸⁷ See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

⁸⁸ Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. sect. 216.

⁸⁹ *Præterea quoniam nequeunt sine luce colores
Esse, neque in luce existunt primordia rerum;
Scire licet, quam sint nullo velata colore.*

*Sed ne forte putes solo spoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam secreta teporis,
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, &c.*

LUCASTIUS, l. ii.

bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind ; in the same manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, " that all was relative"⁹⁰," Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever ; which topics he reduced to ten"⁹¹, probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter"⁹², who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art ; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and

⁹⁰ Πᾶντα ῥεσσι τι. Sextus Empiric.

⁹¹ Sextus Empiric. Hypothet. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. 14. & Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁹² Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. 12. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. 20. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealces, in painting a horse.

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virtue were nowhere to be found ; a discovery which produced that moderation and *indisturbance*³³, that happy indifference, or rather perfect insensibility, which is as naturally attended by happiness, as a body is followed by its shadow.³⁴

Conclu-
sion.

In concluding this work with the scepticism of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honour of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind ; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken or heighten our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition.

³³ *Αταραξία.* Sextus Empiric.

³⁴ *Ibid.* ubi supra, et passim.

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